

# Proletarian Era

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## Remembering Great Karl Marx



Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C), garlanding the portrait of great Karl Marx at Central Party Office in Kolkata on 14 March on the occasion of his 133rd death anniversary

## Remembering Great Stalin



Comrade Ranjit Dhar, veteran Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C), paying floral tribute to great Stalin, on his 63rd death anniversary on 5 March, at Central Party Office in Kolkata.

**To strengthen mass movements against capitalist exploitation-oppression  
and**

***To uphold prestige and honour of leftism***  
**Make candidates of**  
**SUCI (Communist), the struggling leftist Party,**  
**victorious in the ensuing Assembly elections**

*At a Press Conference in Kolkata on 27 February, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), presented a political discourse after announcing the list of SUCI(C) candidates for the ensuing Assembly elections of West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Assam. The full text of the discourse is published here.*

We, that is our Party SUCI(C), are contesting in four among the five states, Puducherry included, where Assembly elections are going to be held. In Tamil Nadu we have put up 3 candidates. There CPI (M) and CPI have not entered into any unity with us. They have formed electoral tie-ups with a few regional parties. In Assam, we are contesting in 26 seats. In Kerala, a struggling Left Front comprising SUCI(C), RMP and MCPI (U), has been existing for long. In that state, as constituent of the Left Front, our Party has fielded 32 candidates in 12 districts. In West Bengal we are contesting in 189 seats covering all districts. CPI ML (Liberation) is in dialogue with us. We hope we would come to an understanding with them in West Bengal.

First, I would like to say a few words about the outlook with which we take part in elections based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder of our Party, our teacher and a

great Marxist thinker. As a genuine Marxist party, we have never practised any unprincipled, opportunistic politics of anyhow winning elections and increasing the number of seats by hook or by crook and for that forging unity with any party that would pay us the dividend of more seats. Our Party is relentlessly engaged in developing mass movements across the entire country on the burning problems of workers-peasants-middle class people against the anti-people policies of both the central and state governments keeping objective of preparing for accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution. People of the country are aware of this. We always tell them: Whoever comes to the government through elections in this prevailing social system, the basic problems of people's life have never been and will never be resolved by any of them. That desired emancipation can come about only through revolutionary transformation of the present

exploitative capitalist system. But till we, as the revolutionary Party, are not able to prepare the exploited masses ideologically, politically, organizationally and ethically for the revolution, parliamentary elections will be held periodically, and politically unaware, unconscious people, knowingly or unknowingly, will be trapped in the web of elections. We fight in votes to free the people from illusions of elections and, if and when we may emerge victorious as representatives of exploited people, we uphold and resonate people's demands and legitimate protests inside Parliament or the Assemblies. Simultaneously, we strive all-out for strengthening working class struggles and mass movements. This is the lesson of great Lenin, guide of the world communist movements.

But what will the proletarian revolutionaries or even the struggling leftists do if they happen to meet with the possibility of forming a government

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### Press Conference

# Religion-oriented politics of Congress has helped RSS-BJP to gain strength

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emerging with a majority in votes, either at the Centre or in any state? Lenin did not face this question. So he did not leave any guideline at that. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the worthy student of Lenin, who provided that guideline in 1967 on the eve of forming the first United Front government in West Bengal. He said that a genuine leftist government (i) will encourage legitimate struggles of workers-peasants- middle class people and unlike other bourgeois governments, will not suppress those movements with the help of police in the name of maintaining law and order; (ii) will run the government relying upon organized conscious people while curbing the power of the bureaucracy; (iii) will maintain a corruption-free impartial administration and will utilize government funds in people's welfare and serve the interests of the poorest sections of the masses. At that time CPI(M) and others were nowhere near accepting this opinion of ours, particularly the first one. However, in the face of our strong opposition they ultimately agreed to that, but created hindrances at every step of implementing those agreed principles. But it was these principles that generated the surge of mass movements in West Bengal from 1967 to 1969. The air reverberated with the slogan "United Front Government, instrument of mass struggle". But from 1977 onwards, as a result of the continuous 34 year rule of the Left front government which worked simply for appeasing and satisfying the domestic and foreign capitals, there was a U-turn of this slogan into "Left Front government, weapon to crush mass movement". The present TMC government is also in the same manner serving the interests of the domestic and foreign capitals. In other states, the BJP or the Congress have been doing the same thing since long and without relent.

You are all aware that so far whoever could form the government at the Centre or in the states and contested election with that objective, they always dished out bundles of pre-election promises just to confuse people. All their pre-election promises like *Garibi Hatao* (remove poverty), *Alleviate poverty*, *Establish democracy*, *Good Days are ahead*, *Achhe din*, *Parivartan* (Change),

*Development* and so on. They dupe people time and again with these slogans. In years to follow, utterly frustrated people find that these promises were nothing but a hoax to reap benefits in votes. But if we take the class character of these parties into consideration, this is quite natural for those parties.

#### **There is parliament, but no democracy**

We further hold that during advent of parliamentary democracy by overthrowing the feudal monarchy, its protagonists, the rising bourgeoisie, professed that their goal was to uphold the principles of 'by the people, for the people, of the people' or 'equality-liberty-fraternity'. These principles were to some extent put to practice at that time. But with passage of time, deviation from these declared principles picked up speed and all came down to exist as mere dry words in later times. In reality they cease to exist anymore and anywhere in the bourgeois world. There are parliaments, but bereft of democracy. The stark reality is: Votes do no longer reflect people's verdict; the poll verdicts are the verdicts of money power, verdicts of the industrialists. It is they who decide who should form the government and who should be the main opposition party. Those who get seated in power, run the government more like paid servants of the bourgeoisie. At times they are installed or re-installed in power; sometimes they are removed to make room for some other party. This is what is happening repeatedly all around the bourgeois world. Our country is no exception to it. In the days of rising capitalism, there were many small capitalists. In other words, that was a period of multi-capital. So, at that time there was multi-party democracy with many parties serving the respective interests of these various small capitalists. Later, a handful of monopolists have emerged swallowing large number of smaller capitals; as a result there is in reality no existence of multi-party democracy today. Multi-party democracy is replaced by two-party democracy. Remember, once the imperialists grabbed and plundered the colonies waving the banner of parliamentary democracy. Twice they stoked the devastating fire of world war. In recent times, they have subverted the sovereignty and freedom of Iraq, Afghanistan and

Libya. They are continuously pounding Syria. They are engineering local wars inciting religious fundamentalism. This is the facade of bourgeois parliamentary democracy today. So, in place of parliamentary democracy, it is virtually a parliamentary fascist autocracy which is in operation.

Right now there is a hue and cry in our country over the issues of patriotism and nationalism. Mainly the BJP and the Congress, the two major bourgeois parties at the national level, are throwing out challenges to each other as to who is a bigger patriot and nurtures deeper sense of nationalism. If the country means its people and not merely the land-trees-rivers-hills etc, then would it show that these parties have any commitment, any concern and compassion for the people? In fact, their patriotism is nothing more than the hankering for ministerial seats, and all their love and affection is for the industrialists, the tycoons, who are their masters. The BJP and the Congress have repeatedly proven it. The Congress had been in power at the Centre uninterruptedly from 1947 to 1977. The Congress rule was the rule of exploiters, the national bourgeoisie, the rule of *jotedars* (*rural kulaks*). It was the rule that made way for unbridled plunder and exploitation by domestic and foreign capitals. Wherever and whenever the BJP was saddled in power, it treaded the same path. Even now they are pursuing the same pro-capitalist policies. All their commitment is towards the black-marketeers, hoarders and the black money holders. Do they have slightest of concern for the pauperised and starving millions? Do they have minimum sympathy or feeling for these oppressed hapless people?

The country is in the grip of extreme crisis today. Hundreds of millions are unemployed, half-employed. There was a news last year. In UP, for just 368 posts of peons, there were some 23 lakhs of applicants, of which 255 had Ph D degree and 25 thousands held post-graduate degrees. It is the scenario of a single province. Just think of the prevailing unemployment situation in other states in the light of this news. This is the situation with the degree holders, that too, higher degrees. Who cares for those without degrees? Hundreds of millions of unemployed are frantically chasing after jobs hither and thither, within the country or

outside. This is the saga of progress and development. Even the illiterate village girls are coming out in search of jobs anywhere. Hapless poor parents are selling their girls to save the family from starvation. Girls of poor families are becoming commodities of flesh trade. Thousands of jobless workers, debt-stricken peasants are committing suicides. A National Crime Record Bureau statistics hold that in between 1995 and 2012, a staggering 3,08,798 peasants have committed suicide. The next three years must have added more to the figure. Add to this, a few more lakhs of unemployed, retrenched workers. Each year, agriculture is facing crisis from either flood or drought. Side by side, prices of essential commodities, tax, transport fare, costs of education and medical treatment continue to soar. This is the kind of development that has come down to us. Where is the industrial growth? Market-crisis has gripped industries throughout the bourgeois world. Market economy finds no market. Market demand depends on the purchasing power of people. If people do not have income, wherefrom would they have their purchasing power? In consequence, thousands of industries are downing shutters; millions of workers are losing jobs. In all offices and industries, whether in public or private sector, permanent recruitment has virtually stopped. Everywhere, emphasis is on engaging contractual workers or temporary appointment through contractors. Earlier, government permission was required for serving the notice of retrenchment- lay off-closure if the industry had more than 100 workers. Now, as per revised notification, even industries with 300 workers would not require such permission. Following this, the various state governments are taking initiative to bring such legislations that owners of virtually 90% industries would have a free hand to retrench, lay off or close down factories or establishments simply at their sweet will. Impoverished workers today are scared of raising demand for higher wages lest they should face retrenchment. And this is the brand of 'Make in India' being trumpeted by the BJP. This is the way they are making India. This is their *achhe din*. The government hospitals, all and sundry, are being handed over to the private hands. Most of the hospitals do not have

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## Press Conference

# RSS congratulated Hitler as Path-maker

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adequate number of doctors, no suitable infrastructure, no stock of medicine, no arrangement for proper treatment. Drugs have become exorbitantly costly. Earlier the government used to control the price of life-saving drugs to some extent. Now that control is abolished. Of late, the exemption from import duty on 76 odd life saving and other curative medicines has been withdrawn. How would common people survive then? Not to speak of the patients, even their families are facing collapse to bear the sky-high cost of treatment. Education is plagued with privatisation. Its cost is shooting up unchecked. Budget allotments on education or health, on the contrary, are being slashed continually. Only the military budget is what goes up spirally. On the other side, the BJP-led central union government places a budget with deficit of Rs 5,55,346 crore. Government borrowings from internal and external sources have touched Rs 68,94,000 crore. The same government has granted tax concessions and waivers to the tune of Rs 5,02,852 crore to industrialists. The big industrial houses have appropriated over Rs 6,00,000 crore of bank loans. Every year around Rs 28 lakh crore worth of black money is generated in the country. In West Bengal, the former Left Front government had left a huge debt burden. During the rule of present TMC, it has increased by fits and starts to Rs 3,35,000 crore. This compels the government to pay Rs 30,000 crore every year as interest only. All these are public money. So this will lead to imposition of more taxes and further rise in prices. These are the instances of patriotism of the ruling parties.

### RSS opposed the freedom movement

The RSS did never take part in the independence movement. The Indian nationalism that grew centred on anti-British imperialism independence movement was termed as reactionary by M S Golwalkar, one of the founder ideologues of RSS. He did not endorse the independence movement as it was not brazenly based on Hindu religion.<sup>1</sup> It means that revered freedom fighters like Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Subhaschandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bhagat Singh, Kshudiram, Ashfaqulla Khan and Subramania Bharati were not patriots. What was the role of the RSS leaders in the independence movement? Have they ever faced

imprisonment; have they ever been attacked by the British police? The force with such a history is now clamouring of patriotism!

The concept of secularism emerged during the days of the European Renaissance, in the historic necessity of establishing democratic republic overthrowing the monarchy that rested upon religion. Politically, secularism held that state governance, political activities, the realm of culture and education should be completely free from religious influence. The state

totally kept out of politics. Religion should be one's personal matter. Politics should be guided by economic, political and scientific reasoning.<sup>2</sup>

Criticising the Hindu Mahasabha leaders, he had said that these saffron-clad Hindu Mahasabha had sent *Sannyasis* and *Sannyasinis* who, begging for votes with *trishul* (tridents) in their hands, are the enemies of the country.<sup>3</sup> Saratchandra, the great secular humanist litterateur, too, practised humanism totally free

BJP waving the banner of Hindu-religion based politics. Later during the prolonged Congress rule in independent India, so many times the ruling dispensation ignited communal riots with the motive of destroying people's unity in mass-movements and creating vote-banks. The latest of such heinous acts of the Congress had been butchering of the Sikhs in Delhi after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. And now the same very Congress is bedecked as secular by the CPI (M). On the other hand, the BJP too have gained their strength based upon the flames and fury of communal riots. They claim themselves as disciples of Vivekananda. But Vivekananda himself said, "Christians need not become Hindu or Buddhist nor the Muslims need to be Hindus or Buddhists... we want to take mankind to that place where there is no Veda, no Bible, no Quran; but that work has to be done by integrating the Veda, the Bible and the Quran."<sup>4</sup> He also said: "what is the use racking one's brain on whether Rama was born in Ayodhya or Krishna was born in Mathura. There is no need either to scrutinize whether the characters described in the Ramayana or Mahabharata really existed or they were just imaginary... What is needed is to draw good lesson from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata."<sup>4</sup>

Who was then the genuine Hindu: Vivekananda or the BJP which in the petty interest of gaining electoral mileage drove the Ram-chariot, demolished a historic monument like Babri Masjid and repeatedly stoked the fire of communal bloodbath? Vivekananda even said that give the hungry bread, not religion. Is the BJP doing it? There are many people who do not know that worship of Rama was initiated by none other than the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of the Congress by opening the lock of the

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*Comrade Provash Ghosh, General secretary, SUCI(C), addressing Press Conference in Kolkata on 27 February, 2016. On his right is Comrade Saumen Basu, member, Central Committee and West Bengal State Secretary.*

would neither encourage any religion nor would interfere in any religious practice. Religion would entirely be a matter of personal belief. Some may observe religious rituals, some may not. It would entirely be a matter of private choice. The Gandhi leadership did not practise this during the national independence movement of the country. In the interest of the Indian national bourgeoisie, the anti-revolution compromising leadership of the Congress practised religion-oriented nationalism; that too being basically Hindu religion-oriented nationalism of those belonging to the higher castes as per the prevailing social stratification. Due to this reason, the larger section of the Muslim population of the country could not be drawn into the vortex of the freedom movement. Even the so-called lower caste Hindus were also alienated from the independence movement. As a sequel to this, the country was divided based on religion. Netaji Subhaschandra was firmly against this religion-oriented nationalism. Upholding genuine secularism, he had declared that religion should be

from the influence of religion. Even Rabindranath and Nazrul were against mingling religion with politics. But the Congress leadership treaded exactly the opposite path right from the start. So, the Congress was never secular.

### Congress cultivated religion-oriented nationalism during freedom movement

This practice of religion-oriented nationalism in the independence movement constitutes the main reason behind such rise of the RSS-

- 1 "The theories of territorial nationalism and of common danger for all, which formed the basis for our concept of nation, had deprived us of the positive and inspiring content of our real Hindu Nationhood and made many of the 'freedom movements' virtually anti-British movements. Anti-Britishism was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the freedom struggle, its leaders and the common people." (*Bunch of thoughts — Golwalkar.*)
- 2 Speeches at Forward Bloc conference, Bombay, 1939 (*Crossroads*)
- 3 Ananda Bazar Patrika, 14-05-1940 "Hindu Mahasabha has sent *Sannyasis* and *Sannyasinis* with trishul in their hands to beg for votes. Hindus unhesitatingly bow down on seeing trishul and the saffron. Hindu Mahasabha has thus appeared on the political scene by using religion and thus contaminating it in the process... Every Hindu should condemn this. ... We want that all freedom-loving men and women of the country serve the country unitedly and intently" (*Speech at Jhargram, May, 1940.*)
- 4 (Message and Works of Swami Vivekananda)

## Press Conference

# SUCI(C) has been organizing movements against TMC misrule right from beginning

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Babri Masjid, merely for deriving some electoral advantage. And the BJP razed the entire structure of the Masjid to the ground itself to woo bulk of Hindu votes in their favour. The then Congress government at the centre led by Narasimha Rao did not resist the demolition. None of these forces has any inkling of religion in them. The only religion of theirs is to secure votes by any means.

And now across the entire country all the bourgeois parties, national or regional, are practicing the politics of creating vote banks: either Hindu vote-bank, Muslim vote-bank, vote banks based on castes, races or regions solely to buttress their electoral interest.

In our country in the interest of capitalism, the Congress laid the foundation of fascism. Today the BJP is firming it up. We had pointed it out repeatedly in the past, and would reiterate it even today on the eve of the ensuing assembly elections. Fierce fascist attack lies in fanning up blind faith and religious bigotry and destroying the rational mental make-up, scientific outlook and capacity to think, question and argue. The Congress had initiated the process and now the BJP is pursuing it more vigorously raising the bogey of *Hindutva*.

During the Congress rule, Rajiv Gandhi introduced the National Education Policy which promoted religion-based education. And making a few more steps ahead, the BJP is introducing Vedic education, distorting history and trampling truth underfoot to sing glory of *Hindutva* in the ancient India. The BJP leaders are atrociously propagating wild claims that the sages of the ancient India accomplished all the feats, invented everything that the scientists starting from Galileo, Newton, Einstein to Heisenberg, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, CV Raman, Satyen Bose, Meghnad Saha and others discovered at later times.

But what is the purpose behind it? It is solely aimed at impeding cultivation of modern science, destroying scientific outlook and shattering the rational frame of mind. This ferocious attack is pervading the whole country. Remember, while all the great men of the world including Rabindranath held Hitler as number one enemy of mankind, the RSS mentor Golwalkar hailed and supported the same Hitler by calling him path-maker.<sup>5</sup>

Another onslaught is coming upon humanity. Crush human essence, human qualities and human values. Make people robots bereft of values and culture. Let them carry a human appearance but be dehumanized from within, be disgorged of any sense of morality-culture; let them be turned into human beings minus human essence. Particularly, let the youths and students be pushed towards this dungeon. As a result, family life is crumbling down, social life is being ravaged. Love-affection- feelings-compassion etc. which are invaluable wealth of human life are being destroyed in the entire country. This is also another dangerous attack of fascism. The very process of man-making is being destroyed all over the country. This is the reality.

### **TMC government in reality has turned out to be a carbon copy of erstwhile Left Front government**

On the other hand, the slogan of 'change' harping on which the TMC have come to power in West Bengal, has boiled down to mere replacement of Left Front by the TMC in the government. Nothing more than that. In actuality the TMC government have become the carbon copy of the former Left Front government. Police atrocities in mass movements are continuing as before. The police of the TMC government drove their baton into the eyes of two comrades of our Party who had been taking part in a movement. This has caused immense damage to their vision. Like the erstwhile Left Front regime, unbridled price rise, exorbitant hike in power tariff, rise in costs of education and medical treatment, rampant corruption at every level, extortion, rape, murder— everything is continuing unchecked in the TMC rule as well. Right from the police – administration to every other sphere like education and healthcare, same naked domineering of the ruling party and nepotism are going on following the footsteps of the previous Left Front government.

Our Party is fighting against all the anti-people policies of this TMC government. The Left Front government had abolished English and the pass-fail system from primary education. We compelled the Left Front government under pressure of prolonged powerful movement to bring back English.

For a long period, our Party has been organizing an end primary scholarship examination under the aegis of a private board constituted for the purpose at the initiative of distinguished educationists and funded by people's contribution. Lakhs of students are appearing in that examination. The TMC government has abolished pass-fail upto Class VIII, raised the cost of education exorbitantly, virtually shut the door of treatment in the hospitals, hiked power and transport tariffs, extensively granted licence for opening liquor shops and increased tax burden. Besides that, there is unbridled rise in prices. Hoarding and black marketing are going on unabated. We are organizing movements against all such issues. We are also developing movements in demand for opening the closed industries including the jute mills and tea gardens, for reinstatement of retrenched workers, for employment of the jobless youth or instead providing of adequate unemployment dole and for increasing the wages and allowances of all unorganized workers and employees. Movements are also organized by us for closing the mushrooming liquor shops, stopping exhibition of blue films and against murders-extortion-kidnapping-trafficking-rape and all such other anti-social and criminal activities. Even earlier when we were in unity with the TMC in movement, we sounded caution that as a regional bourgeois party, the TMC would also run the government in the same manner like its predecessor Left Front and there would be no relent of plight and miseries in people's life. We also made it amply clear that the moment the TMC would assume charge of the government, we would start our movements on people's issues. We are doing exactly that.

### **By forging alliance with Congress in West Bengal election, CPI (M) leadership has dealt a blow to leftism**

In such a situation, when it was required in West Bengal as well as in the whole of India to develop a powerful militant left movement

based on higher values and culture, the CPI (M) leadership went for forging alliance with the Congress, a national bourgeois party, simply in the opportunistic electoral interest. Many of the present generations may not be aware that it was on the proposal from our Party that the undivided CPI was once included in united left movement. At that time, i.e. in 1950, RSP and Forward Bloc were much more powerful parties. They did not want CPI to be a part of left unity, since the CPI had opposed the August movement of 1942 and stood against Netaji. You know that undivided Bengal was the bastion of revolutionary politics in India. It had started with Kshudiram. Netaji Subhaschandra was the representative of this revolutionism and thereupon rested the tradition of left movement. The two terms, leftist and rightist, appeared at this stage. It was said that Gandhiji was rightist and Subhaschandra leftist. To this was added the tremendous influence of the Soviet socialism and the Chinese revolution. Based on the prestige of these two historic developments, the undivided CPI then commanded a lot of influence. They, along with us and other left parties had launched many movements in the 1950s and '60s. West Bengal was then in ferment of mass movements. And the entire India looked eagerly towards this state. The Indian Renaissance started from here. The alternative trend of revolutionism in independence movement also sprang from this soil. At the earlier stage, the undivided Bengal stood as the centre of cultivation of knowledge-science-literature. Many of the present generations may not be knowing the famous words of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the renowned leader of freedom movement. He said: "What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow." West Bengal was also the nerve-centre of left movements. It is not that the Bengalis who lived here deserve any special credit for this. There is a definite historical reason behind this. Kolkata (then Calcutta) was the capital of the British government and it was this region that had the first

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5 "German race-pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up with the purity of the race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic races- the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and Cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for use in Hindusthan to learn and profit by." (We or Our Nationhood Defined)

### Press Conference

# By branding Congress as secular and democratic, CPI (M) distorts history

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glimpses of the western science and knowledge through English education. So the enlightenment dawned upon the people here first and that made the difference.

Even in the past during the years of united left movement, there were ideological difference between us and the CPI, as we, as a Marxist party, pursued the revolutionary line and both the CPI and CPI (M), because of their non-Marxist character, followed a reformist line centred wholly around votes. Yet, despite their reformist outlook, they had then a militant leftist character in them. So we had unity with them and at the same time had differences of opinion. You should also know that in the 1950s and '60s, though we were in united movement with undivided CPI and later with CPI (M)-CPI, we did not fight elections unitedly in the general elections of 1952, 1957 and 1962 because of differences over principles. We fought those elections all alone. These are all in the past and part of history. With them we had formed two governments also in 1967 and 1969. It is they who broke the unity with us in 1974. The CPI(M) severed relations with us at a time when the movement led by Jaiprakash Narayan (JP) was sweeping in northern and eastern India.<sup>6</sup> We told them that we the leftists, should unitedly provide leadership to that movement. Otherwise the rightists meaning the then Jan Sangh (from whom originated BJP) would usurp the leadership and misguide the surging democratic movement. But the CPI was then extending open support to the Indira Congress and the CPI(M) had been in clandestine understanding with the Congress. That was why they did not join the movement on the plea that rightist forces were present in the movement. We strongly criticised them for that. And so the CPI(M) broke the unity with us. The CPI(M) which did not join the JP movement on the ground of the rightists being in it, however fought the election of 1977 unitedly with the Janata Party which had Jan Sangh as one of the

constituents. Had we, the leftists including the CPI(M), been in the JP movement, the BJP would not have emerged with so much of strength. In the election of 1977, we fought alone. The CPI(M) formed the Left Front government in West Bengal. We categorically pointed out that the 34-year long rule of the Left Front since 1977 never functioned along leftist line. The Left Front functioned like any other bourgeois government. So, during its tenure of 34 years, we had repeatedly launched movements against it highlighting various people's demands. You are aware of the various movements we had launched. It was the pressure of our movement that made them re-introduce English at the primary stage. Everybody knows it. We have been able to achieve a number of other demands as well. With the support of the people, we organized as many as nine Bangla Bandhs with success against their anti-people policies. During the CPI(M) rule, 161 workers of our Party were murdered. 49 leaders and workers of our Party were implicated in false cases and served with life-term. Even then, we maintained that there must be left unity at the all India level for developing movement against the central government. This unity should be extended to other states also. The CPI(M) leadership, however, said: 'No, first you stop movement in West Bengal and then there will be unity'. But, we could not accept that in the interest of the people. So the matter of fact is, it was they who did not desire unity with us though we wanted it. A few days back, Prakash Karat, the former General Secretary of the CPI (M) came to meet us with the call of unity. We agreed in the interest of joint left movement. You know that following that, a six-party combination got shape at all India level. We told them that we are in a different left front in Kerala. So the six-party combination would not be possible in Kerala. As regards West Bengal, we said we would make a beginning of united movement on two issues, against imperialism and against

communalism. We made it clear that the more the past bitterness would be dispelled and mutual understanding would improve, broader would be the unity. We were going ahead with this approach. We had added that in the district of South 24 Parganas, more than hundred of our activists were murdered during the Left Front rule. Many activists are still languishing behind the bars since then. Nandigram in East Medinipur district has a chapter of cruel bloodshed written on its soil. Even in such a background, barring the aforesaid two districts, we can come to an understanding with you in the rest of West Bengal in the coming elections. We made this proposal to them. But they did not come forward to have any talk with us on election. We understand from the media that they are going for unity with the Congress. We take it as a big blow upon the left movement.

### Congress has created record in crushing democratic movement

They are branding Congress as a democratic force. Is it so? Is the Congress a democratic force? Congress has ruled for so many years at the centre. Was that a democratic rule? Everybody knows about the Emergency they thrust upon the country in 1975. Besides, the Congress has introduced one after another black acts like the ESMA, MISA, TADA, etc. They promulgated the Prevention of Unlawful Activity Act which contains the provision of holding any suspect in custody for 180 days without any trial. They have given effect to the AFSPA by which the military would not face any trial in courts even if they murder somebody or rape women on any pretext whatsoever. It is clamped upon Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur and Assam. Are these democratic acts? All over India, the Congress governments with their guns and batons, have killed so many persons. Just recall how brutally the Congress governments in the 1950s suppressed the anti-tram fare hike movement, the teachers' movement, the movement against merger of Bengal and Bihar and so forth. Recall how much blood was shed in the food movements of 1959 or 1966; how many had courted martyrdom. Even today, the CPI (M) leaders observe Martyrs' day on 31 August in memory of the martyrs of 1959 movement. We do observe the Day with due solemnity. But to

them that very Congress has now turned out to be a democratic force. They are awarding this certificate to the Congress. And what a great harm they are causing for the sake of votes. The Congress is a national bourgeois party, a totally undemocratic outfit. Being out of power for a long time, they are now lying in a dormant state in West Bengal. Now the CPI(M) is revitalizing it in the interest of votes. It is true that the TMC is in power and is perpetrating terror. But to what extent does it compare with the horrible terror that the Congress unleashed in 1972? Besides, even if the TMC forms government again this time, is there any guarantee that they would be able to do so next time as well? As the governments at the centre are changing, it is happening so in other states as well. It is likely to change in this state too. And once out of power, it is doubtful whether the TMC will be in existence or not. But the Congress is a trusted party of the national bourgeoisie. They have been serving Indian capitalism for long. So, the capitalists would preserve the Congress for their own sake for many more years to come. Today, the CPI (M) is forging unity with such Congress at the cost of left unity. On being invited, I went to their party congress as representative of our Party. There I proposed to them to build up militant left movement all over the country. Presently, our Party has organization in almost all the states of India. We can join united left movement everywhere. Highlighting Lenin's teaching, I reminded them that the strength of a revolutionary party does not lie in the number of members in the parliament. This strength lies only in the fire of class and mass struggles. I urged them to bring back the glorious tradition of leftism. In the 1950s and '60s, there was none other than the Congress and the leftists in the entire country. Where was the BJP then? In the first general election itself in 1952, the Congress was defeated in the heart of Kolkata. It was the leftist tradition that could bring that success. That was the fervour at that time. But that glory of leftism has been considerably tarnished because of the non-left policies of the CPI (M), from their repeated deviation from the leftist line. The damage has been particularly severe during their rule of 34 years.

The argument they dish out is

*Contd. on page 6*

6 In 1973-74, a massive democratic movement against the misrule of Indira Gandhi surged forth in Gujarat and gradually spread to entire North and Eastern India. Jaiprakash Narayan, veteran freedom fighter, was proving the leadership. The main issues of that movement were unemployment, price rise, corruption and preservation of democracy, etc. The youths and students joined that movement en masse. In absence of the leftists, the rightist forces particularly Jan Sangh (later BJP) and RSS cast influence on that movement. In order to curb their influence, SUCI(C) called upon the CPI and CPI (M) leadership to join that movement.

Press Conference**Renouncing path of leftism, CPI (M) is now eager to win seats by any means***Contd. from page 5*

that they are unable to carry out their political activities because of the terror unleashed by the TMC. I told one of their veteran leaders that the terror let loose by the Congress in 1972 was more terrible than the present TMC terror. You were then attacked, we too. At that time, we were able to face it. You too could to some extent. But why can you not face it today? I would not give out here the reply I received from him. From the dais of a public meeting in Kolkata, I drew the attention of the CPI (M) leadership towards the teachings of Lenin that genuine communists must admit their mistakes to people. So, if they obey Lenin, let them admit their mistakes, blunders and misdeeds openly before the people. They must spell out what wrong they did and why. They also need to tell people how they intend to rectify those. That way they would earn the confidence of people. This is what is true for a genuine communist party. The CPI (M) leadership could not tread this path as they are not genuine communists. Even today, the strength of the CPI (M) has is not insignificant. Yet, why are they not able to face the threat from the TMC? Why do they have to lean on the Congress for support? The reason why they cannot face the reality lies in the fact that even people talk: 'Well, the TMC is resorting to terror; but the CPI (M) did perpetrate much more terror. Yes, this is what people discuss. There are others who say that the TMC are doing the same things that the CPI (M) did. Some others add that the TMC is surpassing the CPI(M). These are the talks going round the corners. So the CPI(M) is not able to penetrate into the masses. Is there any point in blaming their party workers? How will they face people? They should have some credibility before the masses. Had the CPIM leaders admitted their mistakes and come back to the path of movements, they could have gradually and slowly regained their credibility. But they did not go that way. Besides, they have shattered the morale of their workers. Never were they a revolutionary party and so they had never practised revolutionary politics or cultivated revolutionary culture. Yet in the past they were involved in militant left movement and that induced some fighting spirit, struggling mentality in their party- workers which they have destroyed during these 34

years of their rule. Now, they do not find strength if they do not have governmental power behind them, do not enjoy the backing of the police-administration and the anti-socials. Recall how militant the party-workers of the undivided CPI were in the 1950s and '60s, how militant the CPI (M) workers were for quite a number of years after their party formation in 1964. I request the CPI (M) leaders to ponder over one fact: You were not in government in 1964. You could not imagine then that you would once assume the governmental power. But at that time, your party workers had a fighting spirit. With that fighting spirit, your workers, jointly with us and other parties participated in the historic food movement of 1966. Enraged at the way the Congress government brought down attack on that movement, the people of West Bengal defeated the Congress in 1967 election though the opposition fought the election being divided in two anti-Congress fronts. On the other hand, how is that just one electoral reverse after 34 years of uninterrupted rule your party is in so disastrous a condition today as to stand up holding the hands of the Congress? Has enjoying power for 34 years made you so powerless? If the strength has been so reduced, the question is why? If in power, there is strength but once ousted from power, there is no strength—what does this indicate? This was not the position of the CPI (M) in 1964 or a number of years thereafter. Why is then the condition so precarious today? The reason is that whatever little cult of left politics was there in their party, whatever little the leadership inspired the workers to be in struggle are no more there. The CPI (M) leaders have shunned that path. They have renounced militant leftism. Their sole objective today is to anyhow ride to power, catch anyone's hands to increase the number of seats. So it is the leaders who have been destroying the morale of the workers.

By choosing to run their government in the typical bourgeois manner for 34 long years, they have reduced their party to the present state. Far from building up mass movements and people's struggles, they, during their 34 years of rule, have crushed mass movements, workers' movements and peasants' movements with the brute force of the police. Wherefrom will their party workers derive morale for

fighting? Moreover many of their workers themselves believe: "What the TMC is doing today, we did no less than that when we had been in the government". In such a situation the workers can never find strength from within. But even now the leaders are putting the whole onus on the workers at the lower levels to save their own skin. The problem lies here.

**Joint processions and meetings waiving tricolour and red flag side by side — CPI (M) workers need to ponder over**

I add further that I would not enter into the electoral arithmetic to comment if they with whatever strength they have now, would be able to increase their seats or not. But by treading the path they have chosen to move along, they will not be able to preserve whatever strength they still retain. The CPI (M) leaders must think over this. I think that section of the leaders and workers of the CPI (M) who are against the present move. They are feeling sad and are not supporting this stand of their party. We welcome them. Till now there was a distinction between the leftist and rightist politics. People used to distinguish political workers as leftists or rightists. The CPI (M) leaders are wiping out that distinction. They are organizing processions with the red flags and the tri-colours waving side by side. Could anyone think of such a scene earlier even in nightmares? There was a time when in undivided Bengal, the stalwart rightist leaders of the Congress, even Gandhiji or Nehru or their likes could not make much inroad here. Gandhites did not offer respect to the revolutionaries of Bengal like Kshudiram and others. They forced Netaji Subhas to resign from the post of President of the Congress, suspended and expelled him from the Congress. For these reasons during the 1950s and '60s, there was a surge of leftism among the people here, particularly the educated section. The rightists did not find any place in their mind. At that time nobody thought of the leftists forming a government. But still the ambience was such, beaming with leftism. And see where have the CPI (M) brought that state to — the CPI (M) leaders and workers must give a thought to it. I am saying all these not from any malice, but with much pain and anxiety. During your rule so many workers of our Party were

murdered, so terrible torture we had to face just because we, being the revolutionary Party, held aloft the banner of militant leftism. I have said all these to Prakash Karat in presence of Biman Bose. Both of them were silent. Yet we have joined the six-party unity for the sake of leftism. We held that a process of forging unity has been started, this needed to be widened and strengthened step by step. But despite many of their workers wanting that, the CPI(M) leadership did not go by that way and thereby caused immense harm to the left movement.

**We are contesting election to uphold prestige of leftism**

Under such circumstances we have stood up all alone to protect the prestige and honour of leftism, to defend the tradition of militant leftism. We have taken this stand to strengthen the movements of workers-peasants- middle class people; to add vigour to democratic movements. We have taken this stand to add strength to the voice of protests raised by the intellectuals-educationists-journalists- law professionals and thinking personalities of India and West Bengal against the fascist attacks of the BJP. We shall fight in the election with these views and approach. We have firm faith in people and believe that the right thinking people, those with leftist bent of mind or even those who are democratic-minded, will stand by us. Had we desired we could have joined the CPI(M)- Congress alliance. May be we would have got a few seats. Had we desired we could have gone with the TMC. In that event also, we might have increased our tally of seats, might have retained what we have. But we did not opt for that. We do not view electoral battle in this manner. To us, even electoral battle is a form of movement, a fight, a struggle based on principles and ideology. We take it that way. To our Party a single character like Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Ashfaqulla Khan or Pritilata Waddadar is much more valuable than a few hundreds of MLAs and MPs. It is those characters who would hold high the banner of revolution even at the cost of their life. If we get some seats, it is well and good. Even if we do not win a single seat, we would keep on our struggle on the strength of great ideology of Marxism- Leninism-

*Contd. on page 7*

Press Conference**Strength of a revolutionary party does not lie in numbers of MLA-MP but in fire of class and mass struggles***Contd. from page 6*

Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

What a terrible situation West Bengal, like other states of India, is in today. The youths and students are being dragged into the quagmire of liquor-gambling-drugs, into sex-perversion and pornography. Parents are dishonoured and disrespected; dignity of women is severely at stake, rapes, gang rapes are increasing menacingly; even infants-kids or old are not being spared. Beasts do not rape or commit gang-rapes. Are those who committing these crimes on women fit to be called human beings? They are worse than beasts. Where are they coming from? They are the products of the dying capitalist system. This dying capitalist system itself is giving birth to them and is destroying human essence and quality. Seeing the present West Bengal, one may wonder if it were the same land where luminaries like Rammohan-Vidyasagar- Vivekananda-Rabindranath- Saratchandra-Nazrul- Deshbandhu-Subhaschandra- Kshudiram-Pritilata and such others were born. Why has that glory been lost? Where is the change that the TMC promised to bring about in their pre-election slogan? The list of "new" the TMC boasts to have brought includes schemes like *Kanyashree*, *Yubashree*, *Chhatrashree* or this or that, distribution of shoes and bicycles to few school students etc. These gestures—postures might increase their votes to an extent, might confuse some people, but do not hold West Bengal back from being plunged into the abyss of darkness in tandem with all parts of the country.

Source of strength of SUCI(C) lies in revolutionary ideology, higher morality and unstinted support and affection of the people

Summing up, we are fighting against the BJP at the centre, against the Congress, against the misrule of the TMC, against opportunism of the CPI (M). Our struggle is waged against all these. And that would be the way we would fight.

At the same time, we know that other parties fight elections on the strength of the money power of the industrialists, big businessmen, black marketers and their lot. They make use of the criminals with that money. The media, the newspapers, TV controlled by the bourgeois class highlight them with

propaganda. The Election Commission also stage a lot of mock rehearsals before the elections in the name of ensuring free and fair voting; but rigging goes on as usual. Being the Party of the proletariat, we will have to fight against all these odds all alone. Our strength stems from the revolutionary ideology and higher moral-ethical power of the Party as well as unstinted support and love from the common men. There is no power stronger than these. With this faith we shall fight the election.

We appeal to people, to the students and youth: do not be misguided by the false empty words, do not sell out your conscience to the greed for money. Stand up with head high, with dignity and honour. Think about the great men of all ages, the genius born in this country, the revolutionaries who adorned the land during the days of the British imperialist rule. Today it is capitalism that is destroying economy, politics, culture, humanity, social life, family life, security of women, affection-compassion-love-tenderness-fellow feeling—everything. To be emancipated from the yoke of ruthless capitalist exploitation in every walk of life, we need anti-capitalist socialist revolution. The SUCI (Communist) is the Party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. Unwaveringly it is holding aloft the banner of revolution. Strengthen SUCI (Communist), support it in elections as well.

**Answering questions of the media persons**

**Media person**—Provashbabu, it might be that you alone or you and CPI (ML)-Liberation may be contesting together. But you will not be able to form the government. In that case, will you be happy with a TMC government or a CPI (M)—Congress alliance government?

**Provash Ghosh**—There is nothing to be happy or unhappy for me. Neither of these governments would do anything good to the people. Only if a government with a background of militant left movement and carrying tradition of old United Front government comes to power, it can do something.

**Media person**—Provashbabu, another allegation may come up that though you call yourself an

opposition party, you will pave the way for TMC to return by dividing opposition vote.

**Provash Ghosh**—Those who support us will vote for us. How is that we would snatch votes of others? Those who would support our Party, our viewpoint would only cast vote in our favour. Vote is not in the pocket of anyone. It is the people who cast vote. So, people would vote the party they support. We do not have any power to snatch away anyone's vote. Others spend enormous sum in election. They try to buy vote with money, distribute liquor and organize feast to lure the voters. People of this country know that we do not stoop to such a level. Ours is the only Party which raise funds through street collection and door to door approach and meet the expenses of campaigning, organizing movements and fighting elections.

**Media person**—You had earlier entered into an electoral unity with the TMC. Then why are you opposing CPI (M) for having forged an alliance with the Congress?

**Provash Ghosh**— I have explained in a number of public meetings why and under what specific circumstances we had entered into a unity with the TMC. I am repeating that as briefly as possible for you. First of all, we did not forge unity from any electoral interest. Many are aware that it was our Party which was first to take the initiative for building up movements both in Singur and Nandigram. The Left Front government brutally attacked those movements. At that time, TMC wanted unity with us for joining the movements though their objective and our objective were totally different. As a revolutionary party, we fight till end for achieving the demands by organizing the people and making them politically conscious. On the contrary, the TMC by joining the movement uses the anti-incumbency mentality for reaping electoral harvest. We knew that. But at that time, we alone would not have been able to protect the movement repulsing the ferocious attack of the Left Front government. Besides that, the bourgeois media do not give any publicity to any movement if it is organized by us. But the same media give enormous coverage to the TMC and other parties whom they favour. In the circumstances,

we had entered into a unity with the TMC in the interest of movement. Even then, we did not go for a party to party unity at the initial stage. We developed movements by forming two public committees—"Save Agricultural Land Committee" in Singur and "Committee for Resistance of Eviction from Land" in Nandigram. Before that, wherever the TMC on its singular strength had undertaken agitational programmes like stay-in demonstration, *dharna*, procession, hunger strike etc, it could not realize a single demand. But because of our presence, sustained movement could be organized in both the places by forming public committees and volunteer corps right from the grass-root level. You need to know that had the resistance movement started by the poor peasants, men and women at our initiative by boldly facing brutal police atrocities continued, Left Front government could not grab farmland in Singur for handing it over to the Tatas. But the TMC never wanted any such militant movement. The TMC supremo began a hunger strike in Kolkata and sought to give an impression that it would only achieve the demands. This is how, she poured cold water on the movement and seizing that opportunity, the Left Front government grabbed the land. At that very time, we had openly criticized the role of the TMC. But we did not have that much organizational strength in Singur to continue the movement on our own. As a result, the peasants of Singur are suffering even today. The TMC supremo has already said that it might take 50 years for the legal entanglement on Singur issue to be over. But, we had proposed to the TMC after it formed the government that let the peasants occupy the land forcibly grabbed from them and let not police resist that. Subsequently, the government could ratify that by bringing in suitable legislation. But with riding to power, the mission of the TMC was accomplished. So, they did not act as per our proposal.

But the TMC leadership could not stop Nandigram movement because we had relatively a better organization there and the local TMC leaders realized the importance of the programme of resistance mooted by us. So, the Nandigram movement was victorious. I want to say another

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## Press Conference

# SUCI (Communist) founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, is unwaveringly holding aloft the banner of revolution

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point in this connection. The teaching of Marxism is not for vote but for the interest of movement, temporary unity can be forged even with the rightists. For example, great Lenin had made the communists participate in an agitation of the workers and peasants led by one reactionary priest against the Czar in Russia in 1905. Because the demands were democratic and there was a need to unmask the reactionary character of the leadership. For the same reason, our Party had joined the JP movement in 1974-75 knowing full well that the rightists were in that movement and also requested the CPI (M) to join.

You also know that during the entire 34 year period of Left Front, we conducted sustained movements against the anti-people policies of that government, not only for re-introduction of English at primary level but on many other demands. 161 of our Party workers became martyrs in course of conducting these movements. Many were served life term after being implicated in false cases. In spite of that, we never gave call for overthrowing that government, never supported any no confidence motion raised against it in the assembly and voted in favour of the Left Front candidates in Rajya Sabha polls. But when the Left Front government resorted to brutal mass killing and mass rape with the help of the police and criminals to crush the Singur-Nandigram movements, we called that a fascistic attack. In order to suppress mass movements, the Congress and BJP governments had opened fire many a time and killed the agitators. But they also never resorted to mass rape. Only during communal riots, there were some incidents of mass rape. So, we for the first time raised the slogan that "Left Front government must go". Because, if that government was allowed to continue even after that, it would have launched more brutal attacks to curb mass movement. At that point, people at large also desired fall of that government. Beside that, the last parliament and assembly elections were held based on who were in support of Singur-Nandigram movements and who were opposed to those. And we had painstakingly developed these movements without caring for the onslaughts that descended upon us.

That was the reason we entered into unity with the TMC. It was known to all political parties, media, police and administration that because of presence of the SUCI(C), it was possible for Nandigram movement to offer resistance and achieve victory. People of Singur and Nandigram are aware who was the important force in the movement. But the propaganda in the bourgeois media was such that as if the TMC was doing everything. This was purported to keep people in the dark about the role of our Party in that historic movement. For that reason also, it was necessary to have unity in the electoral battle and apprise people of our role. There was another important reason. Reading the prevailing public mood, we could understand that the Left Front was sure to be defeated and the victory of TMC was on the cards. Also it was apparent that pointing at the CPI (M), TMC would unleash an anti-Marxist anti-left campaign during electioneering. It was needed to thwart that as well. TMC needed to use our prestige for securing vote. So they wanted to have unity with us. You are well aware and so are the CPI (M) workers about another fact. The anti-Left Front sentiment then was so dominant that TMC would have won without rigging or creating terror. Otherwise, would have the Left Front chief minister been defeated by one of his subordinate bureaucrats by such a huge margin? Had we not been in unity with them, TMC would have won the election by extensively campaigning against Marxism-leftism and appropriating the entire credit of Singur-Nandigram movement. That we prevented in the interest of leftism and mass movement.

We gave them condition that they would not attack Marxism and leftism while directing their attack against the Left Front or the CPI (M). TMC agreed to that. Though we had forged unity with TMC in the election, we never called them 'democratic', 'progressive' or 'secular'. Rather while sharing dais with TMC, we openly said that while they believe they would solve all the problems by riding to power, we do not subscribe to that view. We believe that the basic problems of people's life can be eradicated only through revolution. We also mentioned that once saddled in

power, TMC would also run the administration like Congress or the Left Front and the moment TMC would form the government, we shall be on the street organizing people's movements. Please also note that it was our Party who first launched movement against the TMC government. So, to sum up, we had entered into unity with TMC for three reasons: (1) unity was based on Singur-Nandigram movements and it was our Party which initiated those movements, (2) demand for overthrowing the Left Front government was raised from the movement and (3) TMC ought not to be able to attack Marxism-leftism during their electoral campaign. The Left Front while in power in 2006 gave us an offer for unity with them. Had we agreed to that, we could have more number of MLAs as well as ministerial berth. But we declined because they were pursuing non-left approach and direction. Even TMC had also approached us for unity earlier. But we refused that as well. We enter into unity for the sake of movement based on ideology and principle, not for a number of seats or ministerial berth.

You also need to know that after last election, TMC had offered us ministerial berth. But we rejected. Had we wanted, we could have entered into an understanding with TMC and returned our candidate second time from Joynagar parliamentary seat. But we did not do so. If there were no movements in Singur or Nandigram, question of our unity with TMC would not have arisen. The CPI (M) this time is forging alliance with the Congress not based on any movement or in

the interest of movement but from pure electoral interest. It also needs to be remembered that the Congress right from the beginning has been a trusted party of the national bourgeoisie while in comparison to that, TMC is a regional bourgeois party. What would be the durability of TMC?

**Media person**—Provashbabu, there is a six-party combination at national level. Will that be in existence after this?

**Provash Ghosh**—Yes, definitely. Such combinations are also in existence in other states and will remain so.

**Media person**— Assume the Congress High Command not to go for an alliance with the Lefts. Will you then have unity with the CPI (M)?

**Provash Ghosh**—If the lefts are willing, we shall definitely come to an understanding. I have already said that leaving two districts, there can be an understanding in other places. That will stay.

**Media person**— That means you are fighting against the leftists here.

**Provash Ghosh**—This is not correct. We are leftists. So, why should we fight against leftist politics? Rather, we are fighting to uphold the prestige of leftism. We are fighting against the BJP now in power at the Centre, the Congress, a national level bourgeois party, the TMC government in West Bengal and the opportunistic politics, the CPI (M) and other constituents of the Left Front are practising by joining hands with the Congress.



Massive demonstration of Anganwadi workers in front of the District Magistrate's Office, Kanpur, UP, on International Women's day on 8 March in protest against the utter neglect of the just demands of 28 lakh odd Anganwadi workers in the last union budget. The demonstration was organized by Anganwadi Workers' and Associates' Welfare Organization, Uttar Pradesh. Among those who addressed were Comrades Lata Sharma, President of the Association and Rajbali, President, UP State AIUTUC.

# Assam: political scenario on the eve of assembly election

The legislative Assembly election in Assam is scheduled to be held in the month of April (4 and 11 April) this year. As the days of election are coming nearer, all the political parties that survive upon parliamentary politics, particularly the parties in power as also those now in opposition, are engaged in proving how much they are committed to people's cause. It is anybody's guess that till the election date arrives, such activities of the parties will be intensified in geometrical progression. But people in general are feeling the burns of ruthless capitalist exploitation every day. During the long tenure of the last 15 years of Congress rule in the state, common people experienced price rise, retrenchments, joblessness, atrocities upon women, cultural degradation, suicide by peasants, so-called witch hunting and so on and so forth. Corruption assumed newer dimensions. The much orchestrated NREGA, food protection scheme (/food security scheme) practically have become the den of corruption. Although people are deprived of the benefits, these programmes bring hay day for the political leaders- bureaucrats-businessmen nexus. While the government-run education and health services are languishing from dearth of funds, maladministration and corruption, the same in the private sectors, are flourishing. A minimum decent education and proper treatment have become a luxury for common people. Schemes in agricultural department, irrigation system, seed corporation etc. have turned to be white elephants. The government funds are allotted but no one is accountable for it, so those end in simple squandering. The scenario of the power sector, the less said the better. The goonda tax, i.e., paying the local mafia for any work to get done, has become an added burden.

During and after the last parliament election, having been carried over by the BJP campaign aided and abetted by the corporates and their media, people started to believe that the *achhe din* were ahead. However their dreams turned into nightmares when they witnessed the skyrocketing rise of prices of all essential commodities, withdrawal of control over the production of medicine, thereby providing handle to the medicine companies to earn more and more profits, and to manifold increase the prices of life saving drugs, increase of railway fares and freight charges, attempts to grab their lands and thus livelihood, virulent saffronization of education, propaganda to infuse the

obscurantist ideas and thoughts in the name of religion, and above all, sharp rise of mistrust and disbelief amongst the different communities and ethnic groups and destruction of communal harmony in a planned manner.

The minority community is exposed to further crisis when in the name of preparation of National Register of Citizens (NRC), the genuine Indian citizens are facing harassment to prove and establish the genuineness of their citizenship. Moreover, anybody at random is being declared as *doubtful voter*, thereby robbing him or her of all democratic and political rights. He or she is declared as foreigners *ex parte* remaining quite ignorant that a case had been filed against him or her under Foreigners Act. And then, on one fine morning he or she is arrested and deported to the designated camps.

During their election campaign, the parties are cleverly sidetracking the real issues. They are busy in abusing one another on this ground or that. They are very careful about the fact that real weaknesses of other parties should not be brought to the forefront, particularly the issue of corruption, lest they themselves are exposed.

Another conspiratorial move is afoot. Before the BJP came to power, both the central and state governments tried to set up Bidhan Parishad in Assam. Once the British raj introduced this so-called upper house of the legislative body in India with an ulterior motive. It has no relevance in people's life. It is mooted to accommodate the disgruntled elements and candidates of the ruling party defeated in election battles, all at the cost of people's money. Such an irrelevant body had to be withdrawn under people's pressure. But there was a fresh recent move, as mentioned. At that time, our party organized a strong movement, and the call of Assam Bandh on the issue given by our party met with a grand success from people's strong support. The government had to retreat. But after BJP has come to power, both the Congress and BJP are trying afresh to form the Bidhan Parishad in Assam. It is only our party which is engaged in developing a movement throughout the state against this anti-people move of both the parties. Needless to mention that other parties, including the so called lefts, have either supported the move or remained passive spectators.

The parliamentary parties are aware of their misdeeds. And subservient to the ruling capitalist

class, they are committed to their masters. To their advantage, they bank upon the low level of political consciousness of the common people to hide from them the real source of their misery, the ruling capitalist class and their exploitative rule.

In the last Parliament election, the BJP wave swept over the state. The BJP bagged 7 seats out of 14. A powerful instrument of the ruling class, the media played a pivotal role in misguiding common people. In the same manner they had done for Indira Gandhi in 1971 with the slogan and campaign of *Garibi Hatao*, to help her rise to power, this time the media, at least a large section of them, came out in full sway with the BJP slogan and campaign of so called *achhe din*, holding out that the country would become a heaven for the common people if the BJP came to power. Even educated people were made to believe that the BJP would do something good for the country. However, the illusion did not last long. Soon after their assuming power, the real face of the BJP started coming to the surface fast and right from the beginning of their rule. In Assam, the ill motivated design of the so-called foreigners issue, gave a handle to the BJP before the last Parliament election. It needs mention that long since Assam has been a land of mixed population, multi-religion, multi-lingual and multi-culture. Besides, in 1971 during the liberation movement of Bangladesh, a huge number of Bengali Hindus entered Assam from Bangladesh. But, in the name of driving out the foreigners, the chauvinist forces launched the so-called Assam movement in 1979, in which their main target was the minority community, the Muslim people who had been residing in Assam since the beginning of the twentieth century. Influx of the Muslim people after 1971 was minimal. Cashing in on the issue, the BJP during their election campaign emphatically announced that if they were elected to power, they would drive out all the so-called foreigners who had infiltrated into Assam from Bangladesh. The Assamese speaking people of Assam believed that BJP would do the job which the AGP could not, though people had voted the latter to power for two terms with some expectation. Clearly this slogan of BJP was directed towards the Muslim minority population. After coming to power, they announced vide a notification that the Bengali Hindus, who entered Assam even upto 2014 would be given shelter in India. The

notification, however, did not assure the incoming Hindus any citizenship and the fate of those people would remain totally uncertain pushing them to live without citizenship. One can easily understand that this is a game to get electoral mileage. Like many other issues such as the insurgent issue etc., the foreigners issue was not going to be solved and would be kept hanging at the behest of the ruling class. If the situation continues to be so, the atmosphere of democratic movement on the burning issues of people's life will be greatly hampered. All the draconic measures can easily be promulgated in the name of maintaining law and order, which will be used practically against democratic movements. Besides, such a measure might lead some political and chauvinist forces to lose their self-acquired jobs, retrenching them from this political industry. This very fact made the BJP earn the wrath of the chauvinist forces of the state. Since long, these forces have been propagating that if the inflow of people from Bangladesh continued unabated, the language, culture and the political rights of the Assamese people will be endangered. They could successfully inject this unfounded fear amongst the common Assamese-speaking people of the state. It is worthwhile to mention here that the Assamese language is a developed modern Indian language. A developed language can neither annihilate nor be annihilated by another developed language. Rather through interaction one helps the other for further development of both. So also is the case in regard to culture. So far as the political power is concerned, unless instigated, no section of toiling people will tend to rob the toiling people of other sections of their political rights. Rather they will fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, the capitalist class. Taking advantage of the unfounded fear of the Assamese-speaking people, the chauvinist forces went against the said notification from the BJP. At present, one section of them is posing to protect the Assamese language and wants the Bengali people, who have come from Bangladesh, to be driven out. Another section is of the view that religion as well as political rights of the people here, meaning the Hindus, must be preserved at any cost before it is too late. The BJP, at the grass roots level are propagating that our religion is at stake and hence the Muslims are to driven out at any cost.

Besides this, to attain their

*Contd. on page 10*

Assam Election

# Prolonged Congress rule has brought the state to the brink of ruination

*Contd. from page 9*

“mission 84” (i.e. to get 84 seats in Assam Assembly), the BJP allowed the disgruntled and greedy political elements of other parties to join the BJP. But as the day of election is coming nearer, the inner party conflict is taking an ugly shape. The aspirant candidates of the original BJP are raising a hue and cry and have come out openly against the leadership, even to the extent of ransacking of the BJP party offices, demanding not to nominate any new entrant to the party as candidate depriving the original BJP men.

In Assam, the regional bourgeoisie are not strong enough as their counterpart in other states of the country; a reason is that there are no major industries in Assam. Although the regional bourgeoisie tried to foster regionalism in Assam through AGP, they failed. The AGP could not live up to the expectation of the common people due to their unprecedented corruption and pro-capitalist, anti-people policies. So they cut a sorry figure in 2011 election and could bag only 10 seats. This time, to keep their identity alive, they tried to have an electoral understanding with the Congress. But they could not make any headway as the Congress proved to be a more cunning player in election maneuvering. So, though it openly puts up the image of opposing the RSS-BJP, the AGP got into an electoral understanding with the BJP. The latter party, too, with their fading image shelved their ‘mission 84’ and went for the AGP hand to clinch any chance to form the Government in Assam. But the move proved calamitous for both the parties, giving birth to terrible, even violent squabbles among the aspirant candidates within each of them who lost chances to accommodate the candidates from the respective other party nominated because of the understanding.

Another factor needs to be noted. After failure of the AGP even under the slogan of strengthening regionalism, attempt was made to set up an alternative to AGP by forming a platform of all the big and small regional and ethnic forces. Even a section of the so-called intelligentsia also joined the effort. But the experience of the people was not happy. Hence the attempt failed in its inception.

Another arch-communal bourgeois force, the AIUDF is also very much in the field to reap harvest in the coming election. Some

disgruntled and aspirant Congressmen formed the party while the Congress, to please the chauvinists, treaded and still treads the path of keeping the Muslim minority people under constant threat and uncertainty. One can easily understand that in such a situation this force AIUDF could take advantage of the fear and agony of the minority people as also their fundamentalist outlook. Hence, they played all sorts of communal cards and thereby could bag as good as 18 seats in 2011 election. Now, as the Congress has been considerably weakened in the minority areas, the AIUDF is enthusiastic to perform the role of ‘king maker’ in the formation of next ministry. They attempted to form an alliance with the Congress, but that attempt did not mature. The Congress may have been calculating that any understanding with the AIUDF, would drastically reduce their support from the majority community. But both the parties are optimistic about eventual mutual support; particularly the Congress, is sure enough, that if need be, they would get the support of the AIUDF. The AIUDF is openly saying that they would be supporting the Congress in forming the next ministry; they are even openly urging the Muslim people to vote for Congress where they will have no candidates; even the media are continuously showering their blessings upon their propaganda. Yet the mock fight between the two parties is still on, rather warming up for the election dates.

After coming to power for the first time in 1985, the AGP with its chauvinist outlook, tried to impose Assamese as the sole medium of instruction in all the educational institutions. That ignited a fire among the different ethnic groups who have aspirations to develop their mother tongue. The same fire engulfed the Barak valley where the Bengali speaking people form the majority. The state language of that region is Bengali which they achieved at the cost of 11 precious lives in 1960. Agitation broke out in the Barak valley and the Bodo people dominated areas. In the Barak valley two boys were killed when police resorted to firing upon the unarmed peaceful protesters. But in the Bodo dominated area, the situation took a different shape. A demand for a separate state was raised and a movement developed thereupon on the slogan ‘divide

Assam fifty fifty.’ The parochial ideas and ambience inherited from the Assam movements gave the movement a vigorous shape. Mistrust and hatred between different communities started developing centering round the so called movement for the Bodo Land. Bloodbath and killing became the order of the day. Many people were killed in fratricidal conflicts between the communities. The Government ultimately conceded the unjust demand which resulted in the formation of BTAD, sort of a separate state. This movement gave birth to a leadership of another parochial force namely BPF. In the name of safeguarding the interest of the Bodo people, they are giving birth to mistrust and ill feeling among different communities. It should be recalled that many of the present Bodo leaders were in AASU which was in the so-called movement to save Assam and Assamese language and culture. At present, those same leaders are raising slogans of going out of Assam and forming a separate state. So the so called Assam movement has simply boomeranged. Incidentally, and traditionally since independence, the political leaders of this area have tended to side with the ruling dispensation of whichever party it might have been. Previously they were supporting the Congress. But in 2011, Congress got absolute majority and did not care much to share political power with that force. Nonetheless, this force continued supporting the Congress. But this time, with an eye to the election with a different current, they formed an electoral understanding with the BJP. However, notwithstanding it, one will not be surprised to see this force support the Congress if they form the ministry. Some other small fractions of political forces are there. But they may not be reckoned with as they will either support the Congress or the BJP as the situation may demand.

In such a grim situation our Party is involved in developing movements on different issues continually. On the issue of foreigners and on the issue of up-gradation of National Register of citizen (NRC) which is designed to rob the minority people of their citizenship, it is our Party SUCI (C) and SUCI (C) alone which raised the voice of protest. The self-styled champions for minority community, the AIUDF not only failed to

understand the real motive behind this move, but supported it. As mentioned earlier, our Party single handedly developed the movement against the formation of Bidhan Parishad and could resist it on that occasion. Now also the Party is developing the movement throughout the state on this issue. In Barak Valley, at our behest a strong movement was launched for extension of the broad gauge railway line up to Silchar and Agartala which received tremendous support from all sections of people. The government was forced to concede the demand. Although the said BG line is functioning, many more issues remained unsolved and people are pressurizing us to take up the issues with the words, “you are the only hope, although the other parties like Congress and BJP are busy in taking the credit.” Movements on many more issues are being developed in different districts of the state at our initiative. However due to our organizational limitations, much remains to be done.

Left parties, other than ours, fared miserably. However, with election not far away, they are putting up a show of generating some sort of movements as their election campaign. In the past, both the CPI(M) and the CPI had good organizational strength in some pockets of the state; they however, lost ground considerably particularly after the Assam movement. At present they are skeletal, with virtually no young forces lining up with them. Veterans are there. The parties have shunned the path of democratic movement, practiced anti-left policies and hobnobbed with different bourgeois parties, even the Congress and the BJP (refer 1977 election and many issues thereafter) only to achieve electoral mileage. In course, they have trampled upon the lofty ideology of Marxism as they enjoy the bourgeois propaganda which make people take them as communists. Their real social democratic character is yet to be convincingly exposed. And, true to their character, they have no response to the real major issues of the state, like the NRC, introduction of the Bidhan Parishad, movement for BG railway line to improve communications in largely inaccessible parts the state etc.

The election is going to be held in this kind of political situation. In 1996, the CPI(M) and CPI

*Contd. on page 11*

Assam Election**Opportunistic alliances among mainstream and regional political parties mark the murky pre-poll scenario***Contd. from page 10*

extended their support to AGP, an extremely chauvinist force to form the Government, CPI joining the ministry and CPI(M) lending support from outside. This time also both the sides tried to unite under a fraudulent cover of so called 'secular and democratic forces'. But AGP could not bank upon the so called left parties whose identity is at stake. So the AGP preferred to be either with the Congress or the BJP as explained earlier. Outside the state, particularly in West Bengal, the CPI(M) leadership is very eager to form an electoral understanding with the Congress. But in Assam, they do not dare to do so because the

Congress has been totally discredited during their last 15 year rule. The situation does not allow the CPIM) to have some understanding also with AIUDF. With grounds lost and their anti-left policies largely exposed to the saner section of the middle class, where they had their mass base, these parties are in a quandary.

The political situation of the country warrants the unity of the left parties to give birth to powerful democratic movements on the burning issues of people's life. At the national level, an attempt is in the offing to form an alliance of six left parties in which our Party SUCI (C) is also a part. In Assam too, an endeavour to unite left and

democratic parties and forces was made for an electoral alliance, pledging at the same time to continue the alliance irrespective of the outcome of the election, to develop mighty democratic movements. But it proved abortive. Parties like the CPI(M) preferred to form an alliance with parties like Samajwadi party or NCP branding them as secular and democratic, and despite the fact that they have practically no base in Assam. Without the least concern for leftist ideology and principles, their only concern boiled down to manoeuvring combinations for winning some seats by hook or by crook.

Contrarily, our main objective is

not to win some seats by resorting to any means. We strive mainly for developing people's movements as we believe that even forming a pro-people government either in the State or at the Centre the basic problems of the people's life would not be solved until the rule of the capitalist class is abolished through socialist revolution.

Our Party thus decides to contest 26 assembly seats, taking part in the ensuing election in Assam to keep alive the morals and values and uphold the banner of genuine leftism and to uphold with all strength the task of developing people's movement. We solicit support from democratic-minded right-thinking people of the state.

**SUCI(C) Candidates in ensuing Assembly Elections****West Bengal**

Constituency (districtwise) - Candidate

**Coochbehar**

01 - Mekhliganj	Pramila Roy
02 - Mathabhanga	Manjula Roy
03 - Coochbehar Uttar	Anil Chandra Roy
04 - Coochbehar Dakshin	Nazma Khandakar
05 - Sitalkuchi	Jagadish Adhikary
06 - Sitai	Anil Chandra Barman Roy
07 - Dinhati	Pradip Roy
08 - Natabari	Rubia Sarkar
09 - Tufanganj	Santana Dutta

**Alipurduar**

10 - Kukargram	Ram Onrao
11 - Kalchini	Rajesh Lohar
12 - Alipurduar	Alokesh Das
13 - Falakata	Tarani Roy
14 - Madarihat	Subhas Baraik

**Jalpaiguri**

15 - Dhupguri	Niranjan Roy
16 - Maynaguri	Suresh Roy
17 - Jalpaiguri	Haribhakta Sardar
18 - Rajganj	Arun Barman
19 - Dabgram-Fulbari	Abu Kasem
20 - Mal	Jotish Minz

**Darjeeling**

25 - Matigara-Naxalbari	Kshitish Roy
26 - Siliguri	Tanmoy Dutta
27 - Phansidewa	Nanjerus Khalek

**Uttar Dinajpur**

29 - Islampur	Dayal Chandra Singh
30 - Goalpokhor	Dulal Rajbanshi
32 - Karandighi	Santilal Singha
33 - Hemtabad	Jyotirmoy Barman
35 - Raiganj	Sanatan Dutta

**South Dinajpur**

38 - Kumarganj
39 - Balurghat
40 - Tapan

**Malda**

43 - Habibpur
44 - Gazole
45 - Chanchal
46 - Harishchandrapur

**Murshidabad**

56 - Samserganj	Tipu Sultan
57 - Suti	Samiruddin
58 - Jangipur	Mirza Nasiruddin
59 - Raghunathganj	Rabiul Alam
60 - Sagardighi	Mirza Lutful Haque
62 - Bhagobangola	Ruhul Amin
63 - Raninagar	Manirul Islam
64 - Murshidabad	Milia Sajem
65 - Nabagram	Barun Mandal
68 - Kandi	Sukhen Halder
70 - Rejinagar	Babar Ali
72 - Baharampur	Kaushik Chatterjee
73 - Hariharpara	Golam Mostafa
74 - Naoda	Helalul Islam Khandakar
75 - Domkol	Samsujaman
76 - Jalangi	Enamil Haque Mandal

**Nadia**

77 - Karimpur	Azad Rahaman
78 - Tehatta	Sherful Ansary
79 - Palasipara	Batsova Begum
80 - Kaliganh	Harroj Ali Sk.
81 - Nakasipara	Krishna Chandra Debnath
82 - Chapra	Madhumita Kundu
83 - Krishnanagar Uttar	Kamal Kanti Dutta
87 - Ranaghat Uttar Pas.	Monoj Kirtania
89 - Ranaghat Uttarparba	Jagadish Mandal
93 - Haringhata	Probodh Kumar Sarkar

**North 24 Parganas**

95 - Bongaon Uttar	Shyamsundar Halder
97 - Gaighata	Nanibala Biswas

**98 - Swarnnagar**

99 - Baduria	Shibani Halder
100 - Habra	Nurul Amin Mondal
101 - Ashoknagar	Tushar Ghosh
102 - Amdanga	Sisir Chakraborty
103 - Bijpur	Goutam Biswas
105 - Bhatpara	Kalipada Debnath
106 - Jagatdal	Partha Bhattacharya
116 - Bidhan Nagar	Amal Sen
119 - Barasat	Tarun das
120 - Deganga	Biplab Dutta
123 - Sandeskhali	Ajoy Sadhukhan
124 - Basirhat Dakshin	Ramesh Munda
	Ajoy Bain

**South 24 Parganas**

127 - Gosaba	Dilip Mandal
128 - Basanti	Nemai Mandal
129 - Kultali	Joykrishna Halder
130 - Patharpratima	Pabitra Maity
131 - Kakkdwp	Amiya Sasmal
132 - Sagar	Kamalendu Pani
133 - Kulpi	Ranjit Singha
134 - Raidighi	Gunasindhu Halder
135 - Mandirbazar	Sisir Mandal
136 - Joynagar	Tarun Naskar
137 - Baruipur Purba	Ajoy Saha
138 - Canning Paschim	Ramprasad Mistri
139 - Canning Purba	Sujit Naskar
140 - Baruipur Paschim	Gopinath Mondal
141 - Magrahat Purba	Sanjoy Mandal
143 - Diamond Harbour	Manirul Islam
144 - Falta	Mamata Laskar
145 - Satgachhia	Uttam Pal
147 - Sonarpur Dakshin	Minati Mitra
150 - Jadavpur	Shyamal Guha Majumdar
151 - Sonarpur Uttar	Sridhar Nandy
152 - Tollygunge	Rajkumar Basak
154 - Behala Paschim	Mrityunjoy Roy
156 - Budge Budge	Tamradhwaj Adak

**Kolkata**

159 - Bhowanipur	Shobha Singh
160 - Rashbehari	Swati Ghosh (Dutta)

*Contd. on page 12*

# SUCI(C) Candidates in ensuing Assembly Elections

Contd. from page 11

Constituency (districtwise) - Candidate

162 - Chowringee	Kartick Kumar Ray
166 - Shyampukur	Subir Samanta
167 - Manicktala	Bijnan Bera

**Howrah**

169 - Bally	Putul Chowdhury
171 - Howrah Madhya	Soumitra Sengupta
172 - Shibpur	Kartick Sil
173 - Howrah Dakshin	Tapas Das
176 - Uluberia Purba	Sukhen Mandal
179 - Shyampur	Pradip Mandal
180 - Bagnan	Nikhil Bera
181 - Amta	To be notified later

**Hooghly**

186 - Sreerampur	Tapan Chowdhury
187 - Chapdani	Seema Bardhan
188 - Singur	Sankar Jana
189 - Chandannagar	Milan Rakshit
191 - Balagarh	To be notified later
192 - Pandua	Paban Majumdar
194 - Chanditala	Dinabandhu Dutta
196 - Haripal	Badsha Sk

**Purba Medinipur**

203 - Tamluk	Satish Sau
204 - Panskura Purba	Narayan Nayak
205 - Panskura Paschim	Abdul Masud
206 - Moyna	Madan Samanta
207 - Nandakumar	Soumitra Pattanayak
208 - Mahisadal	Tapan Maity
209 - Haldia	Narayan Pramanik
210 - Nandigram	Bappaditya Nayak
211 - Chandipur	Swapan Bhowmik
212 - Pataspur	Surjendu Patra
213 - Kanthi Uttar	Sandip Das
214 - Bhagabanpur	Ashoktaru Pradhan
215 - Khejuri	Tapas Maity
216 - Kanthi Dakshin	Manas Pradhan
217 - Ramnagar	Manika Adak
218 - Egra	Jagadish Sau

**Pashim Medinipur**

219 - Dantan	Balaram Das
223 - Keshiary (ST)	Shyamsundar Singh
224 - Kharagpur Sadar	Suranjan Mahapatra
225 - Narayangarh	Surja Pradhan
226 - Sabang	Dinesh Maikap
227 - Pingla	Ranjit Bankura
228 - Kharagpur	Manik Pariya
229 - Debra	Dipankar Maity
230 - Daspur	Madhusudan Manna
231 - Ghatal (SC)	Anjan Jana
232 - Chandrakona (SC)	Tanushree Dolui
233 - Garbeta	Tapas Mishra
220 - Nayagram (ST)	Naran Hembram
221 - Gopiballavpur	Dharmapal Bishui
222 - Jhargram	Mahadeb Pratihar
234 - Salbani	Kalipada Mahato
236 - Medinipur	Sushanta Sau
237 - Binpur (ST)	Rajib Mudi

**Purulia**

238 - Bandwan (ST)	Sukumar Tudu
239 - Balarampur	Dipak Kumar
240 - Bagmundi	Mritunjoy Singhababu
241 - Joypur	Bhajahari Kumar

242 - Purulia	Subrata Mukherjee
243 - Manbazar (ST)	Suniti Mudi
244 - Kashipur	Dipak Mahato
245 - Para (SC)	Mihir Sahis
246 - Raghunathpur (SC)	Kista Bauri

**Bankura**

247 - Saltora (SC)	Dipen Bauri
248 - Chhatna	Sadananda Mandal
249 - Ranibandh	Goutam Kumar Mudi
251 - Taldangra	Sisir Kumar Ghosh
252 - Bankura	Swapan Nag
253 - Barjora	Sudarshan Adhikary
254 - Onda	Sabiruddin Bhunia
255 - Bishnupur	Sashibhusan Banarjee

**Bardhaman**

275 - Pandabeswar	Kalyan Ruidas
276 - Durgapur Purba	Shyamoli Banerjee Roychoudhury
282 - Kulti	Kallol Roy
283 - Baraboni	Pranabesh Dutta
260 - Burdwan Dakshin	Parikshit Garain
270 - Katwa	Apurba Chakraborty
271 - Ketugram	Munshi Mahamudul Hasan
272 - Mangolkot	Rasik Soren
273 - Ausgram	Manasa Mete

**Birbhum**

285 - Suri	Swadhin Dolui
286 - Bolpur	Samarjit Barman
289 - Sainthia	Naba Das
290 - Mayureswar	Uttam Kundu
291 - Rampurhat	Md. Mustakin
292 - Hansan	Amal Mondal
293 - Nalhati	Abdus Salam
294 - Murarai	Mangal Hembram

**Assam**

Constituency (districtwise) - Candidate

**Dhubri**Mankachar,  
South Salmara  
Dhubri TownPahechan Ali  
Joynal Abedin  
Azahar Hussain**Goalpara**Goalpara East  
Goalpara West  
JaleswarAbdul Hamid  
Mohibul Islam  
Abdus Salam**Nalbari**

Nalbari

Munindra Doley

**Kamrup**

Kamalpur

Sisir Kakoti

**Udalguri**

Paneri

Swarnalata Chaliha

**Darrang**Sipajhar  
KalaigaonPaheswari Baruah  
Jiten Chaliha**Sonitpur**

Tezpur

Nayanmoni Choudhury

**Lakhimpur**Lakhimpur  
Naobaicha  
DhokuakhanaBirinchi Pegu  
Anupam Chutia  
Jutika Doley**Dhemaji**

Dhemaji

Hemkanta Miri

**Naogaon**

Bahrapur

Sonaram Bora

**Jorhat**

Majuli

Hemanta Pegu

**Dibrugarh**

Naharkatia

Mahendra Dhadumia

**Cachar**Silchar  
Dhalai (Sc)  
LakhipurPradip Deb  
Gaur Chandra Das  
Joysing Chettri**Hailakandi**

Hailakandi

Sushil Paul

**Karimganj**

Karimganj North

Arunangshu

Patharkandi  
Ratabari(Sc)Bhattacharyya  
Debangshu Nath  
Satyendra Namasudra**Tamil Nadu**

Constituency

Candidate

Dr. Radhakrishna Nagar  
Perambur  
Madurai CentralE Sadayandi  
J Sebastian  
M. J. Voltair

**In Kerala, SUCI(C) will contest 32 seats in 12 districts. List of the candidates will be published in the next issue of P. Era.**

**SUCI(C) IS CONTESTING  
189 SEATS  
IN WEST BENGAL,  
32 SEATS IN KERALA,  
26 SEATS IN ASSAM  
and  
3 IN TAMIL NADU**



**Cast your  
vote in this  
symbol for  
SUCI(C)  
Candidates**

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH

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