

# Defeat Congress Foil Bourgeois Conspiracy Of Establishing Two-Party System

## Make SUCI Candidates Victorious to Build up Left and Democratic Front

—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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This inaugural pre-election meeting which was organised by West Bengal State Committee of our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India on the 20th May, '77 at Saheed Minar Maidan to urge upon the people to determine, what would be their task in the coming Assembly Election on the basis of a correct base political line, created a unique example.

This time, this was the first biggest election meeting. Those who attended the meeting with an objective to know our political stand-point are mainly the toiling masses of Calcutta and suburbs.

The scheduled time for the meeting was 5-30 P.M., but people began to pour in from 2-30 to 3 P.M. A great number of workers from different Engineering, Rubber, Glass, Jute, Cotton, Hosiery etc. industries came in processions. Not only that, inspite of the adversities of the rainy season and although it was the period of harvesting, landless peasants, poor peasants and agricultural labourers from different areas around Calcutta rallied in huge numbers.

An attractive and educative exhibition of different quotations from the valuable writings of our beloved leader and teacher, the eminent Marxist-Leninist Philosopher and thinker of the era, the founder General Secretary of our Party, SUCI, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was organised to highlight his 'immortal teachings' and thoughts. Common people visited the exhibition arranged at the pedestal of Saheed Minar with deep attention. It was quite evident from their attitudes and comments that the invaluable teachings of Comrade Ghosh had created a deep impression in their minds and had been able to arouse a great enthusiasm among them to go more and more deep into our politics. A book-stall was organised by the side of the exhibition for extensive ideological campaign of the party. There was a huge gathering of people at the stall to collect different writings of Comrade Ghosh on different problems confronting the lives of the people and their struggle along with other booklets published by the party. The sale proceeds also broke all the previous records.

Round about 4 P. M. the DYO Music Squad presented mass songs. An added attraction was the dais decorated with the slogans raised by our party, centring the election battle—"Defeat Congress in the ensuing election", "build up United left and democratic front" "Fore stall the bourgeois conspiracy of confining the democratic movements

within the bounds of Two-Party Parliamentary System."

As the time passed on people from all walks of life including office employees from government and non-government establishments Offices, LIC, Banks, Courts, Merchant Offices and common people slowly assembled in thousands at maidan. It was a mammoth gathering covering the entire maidan area. A large number of enthusiastic people were standing at the outskirts of maidan with a keen attention. Just at half past five, Comrade Ranjit Dhar a member of the State Secretariat, inaugurating the meeting said that the meeting had been convened to explain before the masses, the political stand-point of our party regarding the ensuing elections to the State Assemblies. Comrade Dhar added that it was also one of the objectives

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## SUCI BIHAR STATE COMMITTEE'S PROTEST

Comrade Shankar Singh, member of the Central Committee and Secretary Bihar State Committee, SUCI has issued the following statement on 25th May '77 to the press:—

"Our attention has been drawn to a press statement issued by Bihar Janta Party Chairman Shri Satyendra Narain Singh MP, published in News Papers of 24th May which has created certain confusions. According to the said statement Shri S.N. Singh has declared that "Janta Party has made no adjustment or alliance with any party". In the same statement it is also said that "Janta Party has left two Seats, Baharagora and Ghatsila to SUCI and one Seat to Marxist co-ordination committee (one of the constituent of the newly formed left front along with us) where SUC members are contesting with Janta Party Symbol etc." whereas the fact remains that Janta Party on their own has left these two Seats to SUCI and one to Marxist co-ordination and the candidates Kumari Sarala Bala Mahato from Baharagora and Sitaram Tudu from Ghatsila are SUCI Candidates and contesting with the Party Symbol, 'Bicycle'. While noting this gesture of Janta Party we at the same time, can not but regret that the Janta Party has not made any talk or efforts to have adjustment with the Bihar Left Front or with our party. The SUCI is contesting eleven seats in Bihar with the Symbol 'Bicycle' choosen, in all Seats by our Party.



20th May Gathering : On the Dais—Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivering his speech. Sitted—Comrades Sukomal Dasgupta, Ashutosh Banerjee, Fatick Ghosh, Ranjit Dhar, Moni Chatterjee, Manik Mukherjee and other leaders. Below : A portion of the vast gathering.

## Advocates of basic change in peoples' life, keeping capitalism intact, are worst revisionists and enemy of the people in disguise

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of the meeting to emphatically explain before the people concrete stand of our party in the present situation arising particularly out of the significant change in the political horizon of our country involving many newer and complicated problems.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, the West Bengal State Secretary of our party presided over the meeting. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party and the main speaker of the meeting delivered his thought provoking analytical speech. All through his speech, which continued for long two hours, the people attended the meeting with deep attention and in pin-drop silence.

In his analytical speech, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary of our party emphatically placed the view-points of our party regarding the different issues and problems raised before the toiling masses by the ensuing elections and their tasks in the light of immortal and invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era, who founded and reared our party, SUCI, the only genuine Marxist-Leninist Party on the soil.

Comrade Mukherjee continued, it was at a particular political context that elections were going to be held in a number of states. Hardly two months back, elections were held to the parliament and in that last election the long, uninterrupted Congress mis-rule for the last thirty years came to an end at the centre. While congratulating the people for giving a crushing defeat to the Congress in the said election our party did never even for a

moment fail to draw their attention to the particular fact that though Congress (R) and her leader Indira Gandhi were removed from power at the centre capitalism, capitalist exploitation and oppression did not come to an end. As a matter of fact, only one party of the capitalist class had replaced the other in the governmental power. The politically conscious people did know it well that through election, one party might replace another from the government, but that did not bring about any change in the state machinery. And in spite of this important political change that took place, capitalism or capitalist state was affected not a whit.

Comrade Mukherjee further narrated, that there was no doubt that the Congress party which for the last thirty years continued its misrule in the centre and the states as well, was the representative and protector of the aggregate class interest of the capitalist class of our country. Indian capitalism had already passed its stage of infancy. It gave birth, not only to monopoly capitalism but to finance capital as well. And through the export of this finance capital in the foreign market, it acquired imperialist features. The third world wide general crisis, which the world capitalism was passing through, had also its effect felt on the socio-political and economic system of our country. So what we experienced was that one Five Year Plan followed another, but the fundamental problems confronting the life of the common toiling people of the country instead of being eradicated, became more acute and aggravated. And it was also our experience that hardly a planning or a project was undertaken to free the crisis-ridden capitalist economy at least from a particular problem. The crisis of Indian capitalism

multiplied manifold. The internal crisis of Indian capitalism, being a part and parcel of the third world wide general crisis of world capitalism had reached a stage when the fundamental problems of the life of our people could not be resolved by keeping intact the capitalist system in our country. Comrade Mukherjee observed that it would be a travesty of truth if anyone would observe that the path leading to the uninterrupted development, progress and prosperity of the life of the workers, peasants and middle class—the common toiling people, could be opened up notwithstanding capitalism and capitalist state existing in the country.

Comrade Mukherjee then reminded the people that it was SUCI having the correct base political line of the proletariat which time and again appealed to the different left and democratic parties from one part of the country to the other, so that this tremendous anti-Congress hatred of the people could well be channelised to a militant mass movement under the leadership of left and democratic front with a definite minimum common programme and code of conduct that might act as a viable alternative to the Congress. If this front could have materialised, in the present historical phase of the democratic movement in our country, all the democratic struggles be it for restoration and protection of democratic rights and civil liberties, for trade union rights and activities, for bringing about a secular and scientific system of education, for establishing the right of the poor peasantry on land or be it a movement in the cultural and ethical field, against the all pervading state of moral degradation that was being actively indulged in by the ruling capitalist class and the vested interests—could then be organised and unified with

one objective and i.e. to lift the movement following the exhaustion of the present democratic phase to a higher phase of struggle for anti-capitalist socialist revolution. But in spite of our repeated earnest attempts such a front could not be materialised. And the ruling capitalist class had grabbed the opportunity created out of this failure.

And as a result what became the picture of West Bengal, commonly known as the citadel of leftism is clear to everyone.

Comrade Mukherjee further reminded us that whenever our party approached the CPI(M) and other left parties to organise a political united front of left and democratic parties on a common minimum programme, the CPI(M) leadership rejected our proposal on the plea that as there were marked differences between the left parties in the question of their ideology, politics and programme, so a left and democratic unity could not materialise. And instead of a left and democratic unity, the CPI(M) leadership being guided by their opportunist 'catch-as-catch can' policy pleaded for issue-based combination. Comrade Mukherjee urged them to ponder to what a miserable state they brought down the left and democratic movement by the pursuance of their policy of worst type of opportunism.

Comrade Mukherjee remarked that had there been no differences between the different left parties in the questions of politics, ideology and programme, then they would have constituted a single party. Because what was a political party? Can any one conceive of a political party other than class parties, in a class divided society? A political party was a political instrument, the vanguard of a class. In a country like ours, the masses in the urban and industrial area, are

on the one hand, the exploited, i.e. the workers, and the middle class employees working in different establishments, offices and banks while on the other are the capitalists. In the rural area, on the one hand there are the appropriators, the jotedars, the rural bourgeoisie who in spite of formal abolition of landlordism and different land ceiling enactments possess big benami land holding and on the other, there are the exploited people of different strata like landless labourers, poor peasants and landless peasants etc. etc. All these different sections of the people, who thus constitute the different classes, whenever they think of any political goal or aspire to step ahead with any political objective, knowingly or unknowingly they are bound to remain within the category of their class thinking and can never reflect any thing "supra-class", be it any thought or ideal. It is a scientific truth that we must realise. And if we could correctly grasp this scientific truth, then it would be easy for us to realise that in the existing class (and subclass) divided society of ours there are two major alien forces, the industrial capitalist and the rural bourgeoisie i.e. the exploiter class and the workers, landless labourers, the poor peasants i.e. the exploited. Though the middle class in the existing co-relation of class-forces, due to socio-objective reasons, occupy a position somewhat different from the proletariat, yet, if a vigorous unified mass movement could be organised by a united front under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party of the working class by uniting the class struggles of the different sections of the toiling people, as for example the workers struggle, the struggle of the poor peasants and landless labourers along

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## Through Election one Bourgeois Party may be replaced by another, But Capitalist exploitative system remains unaltered

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with the struggles for democratic rights and civil liberty of broader section of the masses, then not to speak of the workers, the poor peasants and landless labourers alone, even a very large section of the middle class would actively participate in that struggle. It was this invincible power of the militant mass movements that the bourgeoisie was mortally afraid of. And that was why, apprehending that the tremendous anti-Congress hatred of the people might not remain restricted within a n t i - C o n g r e s s i s m but might burst out in the form of militant mass movement against capitalism, the Indian monopolists, at least the majority of them did not hesitate even for a moment to withdraw their support from Indira Gandhi and her Party though she sincerely served their very class interest for a long time and rallied themselves behind a new national alternative of their own class. And why was it possible that this new alternative the Janata Party which so long found a b o r t i v e despite tremendous efforts made by Jayprakash Narayan for over a long time prior to Emergency, could emerge on the scene through the merger of three rightist parties, the Congress (O), Jana Sangh, BLD and the SP, along with some expelled Congressmen, and that too within forty eight hours following the poll announcement? This was possible only because the monopolists rallied behind and forced them to unite. It came as a pointer to them, from a vast section of the Indian monopolists that at a moment when though the anti Congress hatred and anger of the people were on the verge of bursting out against crisis-ridden capitalism, but a left and democratic front was yet to be formed to give it an organised shape in the proper direction, all of

them whether they served the interests of the regional bourgeoisie, national monopolists or the individual monopoly houses, or what differences might there be among themselves in their ideas and vocabularies, if they did aspire to serve the interest of the capitalist class they must unite to forge themselves as a new alternative of the class in the national plane. And no sooner than the merger took place and Janata Party formally appeared in the scene an all out support and patronage of the money bags of a great section of the monopolists as also of the trade and commerce, regional capital and rural bourgeoisie, the wide publicity given by the monopoly press and the different government publicity media like Radio, T.V. etc., and the backing provided by the administration overnight created Janata as a new alternative of the bourgeoisie to the Congress (R) on the national plane. The CFD (Congress for Democracy) as soon as it was formed by a group of Congressmen coming out of Congress (R) and joined with Janata was also equally backed by the capitalist class. And not only the Janata and CFD, even the CPI(M) who claim themselves to be 'Leftists' or 'Marxists' when they allied with the Janata-CFD combine—under whatever plea they might have done it—and even though the unity could not be achieved in all the States still they too were equally backed by the Indian monopolists with its press and propaganda media in an all national plane so that they might also capture the imagination of the masses as an alternative to the Congress (R).

The people should ponder; why and what for the capitalist class, the monopolists backed a party claiming 'Marxist-Leninist' to project it as an alternative to the much discredited Congress (R), Comrade Mukherjee

added. Comrade Mukherjee then urged the meeting to correctly realise the real significance of our proposal for unity on the basis of minimum common programme and certain principles with which we then approached all anti-Congress parties and particularly the left parties who pledged to stand for the restoration, preservation and extension of civil liberties and democratic rights. At that moment Indira Gandhi and Congress (R) who already established administrative and constitutional fascism in the country, by curbing the democratic and fundamental rights and trampling down the civil liberties of the people, were engaged in their bid to establish all out fascism in the country. The so-called Twenty-point economic programme and all other measures undertaken during this time were aimed at establishing the rock-bottom economic foundation of fascism, the counter revolutionary upsurge of the bourgeoisie, the arch enemy of the humanity. It was our beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, urged to all anti-Congress parties who pledged to stand for democracy, whatever political opinion they might hold, to forge a broadest possible unity to repulse the danger of fascism posed by the Indira Government, and not only to restore and protect but also to extend the civil liberties, democratic and fundamental rights. For obvious reasons, the rightists could not respond to such a call. Because they could very well understand that this would arrest them politically through public commitments—a step which their class interests naturally forbade them to take. But what about those 'Marxist-Leninist', the CPI(M) who off and on spoke of 'leftism' and raised 'revolutionary slogans'? They too either failed to

grasp the real underlying significance of our proposal or intentionally avoided it. And like an election oriented party, with the sole object of gaining some seats in the parliament they in a very cleverly manner raised a catchy slogan, which might very easily confuse even the people possessing tremendous hatred and anger against Congress. They aspired that the anti-Congress vote must not be allowed to divide. It was no doubt a good proposal. But was it enough? And what was the ultimate result that it led to? Do they realise what a miserable state they have reduced the democratic movement of the masses namely the workers, peasants and the middle class—through their pursuance of unprincipled and opportunistic policy even though they gained some seats in the poll?

Comrade Mukherjee reminded us that the other day it was these leftist friends of ours who refused to participate in mass movements in Bihar and Gujrat on the plea of 'rightist participation' in those movements, and it was our party alone, which, guided by the wise and prudent leadership of our beloved teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh despite its lack of adequate organisational strength of a powerful Marxist-Leninist party on all India plane, played an active role in that struggle. Because, could a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, however much weak organisationally, refuse to participate in legitimate democratic movement of the masses on the plea of rightist leadership, and remain as a mute spectator, leaving thereby the masses to be carried over by the current of reaction? Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, and outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, replied with an empathetic 'No'. It was he who taught us that if a mass movement

grew up on genuine legitimate demands of the people and through their massive and active participation, then even if a rightist force usurped the leadership of the movement, still a revolutionary force should not hesitate to participate in the movement but should try to influence it with its revolutionary politics to the extent it is possible to do with its existing organisational strength and orient its course in the proper direction. For, it is only through active participation that a revolutionary party, inspite of the existing limitations of the movement, could frustrate the rightists' bid to keep the movement arrested within the confines of the parliamentary politics, and free the people from the influence of the rightists socially politically and ideologically thereby isolating the rightist leadership from the masses and by raising the level of political consciousness of the people giving an organised shape to the movement in the correct path, and pushing the struggle gradually to a higher phase, ultimately develop, out of it, the people's own instruments for organising the struggle to achieve anti-capitalist socialist revolution. And this is what Marxism-Leninism has taught us, what Comrade Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker, has taught us. But no other party, excepting ours—be they proponents of national democratic revolution or of people's democratic revolution—none of them, on that day, responded to our call to participate unitedly in the struggle, give it a correct shape and led it in the correct track. It was not only that they left the masses and their movement in that state in the hand of the rightist leadership, even in West Bengal, traditionally known as the citadel of leftism, they betrayed an out and out anti-movement attitude and this paid full dividend

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## CPI(M)'s 'issue based' Opportunist Politics is acting as main Obstacle for Building a united Left and Democratic Front

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to the Congress (R) and the rightist forces.

Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that the role the CPI(M) then played was however consistent with their political line. They found in the Indira wing of the Congress a healthy trend "in tune with anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people" and necessarily an ally in their peoples democratic revolution. Moreover, when Indira Gandhi tried to pose her heinous move of proclamation of Emergency as a step to save the country and democracy from the danger threatened by the rightist forces, they too in an identical tune with Indira Gandhi's to cover the face of her fascistic move from the masses, posed the rightist forces as the main danger threatening the country with fascism. Did not they, by such activities, only help Indira Gandhi to politically consolidate her heinous attempt to develop all out fascism in the country?

So, expecting that our leftist friends might rectify their previous mistake, after the last parliamentary election, we again appealed to all the left parties for building up a unity of left and democratic forces with a common agreed programme and code of conduct. The proposal that was finalised by our Central Committee in its meeting on the 6th April, was sent to all the left parties to their Headquarters on the 8th April last. But still no reply has reached us from our leftist friends.

If they had responded, would they have stepped into the course in which they now try to lead people to?

This is the situation in this state. In Bihar, at first, the CPI(M), for reasons best known to them, responded to our call and this was followed by some other left parties. But when we placed before them our proposal of forging a unity of left and

democratic forces in the State on the basis of an agreed common programme and a code of conduct then and there the CPI(M) was found to retreat. Naturally, a united left front, though not so strong, was however formed with the SUCI, RSP, FB, and the Marxist Co-ordination Committee. The CPI(M) is not there in this front. Our 'CPI(M) friends', who attended the first meeting, left it stating that they would have to discuss with their central leadership, and moreover it was 'our CPI(M) friends' who themselves imposed the condition that none of the participants should separately and individually move to the Janata Party with any proposal of seat adjustment. And what happened ultimately? Apprehending that some may have missed it, we would request them to take a look at the daily paper where it has been published that the CPI(M) could manage to come in agreement with the Janata Party which has allotted them five seats in the coming election to the State Assembly. According to the latest news published in daily papers, though the Janata Party agreed to allot 5 seats to the CPI(M), they could not check their over enthusiastic followers from putting up their candidatures even from these constituencies. And naturally, the CPI(M) in spite of their desire to sail in the so-called Janata wind has to contest the poll separately.

Continuing his speech, Comrade Mukherjee added that it was however yet to be seen if this newly formed left front could be kept alive and strengthened more and more.

Judged from the point of its necessity, its scope, and the urge and aspiration of the people, such a front has maximum possibility in West Bengal. But instead of attempting to build up any such front, the CPI(M) along with its fraternal parties, frantically tried to make

Janata Party agree to their proposal of forming a coalition government on the basis of a common programme and in spite of repeated refusals on the part of the Janata party to come into any such agreement with them, they, with more and more initiative continued lobbying with the central leadership of the Janata Party for the fulfilment of their aspiration.

Comrade Mukherjee added that in West Bengal the parties like the CPI(M), RSP, and Forward Bloc, who claimed themselves to be leftists used to observe that, for the critical attitudes that we did maintain against them, it was impossible on their part to work jointly and move with us on a united platform. We however, repeatedly told them that if there was anything wrong or any mistake in our criticism, then we should be grateful if they would show us with still stronger criticism where we were wrong. What was there to be afraid of criticism? We are never afraid of it. Moreover, the science of Marxism-Leninism teaches us that it is only through the interaction of the political ideas and ideologies of different parties that the people would be able to educate themselves, choose between right and wrong and ultimately succeed in finding the correct revolutionary path leading to their complete emancipation socially, politically and economically. So those who are honest in their purpose, and those who genuinely stand for revolution, would they be afraid of criticism? Rather they would welcome it. So, why and for what reason are they behaving in such an illogical way reflecting an unbalanced state of mind? Is it due to the fact that their real political character gets exposed to people when side by side with their anti-Congress cry that they raise off and on,

we have pointed out to people their—political analysis, their 'novel' discovery of healthy trend in tune with anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people and also a 'progressiveness' in Indira-wing of the Congress? Again with the shift of support of a substantial section of the bourgeoisie from the Indira Congress to the newly formed Janata party branded by the CPI(M) just the other day as right reactionary parties posing the main danger before the people the latter is now posed as 'less dangerous' by the same party. Their own party organs like Peoples Democracy would provide ample evidence. But why this sudden change in their attitude? It was solely for gaining a couple of seats in the parliament by contesting unitedly with them. The matter did not end there. Just the other day there was such a difference with them on the question of politics and ideology that it was utterly impossible on the part of the CPI(M) even to think of participating with them unitedly in legitimate democratic movement of the people—even if that movement was to be launched against Indira-fascism in one word even the other day, they (being rightists) were treated as 'untouchable', but how the same party is making humble submissions with repeated appeals to them to make them agree to take the CPI(M) in a non-Congress coalition Government in the State. But the local leaders of the Janata Party refused their proposal categorically on the ground that they could not unite with the CPI(M) on the question of politics and economic programme, and more so for their "condemnable activities of 67-69". They not only swallowed it without murmur but frantically moved to Delhi for lobbying with the central leadership of that very party. And when the

Janata Party after categorically rejecting the proposal of the CPI(M) to come to a coalition with the latter, agreed to sit with them on seat adjustment alone and that too by keeping the lion's share of seats for the Janata Party, yet the CPI(M) at once agreed to sit in discussion after discussion on seat adjustment and even when these failed the CPI(M) still continue canvassing for the formation of coalition after the election. Does this not reflect their utter political bankruptcy? Once they held the view that a left and democratic unity was not realisable in the State. Have the CPI(M) changed their view? And, if they have changed their viewpoint, then what have hindered them to respond to our call? But when they failed in their mission to come to a successful adjustment of seats with the Janata Party, they at once sat with their fraternal parties, wrote down a programme and declared the formation of a 'Left front'. What do they think of people we do not know. But people from every strata of life, be they workers, peasants or the middle class, and whatever be their level of consciousness is it at all difficult for them, particularly the educated middle class, to realise that the CPI(M) is after governmental power? They are still engrossed in their hope that if no side gets absolute majority in the election, they might have again a chance to form coalition government with the Janata.

Comrade Mukherjee urged everybody to seriously ponder over the fact that when there was every possibility of formation of a left government, of course if from the very beginning a serious attempt was made to forge a unity of all left and democratic forces and to project it as a viable alternative, how their wrong politics has led to the present situation in West Bengal too. Had

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## Besides the Branded Bourgeois Parties the Pseudo-Revolutionary Parties Too Come Forward to Protect Capitalism

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there been a left and democratic united front in West Bengal, had we succeeded in building up such a front, then that would have worked as a pointer, as a guide to the rest of the country. But instead of attempting any such thing they took a completely different path and are still creating illusions before the people about a "good future". Such illusions were once created by Sm. Indira Gandhi when she formed the Congress (R) as against the so-called 'Syndicate Group'. She raised the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' and promised to build up 'Democratic Socialism'. From that very moment it was our party which, under the wise leadership of our leader and teacher Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh**, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, through a brilliant scientific analysis exposed this slogan of democratic socialism and the associated programmes as identical with the slogans and the associated social democratic programmes, upon which fascism was one day established in Italy and Germany in a surreptitious manner. It might not be out of place to remind people again that at that hour it was only the SUCI, which under the prudent leadership of Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh**, put before the people a thorough and complete picture of fascism in its totality and urged to forge a broadest and principled unity of all sections of the toiling people against this arch-enemy of humanity. It was only our party which upheld the historic lesson before the people that it was only by developing the people's own instruments of struggle and by giving birth to the alternative power of the people with the help of these instruments in the movements that are complementary to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution that fascism could be thwarted, and the socialist revolution could

be led to a successful culmination. Those who do not know this, or understand this cannot be said to have even an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. And even when a Marxist-Leninist party participates in an election battle, it conducts it as a political battle in conformity with and as also for the fulfilment of this main political objective. In an election the issue of seat has no doubt its importance, but never does a Marxist-Leninist party form an alliance or unity only for gaining some seats which our CPI(M) friends have been aiming at.

Continuing his analytical speech Comrade **Mukherjee** further observed that what all should take note of with utmost seriousness was the fact that long after thirty years of one-party rule, the Indian Capitalist Class was now after establishing the Two-party rule, just introduced, following the last election to the parliament. Anyone acquainted with the State structure and Constitution of the country, knows it well that as the Union possesses directive powers over the states, so any party in power at the Centre would play mainly the role of one providing leadership to these 'directive powers'. But still we must not forget even for a while that from the very moment the capitalist class, out of its fear-complex of revolution and for preserving and protecting the capitalist system from the wrath of democratic movement and revolutionary struggle, steps in Two-party system, they would try utmost, by whatever means possible, to keep arrested the democratic movement within the bounds of the 'Two-Party Parliamentary democratic system'. And our 'CPI(M) friends' are speaking of giving time and opportunity to this very Two-party system. They even offer their hands of co-operation and in the process are helping to consolidate it. The

toiling common people should keep their careful attention particularly on this aspect. Because, whoever would remain in Opposition would have to speak in terms of directing movement in the interest of people against the ruling party. But it is one thing to launch what may be termed a 'carricature of movements' and an altogether different thing to organise a democratic movement, and gradually advance it to a higher level and then, following the exhaustion of the democratic phase, lift the struggle to the stage of an anti-capitalist socialist revolution and thereby lead it to its successful culmination. Even during Congress rule, when people's wrath against capitalism was on the point of bursting out, had we not seen the student and youth wing of the ruling Congress party pointing their finger at some particular capitalist, some particular factory owner or black marketeer and with a view to misdirecting the anger of the people, staged what might be termed a carricature of movement against them. Such 'games' would again be repeated in future. And even the bourgeois parties would not lag behind in turning out to be partners in that 'game'. They would release so-called 'movements' solely to keep their influence over the people, and thus try to keep arrested people's genuine movement within the confines of the Two-party parliamentary democratic system.

Comrade **Mukherjee** then referred to some of the discussions that took place between the Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai and Comrade **Pritish Chanda**, one of the members of the Central Committee of our party. (The said discussion was held as a follow-up of the thirty demands that were sent, along with certain excerpts from the resolution of the Central Committee of our party, who on behalf of the

Party placed a 30-point charter to the Government). Mr. Desai said that they, unlike the Congress would build up a decentralised administration following the Gandhian way. Comrade **Mukherjee** added that it would be hardly difficult for anyone having some idea of the capitalist state structure and pattern of administration to realise what it actually did mean. We have heard enough of decentralisation and panchayet raj in the past—these are nothing new. But can any palliative, whatever it may be, free the capitalist state from its crisis and save it thereby?

The root-cause of this problem cannot be eradicated and jobs cannot be provided to every unemployed person without opening up the road to uninterrupted industrialisation, without overthrowing capitalism. And it is for this reason that a radical change of this capitalist system is required.

So there is no alternative to overthrowing the existing capitalist system. And in our country, even for resolving the problem of unemployment one would have no other alternative but to actively support anti-capitalist socialist revolution to bring about uninterrupted industrialisation, and modernisation and mechanisation in agriculture.

Comrade **Mukherjee** cautioned the people that at the time of election many so-called 'friends of the people' would try to conceal this glaring truth and paint various "rosy pictures" of the future before them. The people, he added, must pose questions to these so-called friends of the people, centering all these main issues and problems confronting the life of the people. Whoever might form the government, even if the leftists did it, it would not bring about any change in the capitalist state structure. And if there would be any possibility of formation of left

government like the U.F. government of '67-'69 then, they should remember the historic lesson placed before us at that time by Comrade **Ghosh** for the first time in the history of the struggle of the toiling people. Comrade **Ghosh** asked if the leftists should say one thing when they would be in the opposition but speak just the opposite when they would be in the government? No, that should never be the code at least not the code of those proclaiming themselves Marxists-Leninists. Now if a situation would arise and the Marxists getting an absolute majority formed a Government within the capitalist state structure then what would they say to the people? Would they urge the people to give them enough time so that they by assuming governmental power through election step by step in different states like West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa etc. one after another and then ultimately by capturing the Government at the Centre, would bring about, people's democracy and socialist revolution through peaceful means only by implementing certain reforms here and there, utilising the bourgeois parliamentary system, within the socio-economic political framework of capitalism and keeping intact the capitalist state structure, with its police, military, bureaucracy, administration and judicial system? Is there any difference between people who hold such view and the Khrushchevite revisionists? That is why while categorically pointing out this very truth, Comrade **Ghosh** observed that yet if there would be any possibility of forming the government, then the leftists should not however fall back. They did know that if they were the genuine leftists then the capitalists would not allow them to remain in governmental power for a long time. So whatever little time and scope they would have, they would try utmost to organise the class struggle of the people

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## Programmatic Left and Democratic United Front Only Can Foil The Bourgeois

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their movement and develop out of it, the people's Committees—the people's own instrument of struggle. It was the bounden duty of the Marxists-Leninists to organise these peoples' committees, the peoples' own instruments of struggle out of people's struggle, in such a way, basing on higher proletarian ethics and culture that it might give birth to the alternative political power of the people which was essential for bringing about anti-capitalist socialist revolution in the country. A Marxist should not go to governmental power from narrow consideration. As for example, he should never think that as he was the Minister in charge of police so he would not take any step against his own party cadres committing any crime. Again it was Comrade Ghosh who enunciated the historic policy that Police should not be allowed to interfere in the legitimate democratic movements of the people. And our party joined the ministry only when and not before the UF Government accepted the said policy for implementation in practice. What was the significance of the said policy? Was it aimed at giving some immediate dividends and petty privileges to the workers? No.

The focal point of everything was that, the establishment of a left government in the State provided the democratic movements with a respite. So long the leftists would remain in the government, they should not allow police to suppress mass movements.

Comrade Mukherjee then referred the charter of demands placed before the Prime minister by our party where he had been urged to introduce the said policy, not only in the centre and centrally administered areas, but also in the states as per directive from the centre. Comrade Mukherji referred to declaration publicized by the press

where Mr. Desai had stated that the police had been advised not to apply force in excess of what was necessary. But if this was left to the police which was habituated to carry the orders of the factory owners and the jotedars to decide when and how much force was to be applied and that too in what manner and when such a declaration comes from the Prime Minister himself, it is as clear as day light, what would be the character of the police intervention in near future. It was no doubt serious and one could not but raise this note of caution when Comrade Chanda, the member of the Central Committee of our party, our representative asked Mr. Desai if he was a believer in the creed of non-violence, he replied, that he himself was a believer in non-violence but not his Government. Comrade Mukherjee remarked that the Prime Minister had, no doubt, done a good thing to utter a truth. Because a plain word should better be spelt out plainly.

In regard to another demand of our charter—i.e. regarding the demand for right to recall Mr. Desai categorically held it to be unrealistic. Moreover, what had already been revealed regarding the Government policies about CDS, bonus and certain other issues would not doubt, be the cause of happiness of the employers but would obviously raise many questions in the mind of toiling people. Some of the other issues were like, denial of the proposal to break the relationship with the British (imperialist) Commonwealth, pursuance of a soft policy towards the American imperialism, the bastion of the World imperialist camp, to refuse to confiscate the foreign capital and particularly to refuse to repeal the Arms Act inspite of posing themselves as Gandhites, when Gandhiji himself once raised the

demand to repeal the said act as because it was a conspiracy of the British to emasculate the Indian nation and the people. Again though they were promise-bound to unconditionally release all the political prisoners, yet just after sitting in the governmental power, they are raising questions of violence, non-violence and imposing conditions of release beneath the dignity of political prisoners. In this connection Comrade Mukherjee raised the demands not only for immediate unconditional release of all political prisoners, whether under-trial, or kept arrested without trial behind the bars, withdrawal of all cases against them and the workers of democratic movement and different political parties as well—but also for giving adequate compensation to the family of those who met their death in the prison or were murdered by the police in the police lock-up and also demanding a high power enquiry commission to probe into gruesome murders—the culprits must be given serious punishments. The charter of demands also included introduction of all out State Trading in food-grains and essential commodities and bringing down the prices of essential articles within the purchasing capacity of the common man.

The character of the government would become at once evident from its policies in regard to all these issues and vis-a-vis its attitude towards the Capitalist class.

Comrade Mukherjee further observed that each and every student of social science and history did know it well that a government means a government of a particular class.

The compromising force between Labour and Capital, were attempting to conceal the truth from the people. And it is quite likely and there is nothing astonishing that a bourgeois gov-

ernment, a government of the capitalist class would curb the movements of the workers peasants and the middle and lower middle strata of our people even if those were legitimate and sanctioned by the social and natural justice. No where in the world, in no country fundamental social transformation could be achieved without fighting against the police and army—the ultimate defenders of the State. Our country is no exception. But we found a leftist like Jyoti Basu promising to create a prosperous West Bengal if they got a chance to form a government in the State (the news published in the press was not contradicted, so one could take it for granted that he really made such an observation). Such a promise was also made once by Siddharta Roy in 1972. Did not Indira Gandhi also pledge "Garibi Hatao"? Did they succeed? But why not? Comrade Mukherjee asked. We do not know how much Jyotibabu would succeed to confuse the people and rally them behind him and his party. But we must say that he too should have to learn from history the condition of the society, the class character of the State and what limited powers a government—which is always a caretaker of the capitalist state—do possess in reality. Even if in place of a bourgeois party, the leftists could form a government such a government may at best behave well with the people, but can they ever succeed to open up the path of uninterrupted industrialisation and introduce radical reforms in land including modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture without accomplishing which the basic problems of the life of our people could not be resolved? All know that it is the crisis-ridden capitalism that stand in the way of accomplishing these tasks.

It is well known that the bourgeois parties

deceived the people by holding out false promises before the election. But how is it that the parties claiming themselves Marxist-Leninists are equally indulging in such false practices? Our party has never resorted to this deceitful conduct and would call upon the people not to be fooled by this.

While highlighting our task in the forthcoming election Comrade Mukherjee observed that the first and foremost task would be to give an all out defeat to the Congress. But side by side we could not but raise a note of caution and remind the people of another no less important task. We had already observed that with the defeat of the Congress at the Centre the bourgeoisie hatched a conspiracy to arrest the people's movement under the cover of two party parliamentary system. The people should take serious note of it and all-out efforts to uplift their level of political consciousness and maturity, organise the people's committees, the peoples' own instrument of struggles in village and mahallas and thereby gradually extending their legitimate democratic mass movement. If they can do so they will be able to successfully forestall this heinous conspiracy of the bourgeoisie. We had already told you that capitalism would not be defeated in spite of giving a crushing defeat to the Congress. And since the Congress in spite of its earnestness and sincerity did fail. To successfully lead the future battles they should be directed against the capitalist system and the new bourgeois conspiracy to install two party democracy. Though of course it was already manifesting the symptoms of disintegration and disruption. This was no doubt the reflection of the internal crisis. The significance of the Two-party system that they were after, would be clear, Comrade Mukherjee added, from an observation made by Charan Singh, the Central Home Minister.

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## Strengthen SUCI for a Principled Unity of Left and Democratic Forces

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Mr. Singh had observed that in our parliamentary system a place should always be kept for the party in opposition. Mr. Charan Singh, it was sure, did not make such a comment by keeping the leftists in his mind. Because he knows the strength and position of the leftists on all-India level. As he knows the particular force that he referred to in his comment so also the people should also know. It would not at all be difficult for them to realise that while the bourgeoisie would set up a new party it never meant that they had left the other bourgeois party once for all. The same thing was observed even in the last election. Though the Congress was dislodged from power at the centre and the poll result registered a complete debacle for the Congress in North India, in South India it not only maintained itself in good position but preserved its domineering influence. This could happen as because though the larger section of the big capitalists of Northern India withdrew their support from the Congress and rallied behind the Janata, the capitalist section of Southern India still maintained their support behind the Congress. And this was quite natural in a Two-party parliamentary system where guided by the aggregate interest of their own class, one section of the capitalists would back one party while the other section would back another party of their own class, so that they might alternately establish one of their class parties in power, as and when necessary and carry on the capitalist exploitative system.

Thus while one bourgeois party will go, another will come in its place but the bourgeoisie won't altogether discard the old party. So while inflicting defeat upon the Congress, the toiling masses at every level will have to take special initiative to frustrate the bourgeois conspiracy to restrict people's movements within the confines of the Two-party Parliamentary

System. And it will not be easy at all to forestall this conspiracy if the initiative is not taken consciously and unitedly. While sounding this warning, one more point could not but be emphasised. The capitalist class does not necessarily try always to safeguard its interests only by the branded party of the class.

If one looks into the histories of different countries, one would realise that unless people are made conscious and united in advance against those acting as forces of compromise between labour and capital, which are called in political terms, the social democratic parties or forces, who even talk of Marxism-Leninism and fly the red-banner—about whom the Chinese Communist Party has said that, even while they wave the red flag and raise slogans of Marxism-Leninism, they are capitalist roaders—the bourgeoisie would not hesitate in the least to install in power even the party with Marxism on its lips and the red flag in its hands, when they find that their branded party is of no help any longer. For, they know it well that such a party would subserve capitalism in the same manner as the branded party of the capitalist class has done faithfully and sincerely. Availing of the relatively lower level of consciousness of the common people, the shrewd politicians try so that people fail to get at the truth. But even while facing the election, the SUCI, guided by the teachings of Comrade **Shibdas Ghosh**, wants to project this truth before the common people. We project this for the reason that a Marxist-Leninist party participates in an election with a comprehensive outlook conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution. It has a clear purpose. They may try hard to crush the extra-parliamentary democratic movements, but one should remember that nothing

should be approached from a fatalistic point of view, that is to say, things are not as if they come about inevitably, as if they are the result flowing from some fate—no, not like that. In the present stage of social development under the capitalist system, the forces within the society to break this system have grown stronger—what is only necessary is the conscious and united upsurge of the larger section of the masses. The sense of justice and morality in social mental make up, in different social environments, grow out of conflict within society. Every student of Jurisprudence knows it, and Com. **Shibdas Ghosh** has taught us, that all that is legal in this society may not be legitimate, and again, all that is legitimate may not be legal.

What does that mean? In this ever changing society where new realisations are ever arising for the cause of development of mankind, new sense of values are growing, new sense of justice and morality are born and peasants, workers and the common masses, trampled under the wheels of capitalist exploitation, are longing for revolution—the appeal for revolution comes again and again to the human thoughts, a conflict between the laws prevailing and the newly acquired sense of values, sense of justice and thoughts is but inevitable. New concepts will emerge and man will have to advance on the strength of new realisations. So, those who are on the side of truth are aware that a Government has for its task to supervise the state structure which stands as a superstructure on the capitalist economic base in the present society, with all its legal system, rules and regulations, police, military, judiciary and bureaucracy.

He further said: In our proposal we had said

not only about the restoration and protection of civil liberties and democratic and fundamental rights but about further extension of these. The bourgeoisie had properly realised the significance of this question of extension of democratic rights, but had those claiming to be Marxists responded to our proposal, then following it we could have instilled in people's mind the principle of keeping free from police interference the very broad-based mass movements and class struggles which we shall have to develop through expansion of democratic movements and in this way we could have developed the democratic movements on which were dependent the question of giving a complete turn to the left movement in West Bengal, as much as in India as a whole. On this depends even today the question of expanding the democratic movements to different parts of the country. The point is to develop on the basis of this principle the movements of workers, peasants, students, youths,—in other words, the broadest democratic movements. For, whoever may form the Government none will be able to solve the basic problems of our people's life without advancing along this path of democratic movement. So, as a Marxist-Leninist party, we must have to build up a broad united left and democratic front based on a concrete programme, principle and code of conduct, in the different States, whatever number of seats we may be contesting on this principle with the aim of giving a resounding defeat to the Congress, and by forestalling the bourgeois conspiracy to restrict mass movements within the confines of the Two-party Parliamentary System. To safeguard the interests of the people and advance mass movements, there is no alternative to defeating the opportunist, wrong and evil politics standing

in the way of building up this left and democratic movement through ceaseless ideological struggle and polemics, however difficult it may be to achieve it. With this end in view our party has been participating, and will participate, in the elections. And during the election we shall tell the people that, whether you are a peasant, a worker, or a middle class man, you will all have to think over it that whoever may form the Government, only the genuine representatives of the workers, peasants and the middle class people can co-ordinate the movements outside the Assemblies with those inside the Assemblies by exposing the real characters, features and purposes of the plans and projects which they will implement to subserve the capitalist class. And you will also have to ascertain who are most competent to carry out this task on the strength of extra-parliamentary movements, higher sense of values and the noble standard of the proletarian culture. The utility of sending the genuine representatives of the working class to the Legislative Assemblies even lies precisely here. This will be necessary till people are able to give birth to the alternative political power, till they are able to bring about the mass upheaval through various democratic movements by developing their instruments of struggle. So, while the candidates of our party have held aloft single handed the banner of Marxism-Leninism and of Leftism, and have been advancing on way to organise democratic movements it is only they who can uphold the cause of mass movements inside the Assemblies. While urging you, for that matter, to elect our candidates by big margins we also call upon you, since we are contesting in a limited number of seats only, to vote for and elect those who claim as Leftist parties or democratic parties or forces, at the constituencies where our party has no candi-

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## TO MAINTAIN PEOPLES' INTEREST, TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS AND EXTEND IT BOLDLY INSIDE THE ASSEMBLY MAKE SUCI CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI has in the course of a statement said, that "in pursuance of the Central Committee's resolution our attempts for forging an United Left and Democratic Front on the basis of a concrete programme, principle and a Code of Conduct which alone would have served the historical need of the hour could not be realised as the leftist parties neither at All India level nor at State level responded to it. Under the circumstances we are left with no other alternative but to hold aloft, single-handed, the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Leftism along with the democratic norms, values rights etc. on the one hand and to inflict a crushing, defeat to the Congress in the ensuing State Legislative Assemblies and the Delhi Metropolitan Council Elections and forestall the bourgeois conspiracy and design of confining the legitimate democratic mass movements of our toiling people within the bounds of Two-Party Parliamentary system and to continue our attempts for building up United Left Democratic Front and also for advancing the cause of Left and Democratic Movements. In order that the same could be projected effectively at the floor of the State Legislatures, I appeal to the people to make the candidates of SUCI victorious in the following constituencies throughout the country :—

### Delhi

#### Delhi Metropolitan Council

Constituency	Name of Candidate
Rampura	Amrit Lal

#### Delhi Municipal Corporation

Omkar Nagar	Ram Swaroop
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### HARYANA

District	Constituency	Name of Candidate
Mahendragarh	1) Jatusana	Satyawan
Rohtak	2) Salhawas	Balwant Singh
Bhiwani	3) Bhiwani	Ganpat Ram
	4) Tosham	Zilu Singh
Sirsa	5) Darbakalan	Ajit Singh

### ORISSA

Cuttack	1) Sukinda	Mayadhar Nayak
	2) Binjharpur (Sc)	Baisnab Jena
Puri	3) Pipli	Raghunath Das
Sundargarh	4) Birmitrapur (ST)	Rohil Kr. Oran
	5) Raghunathpali (ST)	Deonathe Tappo
	6) Rourkela	B. Jena

### BIHAR

Saran	1) Maryawra	Amar Kumar Pandey
Muzaffarpur	2) Kanti	Nalini Ranjan Singh
Bhojpur	3) Barhara	Bharatji Pandey
	4) Sandesh	Bhubaneshwar Sharma
Rotas	5) Karakat	Brijnandan Singh
Munghyr	6) Kharagpur	Jagdeo Pasan
Dhanbad	7) Jharia	Hem Chakraborty
	8) Chandankiyari (SC)	Kalachand Rajwar

## Muster Your Strength To Advance Towards Anti-Capitalist Socialist Revolution Build Up Peoples' Committees

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dates. We ask you to ascertain one thing whether those who claim today as Leftists or democratic forces have any anti-capitalist role and whether they are free from anti-communist bias and are workers or organisers of democratic movements. For, while it is necessary to strengthen the SUCI today as the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party on the Indian soil in order that the mass movements may be directed in the anti-capitalist revolutionary course, it is necessary likewise to ascertain if those who will be constituents of the left and democratic front which we have come forward to

build up since it is the historical necessity in the present stage of democratic movement. If those who claim as leftists have also anti-capitalist role, and also see that those proclaiming as democratic forces—they may not be Marxist-Leninists, may not be communists—are not anti-Marxists or communist haters. This is because in the present stage of democratic movement, the desired emancipation of the masses or the anti-capitalist socialist revolution will have to be reached along the main course of the great communist movement. We call upon you to elect the leftist candidates, from this

understanding, at the constituencies where we have not fielded any. It is not because they will bring heavens down to you if elected. Rather if it is a question of consolidating the anti-capitalist revolutionary movement, it that be the only way to struggle for existence, if it is a question of eliminating exploitation, oppression, repression and cultural and moral degeneration, the only choice before us is to take recourse to further expansion of democratic movements. We call upon you to take this election, as part of the political struggle; to build up people's committees on your own initiative in every area and every quarter; to determine through participation in politics, which is the correct way to struggle for existence, which is the only course to rise up even from the hundreds of defeats in left and democratic movements, the road lying ahead to lead people to their desired goal. I fervently hope that you, each one of you of the toiling masses in particular—whether you are a peasant, a worker, or a middle class man—you should take part actively and consciously in this movement, you should view this election battle in this light and when you embark on this battle, you should advance along the road to life of the exploited masses.

**Long Live Revolution  
Long Live  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh  
Long Live SUCI**

In his brief presidential speech, Comrade Sukomal Das Gupta appealed to build up peoples' Committees in grass-root levels, on the basis of the base political line of the party, SUCI the only genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party on our soil. The meeting ended with the internationale by the DYO music Squad.

Singbhum	9) Baharagora	Sm. Sarala Mahato
	10) Potka (ST)	Anppa Murmu
	11) Ghatsila (ST)	Sitaram Tudu

### UTTAR PRADESH

Protappargh	1) Patti	Sheo Prasad Saroj
Jaunpur	2) Khataban	Dinesh Kant Dubey
	3) Garwara	Sitaram Yadav
Sultanpur	4) Chanda	Jagannath verma

### WEST BENGAL

Cooch-Behar	1) Mekhligunj (Sc)	Kanai Mullick
Jalpaiguri	2) Jalpaiguri	Dilip Bhattacharya
Murshidabad	3) Jangipur	Achintya Sinha
	4) Bhagabangola	Prasanta Kumar Saha
	5) Hariharpara	Abu Raihan Biswas
	6) Beldanga	Jaynal Abedin
Nadia	7) Palashipara	Shaikh Khoda Box
24 Parganas	8) Kultali (Sc)	Probodh Purkait
	9) Joynagar	Debaprosad Sarkar
	10) Canning West (Sc)	Dasarathi Mondal
	11) Behala East	Amitava Ganguly
	12) Mandirbazar (Sc)	Renupada Haldar
	13) Mathurapur	Robin Mondal
	14) Patharpratima	Phanibhusan Guchhait
Calcutta	15) Rash Behari Av.	Ranjit Dhar
	16) Maniktola	Fatick Ghosh
Midnapur	17) Bhagabanpur	Bimal Jana
	18) Narayangarh	Panchanan Pradhan
Purulia	19) Para (Sc)	Sailen Bauri
	20) Raghunathpur (Sc)	Bijoy Bauri
	21) Kashipur (ST)	Shyamapada Majhi (Murmu)
	22) Hura	Dulalchandra Hembram
Bankura	23) Chhatna	Arun Kiron Barat
Burdwan	24) Durgapur-1	Subhasis Sen (Badaha Khan)
Birbhum	25) Rajnagar (SC)	Bhupen Das
	26) Suri	Sm. Protiva Mukherjee
	27) Hasan (Sc)	Baldya Nath Mal
	28) Malhati	Sirajuddin
	29) Murarai	Ziad Ali Boxi

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE