

REVIEW OF LAST LOK SABHA POLL

The results of the recent Lok Sabha election show that the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi has registered a sweeping victory, winning nearly 80% of the seats. The scale of victory, leaving only a feeble opposition now, does not only exceed the farthest anticipation of the opposition parties and the electors at large, the outcome seems magical even to the cadres and many leaders of the ruling party, especially since a simple majority for the party at the polls was seriously doubted both within and outside its circle.

In fact, even under the trumpeted glory of Jawaharlal Nehru or when Indira Gandhi's image had been blown up to gigantic dimensions following the Bangladesh war in 1970, the Congress could not gain a victory on this scale. Yet this time the party could enforce an unprecedented victory under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi whose image, despite the concerted bid so far by the mass propaganda media controlled by the government and the monopoly houses, in no way matches with his predecessors' and this too at a time when his party, the Congress(I), is riven by factionalism over self and power and plagued by dissension and defection over allotment of party tickets as never before.

The Congress(I) and the mass propaganda media are painting this victory, predictably enough, as a massive mandate from the people for the policies pursued by the ruling party as also an affirmation of the people's trust in the party's 'ability to preserve national unity and integrity.' The parliamentary opposition parties, except for murmuring a few protests against some overt malpractices at the polls, have acquiesced in the Congress(I) propaganda on the election results; and, among those known as lefts, the CPI(M), blowing so hot against the 'authoritarian Indira Gandhi', is ascribing the Congress(I) sweep to 'a surge of sympathy wave' in the wake of the assassination of the late Prime Minister. Genuine Marxists must make a concrete political analysis to probe the reasons and implications of these poll results, since this election really serves as a revealing exposure of how the country's ruling capitalist class is planning to implement its design against the people. We can afford to ignore the warning sounded

by this election only at the peril of our people's true cause.

The assassination of Indira Gandhi, clearly, had created for the crisis ridden ruling bourgeoisie an additional problem of instability in the party system of government. Over the years, in its drive towards all out fascism to secure a fresh lease of life for the crisis ridden moribund capitalism, the bourgeoisie had been building an image of Mrs. Gandhi as the country's saviour, usurping all propaganda media. Her assassination created a void in this bourgeois blueprint for fascism. It is not difficult to realize that in this situation, where a viable bourgeois alternative is non-existent on the national plane and there is no unity among the parliamentary opposition parties under a single accepted leader, and keeping in view its failure with regard to the Janata Party experiment at the Centre in 1977-79, the bourgeoisie threw its entire weight behind Rajiv Gandhi in a bid to artificially stabilise its most trusted agent, the Congress(I), and thus to eliminate all risks to the stability of the system itself. In hot haste, thus, Rajiv Gandhi was made not only the Prime Minister, that is the executive head, but also the head of the party organisation. Obviously, the ruling class's choice fell on Rajiv Gandhi not because of any proven capability of this altogether new entrant in politics, but because of the class expediency to set him up before the people as the new leader, usurping the image of his assassinated mother and the glory of the Nehru family.

It was possible that the Congress(I) could win a simple majority at the polls with the all out support extended by the

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on forth coming elections

Calcutta: January 14, '85

"Keeping in mind the traumatic experience gathered by the people of our country in the recently held Eighth Lok Sabha Poll as to how the ruling party in the Centre, taking advantage of disunity amongst the opposition parties and dismal poverty, ignorance, illiteracy among vast sections of the people on the one hand and, in flagrant violation of all democratic norms & procedures on the other, using centralised administrative machinery for all out rigging, money power and mafias, has in an unthinkable manner gathered absolute power in its favour making the opposition cipher one cannot but be seriously concerned about the fact that this fantastic design of the Congress(I) will pave the way for bringing about constitutional dictatorship and thus establish all out fascism in our country.

"Also we would like to draw the attention of all to the election schedule announced by the Election Commission, in which, for holding election there is a gap of two to three days and then again a gap of few more days before counting begins which also falls on the Holy festival days, taking advantage of which, we fear, the ruling party will try to manipulate the election result, as they did during the last Lok Sabha Elections. We therefore, call upon all concerned to register their strong protest against the election schedule.

"We urge upon all well-meaning freedom loving democratic minded people in general and left democratic opposition parties in particular to come forward, help, build up country wide mighty democratic mass movements unitedly which alone can act as a deterrent against this impending danger of all out fascism and fight the ensuing Assembly Elections unitedly as incidental to the extra-parliamentary movement and set up candidates hav-

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee writes again to left democratic and opposition parties

Dear Friend,

The Central Committee of S.U.C.I. met at its session on 9th, 10th and 11th January, '85 in Calcutta to take stock and review the 8th Lok Sabha Elections and the post-election situation and has resolved to pursue further, in continuation of our earlier attempts, the endeavour to build up a country-wide democratic movement of the people to protest against the way the result of the election has been manipulated as well as to stand against the looming danger of Fascism in the country.

We have already sent you a true copy of the protest note made by our Party to Chief Election Commissioner for your perusal.

In the recently held Lok Sabha Elections the Congress(I) has come to

absolute power in the Centre by virtually wiping out the opposition, thus creating a situation that poses a more imminent danger of Fascism in the country.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Congress(I) could take full advantage of certain factors created planfully by it like the majority Hindu communal sentiments centering Punjab issue and the anti-Sikh feelings fanned up, the Indira-sympathy, the opposition disunity, etc. yet the present election result is mainly a manipulated one through the involvement of huge money-power, mafias and administrative machinery through which large scale booth capturing was resorted to, ballot-boxes were manipulated widely be-

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Letter to Chief Election Commissioner

Calcutta, 8.1.85

Dear Shri Trivedi,

We have noted with grave concern some features in the elections to the Eighth Lok Sabha which cannot but raise some pertinent questions as to the sanctity of this costly exercise done in the name of soliciting people's verdict which decides the character and composition of the Central Government as well as that of the opposition. We give below some important aspects and con-

ing honesty and integrity who can defeat Congress(I) and represent the voice of the extra-parliamentary democratic movement inside the legislature.

crete reports leaving aside the minor details.

1. This election was declared 'peaceful' by you despite the recorded number of deaths on the day of poll being 14. We do not know what is the actual number, if the unrecorded numbers generally left out in official report are taken into account. Nor have we taken the pre-poll and after poll toll of life owing to clashes among the contending parties and candidates continuing till now. All told, this figure will naturally be quite high. A recent report has shown this figure to be 40. Even then the claim of 'peaceful' poll is really very painful.

(Contd. on page 5)

Behind smokescreen of canard and vilification Congress(I) makes SUCI target of attack in South 24-Parganas, West Bengal

[Immediately after the election results came out making Congress(I) miraculously victorious on all India scale and also increasing its strength four-fold in West Bengal—it is significant that the first attack of the Congress(I) came down on SUCI and that too in its strongholds like Joyanagar and Kultali in South 24-Parganas, West Bengal. Systematic anti-SUCI canard and vilification have been splashed in some of the dailies in West Bengal, instigated and fuelled by the Congress(I) leaders. Under cover of this smokescreen created in a section of the press the Congress(I) has let loose a reign of terror in a vast area of 24-Parganas in its bid to prepare ground for mass killing, malign the image of SUCI and weaken the movements of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

We give below a memorandum to the Chief Minister narrating the incidents placed before him on behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of our Party, the findings of a fact-finding team led by an eminent former M.P. Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta and also the press hand-out dated 29.1.85. from which the readers can have a clear picture of the situation. —Editor, Proletarian Era.]

LETTER DATED
21.1.85 FROM
COMRADE SUKOMAL
DASGUPTA, TO CHIEF
MINISTER MR. JYOTI
BASU

Dear Jyoti Babu,

Please refer to our letter addressed to you on 16.1.85 * (submitted to your office in your absence). This is to inform you that the situation has, in the meantime, turned from bad to worse and in unprecedented dimension with the help of a systematic, malicious and slanderous propaganda against our Party, which is defending the interest of the poor people, in a section of the Bengali Press signalling a graver onslaught ahead.

The fact is—after the incident of firing on Com. Sadananda Ghughu and merciless beating of Ibrahim Molla on 14th January last who immediately fell unconscious, the local people got extremely

*[In this letter, Comrade Das Gupta referred to the attack by Congress(I) miscreants at Manirat Anchal on three SUCI workers on 14.1.85 injuring Comrade Sadananda Ghughu by gunshot and the attack upon and ransacking of SUCI office of South 24-parganas District at Jaynagar by Congress(I) hoodlums led by Arobinda Naskar and urged upon the Chief Minister to take measures to prevent recurrence of such incidents.]

infuriated and searched for the whereabouts of the culprits who fled away. In deep indignation the mass of the mob got swelled with hours passing in that night. In fact, Abdur Laskar and Abdur Molla became victim of agitated mob violence who succumbed on the spot when they were detected by the mob.

Unfortunately, taking advantage of this subsequent sad incident the entire Congress (I) under the leadership of particularly Arabinda Naskar in league with some others have launched a terror tactics and a reign of terror not only in these affected areas but also in the large unaffected areas under Joynagar and Kultali P.S. with ulterior motive. The Press statement of Congress(I) and its youth leaders which came out on 19th and 20th January '85 in a section of the press is a palpable instance of throwing open challenge against our Party under the garb of self defence as a prelude to creating ground for further attack. This will be further corroborated by the naked way in which a section of the press has given motivated and wide publicity particularly in *Aajkal* as also in *Jugantar* as a part of Congress(I)'s attempt to malign our fighting image let loose mass killing in the area and weaken the legitimate struggle of the poor peasants and agricultural workers.

It should be mentioned in this connection that

the Congress (I) miscreants went to such an extent that since these incidents they have been openly shouting slogans, pasting posters, writing on walls demanding the heads of Com. Probodh Purkait, the local MLA, Com. Amirali Halder, member of the District Secretariat SUCI, and Secretary, West Bengal Krishak & Khet Mazur Sangathan and a respected leader of the District, Com. Jiten Paul, President of Panchayet Samity and other leaders with impunity.

Not only this: as a sequel to the statement of the Congress (I) leaders mentioned above the Congress(I) miscreants attacked and ransacked on 19th January '85 the house of Com. Probodh Purkait, MLA looted the belongings and set fire to the stacked up paddy of his house. In the same way the houses of Comrades Gurupada Naiya and Bhadreswar Naiya were similarly attacked and ransacked, the belongings looted and paddy set on fire on the same day. They also attacked our Party office as well as Nalgora Panchayet office situated at sonatikri on 19th instant.

You may kindly recall the numbers of murders of SUCI important organisers, workers and supporters in this area during recent years against which we have not yet got any remedy from the administration despite placing before you facts on each and every occasion. It is high time that recurrence of blood bath, which our Party is vehemently opposed to, is immediately stopped in order to return normalcy of the situation.

We would request you to make a thorough impartial enquiry and bring to book the real culprits.

Expecting immediate action and prompt reply,

With regards,
Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
(SUKOMAL DAS GUPTA)
SECRETARY
West Bengal State
Committee
SUCI

REPORT OF THE FACT-FINDING TEAM LED BY A FORMER M.P. AND REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES ON KULTALI

[Sri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta a former M.P. and an old freedom fighter led a Fact-finding team who visited Kultali on 24th January '85. Others who were in the team are Shri Asoke Das Gupta (Secretary, West Bengal Committee, Janata Party), Shri Tapan Sikdar (Secretary, West Bengal Unit, BJP) and Aloke Mukherjee (Secretary, West Bengal Committee, CPI(M-L). In a Press Conference on 25th January held at Press Club they released the following statement to the press. Also were present in the Press Conference Shri Santimoy Chatterjee (DMKP), Shri Anil Ganguly (Workers' Party), and Smt Madhuri Sen Gupta (CPI-ML(CPR)).

It is really a matter of grave concern the manner in which the recent incidents in Kultali, 24-Parganas District, are being daily dished out by the Press. In order therefore to help an impartial enquiry into the facts, we, the undersigned, visited jointly the disturbed areas of Kultali, yesterday, the 24th January, 1985.

The sequence of events and the facts that we have been able to ascertain, questioning and enquiring in details the facts from the local common people, men, women, youth and old of different strata, irrespective of their political affiliations be it S.U.C.I. or Congress (I)—may be summarised thus:

After our talks with the fathers of Sadananda Ghughu and Ebrahim Mollah and their statements made to us, we came to know that the disturbance actually originated from an incident on January 14, 1985 in the evening when the S.U.C.I. workers were returning after campaigning for a charity show in Sikirhat. Some Congress (I) anti-socials shot at Sadananda Ghughu mistaking him for Basudev Purkait,

who is associated with SUCI and the Panchayet Prodhana of Chuprihara and injured others.

After thus injuring Sadananda by bullet shot, they came to chop off his head but on seeing by torch light that he was not Basudev Babu exclaimed "Oh it is not the Prodhana whom we have then hit!". By this time, the gun shot reporting and the cries of the injured attracted the villagers who came rushing and chased the miscreants.

After search they were able to apprehend two of the miscreants, Abdar Rahaman Laskar and Abdar Molla with their arms in hands. Both of them belong to Congress(I).

They were faced with large number of highly agitated people and their fury found expression in the death of the two.

Being asked as to which political party Sadananda belongs to, his father told us firmly that he originally belonged to Congress but for the last one year he had been an SUCI activist. The local Congress (I) men, whom we met also corroborated this fact.

We have come to the considered view that the murder of the two persons in Kultali, however unwanted, was the consequence of mass fury.

The fact is that Shri Probodh Purkait, the local M.L.A. was not present at the time of incident, that he came late and tried his best to control the infuriated mass and that had he not come to the place the situation could have been more serious. This was admitted by the local people including some workers of the Congress (I). They in one voice reported to us that the murder of the two persons was the result of the people becoming highly agitated and was never a product of planning led by anyone.

We have come also to the firm conclusion that the reportings like "forcing the mother to eat rice mixed with son's blood", rape and other indignities of women that have been circulated by some dailies (Contd. on page. 3).

(Contd. from page. 2)
are all concocted stories and tissues of lies. On the basis of detailed questionings to many local people and enquiries, we have reached this conclusion. Even some local Congress (I) workers expressed their surprise at this kind of reporting. They never complained or reported to us any raping of women.

It is also totally false that Smt. Lilabati Devi, wife of Basudev Purkait, Anchal Pradhan, Chuprihara led the women in murderous assault as has been reported in a section of Press. This will be quite evident from the fact we have ascertained that for the last three months she has been in her father's house at village Taltala, Baishhata Anchal after scissorian operation for the delivery of child and is not physically fit even.

It has also come to our knowledge that after the incident of murder an orgy of widespread violence and terror has been let loose in the area under the leadership of Sri Arabinda Naskar, a local Congress(I) leader as a result of which many male persons had to desert the village. Women are passing through frightful days in panic. Many houses have been set ablaze, properties have been looted, indiscriminate beating of persons are going on, forcible extortion of thumb impression on blank papers from persons are being taken—all this came to our knowledge or reported to us.

Not only this, even communal feeling is being fanned up by the Congress (I), taking advantage of the disturbance. A leaf-let inciting communalism circulated by them has come to our hand. On 19.1.85 the bodies of Abdur Rahaman Laskar and Abdur Molla were taken to the area on the ostensible plea for a mourning procession led by Sri Arabinda Naskar. But people have complained to us that at his bidding houses of common people were looted, wanton physical assaults were made.

The miscreants also attacked the house of Sri Probodh Purkait, the local MLA and ransacked it, even inmates of the house

were not spared from physical torture. The wife of Subodh Purkait, the younger brother of Probodh Purkait, Smt. Amala Purkait along with other women have become victims of torture by Congress(I) and police. The miscreants broke open the Nalgora Panchayet Office and local SUCI party Office, took away important papers and documents etc. Even they snatched important papers and documents from Sri Aniruddha Halder, Manager, Bhubankhali Cooperative Bank. The house of Sri Gurupada Naiya of No 8 Sonatikeri was set on fire by them and it is now completely gutted. Before that his property, both money and rice stock were looted. The son of local Choukidar took shelter in that house; he was mercilessly beaten.

The studied silence of both the administration and the Press over the original incident of 14th January as also the orgy of violence let loose from the procession led by Congress(I) on 19th January and the particular role they are playing have simply astounded us.

After all that we have heard from the local people and seen with our own eyes and the facts we have gathered from our visit at the spot we have to come to the definite conclusion that Sri Probodh Purkait, the local MLA, his wife, Smt. Pravabati Purkait and son Biswajit Purkait (15 years old), Basudev Purkait, the Anchal Pradhan of Chuprihara and his wife Smt. Lilabati Purkait have no connection whatsoever with the incident of murder.

The murder undoubtedly is unfortunate, deplorable and condemnable too. But definitely it is a matter of grave concern the way communal feelings are being whipped up and a veritable reign of terror with widespread torture has been let loose by Congress(I) and police. We cannot but at the same time express our deep shock and apprehension at the tendentious reportings that are being circulated by newspapers from a clear motive—only to add tension and disturb peace to come back in the area.

KULTALI

PRESS HANDOUT
dated 29.1.85

We have called this press conference in view of the misleading news about the incident at Kultali being daily circulated by a section of the press.

Without mentioning the event of the 14th January which led to the subsequent incidents of the following day and the widespread terror and goondaism engineered by the Congress(I) at present, the way the whole thing is being presented tantamounts to suppression of truth.

On 14th January night when some S. U. C. I. workers after completing their campaign work about a charity show were returning home from Sikirhat some miscreants of the Congress(I) shot at Sadananda Ghughu as they took him to be Basudev Purkait of the S.U.C.I., the Anchal Pradhan of Chuprihara. Sadananda having fallen down, the miscreants while going to chop off his head realised their mistake and exclaimed in their bewilderment "Oh, he is not the Pradhan, whom we have shot then instead!". By this time the sound of the firing, the cry of the injured and shouts of his companions attracted the villagers who came rushing from all around and chased the miscreants. At last two of the Congress(I) miscreants, Abdur Rahaman Laskar and Abdur Mollah were caught by the infuriated villagers with firearms in their possession who ultimately succumbed to mass fury.

It is worth mentioning here that some months back the same tactics of firing and then chopping off the head was taken recourse to by the Congress(I) miscreants to kill two Anchal Pradhans—one of Gopalpur under Canning P.S. and the other Merigung under Kultali P.S.—Sujauddin Akhand and Mokarram Khan, two of our party's important organisers.

To expose the motive of the misleading campaign that Sadananda Ghughu belongs to Congress(I) and to prove the hollowness of all such canards being

given to circulation for days against us we are presenting Sadananda Ghughu before you at this press conference.

Attempt are afoot on the part of the Congress(I) and a section of the press to cunningly cover up the truth that it is not at all the trivial bicycle theft case which they are making such a fuss about but it is the 14th January incident which is responsible for the tragic happenings of the following day. All these are being purported to make the 15th January incident believable as a cold-blooded affair on one hand and on the other to hide the widespread terror let loose by the Congress(I).

These besides, that the sensational stories like "forcing the mother to eat rice mixed with son's blood", "throwing of one and a half month baby to pond" etc. were deliberately cooked up as afterthought will be evident clearly from the fact that no mention was made of such things either at the press conference convened by the Congress(I) after the incident on 15th January or in the leaflet circulated by the party. Had savageries of such dimension really taken place would not they bring those instantly to the public through their press conference and leaflet? All these are but laboured stories made with the diabolical intention of creating confusion in mass mind about the SUCI and under its cover create ground for all out attacks against our party throughout the State, including the areas of Joynagar and Kultali.

Far from being confined within Radhaballavepur situated in Chuprihara Anchal a reign of terror has been allowed to be unleashed upon the SUCI supporters and the common people in the distant Anchals of Manirtot, Deulbari and Nalgarah by the combined attacks of police, EFR forces and the Congress(I) leader, Aurocreants. Led by the local Congress(I) leader, Arabinda Naskar, physical assaults on innocent persons, cases of arson and looting, extraction of thumb impressions are going on with impunity. Even the women are not

spared from this torture and they are passing frightful days in panic particularly when the menfolks had perforce to leave the villages.

Moreover, centring round this incident the Congress(I) is trying to resort to the dangerous game of whipping up communalism. We have apprised the administration of the whole facts and filed FIR against those guilty of using firearms on 14th January but till date, no action has been taken in this regard.

The first dastardly attack of the Congress(I) just after its victory in the last Parliamentary polls on the all India plane as also in this state upon the SUCI particularly in the areas like Joynagar and Kultali known to be the strong bases of the party is not without its significance. The palpable object is to weaken the strength of SUCI which is organising the just struggles of the agricultural workers, poor peasants, share-croppers, lower-middle peasants in defence of their legitimate cause and demands. They conspire therefore not only to serve the jotedars and rural vested interests but try to eliminate SUCI from the parliamentary forum, where it represents the voice of the toiling masses.

This being the real perspective, this attack brought down on SUCI is not an attack on the SUCI alone, it is to be viewed as a prelude to attack on legitimate democratic movement and moral values. Our party had always stood as it stands, today, for free ventilation of views in the press. But is it not a fact that capitalizing a sad incident, the way reporting are being made onesidedly serving Congress(I), the journalistic ethics and norms are being outraged? Will this not, in reality contribute to the preparation of the breeding ground of fascism? We appeal to the journalist to ponder over the whole question.

It is known to all that our party is opposed to the politics of murder of individuals and vendetta. The best proof of this is that four of our Comrades in Ghatiharania
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A TOTALLY RIGGED ELECTION WITH MANIPULATED RESULTS

(Contd. from page 1) ruling bourgeoisie through money bag and mass propaganda media and exploiting the Hindu majority community's communal sentiments worked up through launching of the military operation in Punjab in the name of containing the Sikh extremists and later, after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, by unleashing assaults on members of the Sikh community in a planned way and taking all along the advantage of a disarrayed opposition. But can this explain the total rout of the opposition or complete elimination of those parties widely known to have strong bases in northern India? Can this explain the Congress(I) landslide almost all over the country, in the north as well as in the south?

Besides, it is undeniable that the economic, fiscal, administrative, political, cultural and education policies of the Congress(I) governments at the Centre and in the states from the days of Jawaharlal Nehru have led to increasing pauperisation and destitution of the people and increasing degeneration in the cultural-moral-ethical standards in the country, plunging life into crisis and suffocation in every sphere. On the other side, the industrial and the rural bourgeoisie have been extorting increasing profits by bleeding the people white. The people's hardwon democratic rights are being curtailed systematically and draconian acts like the ESMA, NSA, Disturbed Areas Act and Terrorist Affected (Special Court) Act being clamped to suppress the people's legitimate democratic movements against the anti-people procapitalist policies of the Central and state governments. Then, trampling all democratic norms and practices and through abuse of state governors' office to bribe and purchase MLAs, the elected governments of Pondicherry, Sikkim, Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh were dismissed one by one by the Central Congress(I) government. Extremists were

planted in the Punjab agitation and on the plea of curbing the extremist activities military operation was launched in Punjab. Through its education and cultural policies all along the Central Congress(I) Government has not only undermined the common people's right to education and the autonomy of educational institutions, it has unleashed a stream of decadent culture to drown the country's youth force in depravity.

All these anti-people policies and measures of the Congress(I) Governments at the Centre and in the states have made the party unpopular and the people's discontent has been bursting forth here and there throughout the country. Moreover, total demolition of democratic norms and practices within the Congress(I) in all these years has reduced the party into shambles. It was in this situation that Indira Gandhi had been examining the idea of a presidential form of government in the place of the existing cabinet form of government to wholly concentrate the administrative power in the hands of the executive and it is also well known that before her assassination she was making all sorts of calculations regarding when to hold or not the Lok Sabha elections. In this reality, could the people give a massive mandate to the ruling party to pursue further its anti-people policies and measures? And is it not true that not only the opposition parties but senior Congress(I) leaders, too, discussed during the poll campaign the prospect and desirability of an opposition coalition government at the Centre after the polls? And would not a public jubilation have been witnessed across the country if there was the least truth behind this claim for massive popular mandate for the Congress (I) at the polls?

Indeed, very strange things have happened in this election. Not only was a concerted bid there by the entire mass media controlled by the government and the monopoly houses to

project the Congress(I) as the choice before the people at the polls, the entire process of election—right from preparation of electoral rolls to counting of ballot papers—has been rigged in a very planned way. Names of large numbers of genuine voters have been deleted from electoral rolls at most places while bogus and under age voters have been included in their place. Money power has been used freely and on an unprecedented scale. Forcible booth capture has been part of electioneering in some states right from the first Lok Sabha election, but this time policemen and personnel of the security forces were deployed to carry out the capturing operation at many places. These are but the visible tip of the submerged iceberg. From all that have and have not leaked out in the press, namely the fact of countless ballot boxes with broken seals, number of ballot papers found in ballot boxes exceeding the figures given by presiding officers (in Form 16) by 25% in many places, unprecedented voting percentages—reaching 100% mark in some places—even though large numbers of voters in the northern part of the country had to shut themselves in for a severe cold wave, it is an inescapable conclusion that the election has been rigged extensively by a centralised administrative rigging machinery.

With numerous instances coming to the public knowledge before the polls about large scale malpractices resorted to by the governments at the Centre and at the states in the form of blatant abuse of the government controlled media for artificial polarisation of the public opinion in favour of the ruling party, free use of black-money to buy the unemployed youths in particular for the same electoral purpose and shameless spending from the public exchequer for distribution of pre-poll favours through Panchayats and other local bodies our party had demanded of the Chief Election Commissioner his imme-

diated intervention to stop these malpractices which went against a free and fair poll. But no action worth the name was taken.

After the polls, pointing to instances of extensive riggings throughout the country in general and particularly in Amethi, Rae Barreilly, etc, our party has demanded immediate probe into these incidents and that the manipulated polls at the most glaring constituencies be declared null and void (text of the letter to the Election Commission printed in this issue).

As a matter of fact, administrative rigging has become a feature of election in our country since 1971. The point is that, as we showed on previous occasions too, the ruling class is backing up at the polls its chosen party or parties by money power, mafia gangs, media propaganda towards artificial polarisation and patternisation of the public opinion and, to avoid any risks still persisting, by resorting to centralised administrative rigging in order to install a government of its own choice and get its interests served. On the eve of this election too, it was pointed out in the election policy document of our party entitled 'SUCI's Clarion Call on Lok Sabha Poll': "Whether this election will be held at gun point as in Assam or under an elaborate arrangement of administrative rigging by the ruling class, making a mockery of the people's verdict only to install its chosen party or parties at the Centre and at the states where election will be held, is entirely its own choice."

This mockery perpetrated in the name of the Lok Sabha election is part of the bourgeois onslaught on the people's democratic rights in general and their right to franchise in particular. Of course, this onslaught has not been mounted nakedly or so overtly as in the case of clamping of the draconian acts or suppression of mass movements. The attack comes from behind and surreptitiously while the people stand in the

queues in the hope of exercising their right to elect their representatives. Never before, however, was the process of eliciting the people's verdict tampered with so brazenly as this time. The whole operation of befooling the people appears to have been carried out by professional swindlers, although in their over-zealousness perhaps they left many a finger print giving clue to the conspiracy of rigging the election.

Through this election, virtually a one party rule has been clamped at the Centre. Thus rigging on an unprecedented scale shows how keenly the ruling bourgeoisie feels it as a class necessity at this crucial juncture to preserve stability of the system by manipulating a massive mandate for the Congress (I) led by Rajiv Gandhi through allout centralised administrative rigging all over the country. That is to say, the more incompetent or lacklustered becomes the leader of its most trusted agent—the Congress(I)—the more is felt the class necessity to rig the elections on wider scales to ensure victory for the party. It is from this urge that the bourgeoisie resorted to such unprecedented rigging this time in a bid to create artificially a confidence among the people about the competence of Rajiv Gandhi's 'stewardship'. In this way, by maintaining a show of parliamentary democracy, the ruling capitalist class is taking recourse to constitutional dictatorship at the Centre as a means to foist allout fascism on the country and gain a fresh lease of life. Besides, the other reason for bourgeoisie's resort to this scale of rigging must be for circumventing any danger to stability in the event of large scale defection from Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I). Thus, in the total bourgeois design to foist allout fascism on the country, administrative rigging is being resorted to by the ruling class as one means among many others in its hand today. For long our party has been emphasising the need to build up broad based united democratic mass movements all over the

(Contd. on page 5)

Unite to resist impending danger of allout fascism

(Contd. from page 4)
country as the only deterrent against this bourgeois design. We urged repeatedly the left democratic and opposition parties, in particular after the Central Congress (I) Government had mounted naked onslaughts in Sikkim, Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh, to come forward and join hands in this effort. But they never heeded our appeal and that only helped the ruling party. Had the opposition parties stood up unitedly in response to our appeal, the ruling class could not have manipulated the election results in this way, at least its crime could be exposed to the people more easily.

The much trumpeted opposition conclave was instead sought to be shaped out from only an electoral point of view, but even to this end the conclave could not mature into an opposition electoral unity because of the pragmatic approach of the opposition parties, clash of individual interests of the opposition leaders and the clandestine liaison of many of its partners with the Congress(I). It is well-known that both the super powers, in pursuit of their policy of extension of respective spheres of influence, are intervening in the internal political affairs of different countries and backing up their chosen parties in these countries. The foreign policy of the Congress(I) the most trusted political agent of the Indian ruling capitalist class, has been shaped out in a manner as will allow it to hobnob with both the USSR and countries under its hegemony and the USA and its allies, while it tries all the time to remain at the head of the non-aligned movement for economic and political leverage. That is why, before, during and after the polls, both the US imperialist rulers and the Soviet revisionist leadership have backed up and projected the Congress(I) and welcomed before the world public opinion the manipulated election results as a massive victory for the ruling party subserving the Indian capitalist class.

The Congress(I) made

'national unity' its main slogan—device at the polls, claiming itself synonymous with 'national unity'. But have not the people all over the country experienced at the cost of their blood that it is the Congress(I) which is the main architect today to foster, abet and aid communal, parochial, casteist, regional and all divisive forces and violences? Who does not know of the direct involvement of this party in the recent communal and parochial disturbances all over the country and, latest, in the Sikh massacres in Delhi and elsewhere? Pointing to the strange fact of switching on and switching off of the anti-Sikh violence, the Central Committee of our party had alerted the people, on the 14th December, the day following announcement for Lok Sabha Poll, to remain vigilant so that the task of unearthing the plot behind Indira Gandhi's ghastly assassination and of punishing the plotters and perpetrators of the heinous crime of assassination and of letting loose the countrywide orgy of anti-Sikh violence may not be allowed to be pushed aside in the wake of the election drum-beating, nor the sentiments and ill-feelings created be allowed to be cashed in during the election campaign. The tragedy is that the chief criminal of communalism today boasts around as the symbol of 'National Unity'! The shameless and rampant exploitation of the communal, parochial, casteist and all sorts of divisive prejudices and sentiments among the people by the Congress(I) and other bourgeois and petty bourgeois parliamentary parties for their petty electoral gains corroborates our party's analysis long back that, owing to the failure of the compromising leadership of the national bourgeoisie in the independence movement of our country to carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolution, nationalism and political practices in this country became religion-oriented and inevitably Hindu

majority community religion oriented.

It is also a tragedy that the CPI(M) leadership should feel so keen to discover a 'sympathy wave' for the Congress(I) although it is clearly evident that the ruling party and the mass propaganda media had sought to create the fiction of a 'sympathy wave' only as a cover for the wholesale administrative rigging. Otherwise, where was evident this 'sympathy wave'? And, after all this history of anti-people acts of the Congress(I), how could a 'sympathy wave' really arise for the party, notwithstanding its frantic and continued effort to create sympathy for the late Indira Gandhi?

It is not then difficult to realize that the CPI(M) is harping on a theme of "sympathy wave" only in a bid to cover up the fact that its poll reverses in West Bengal, despite the party being in control of the state administration, is due to its non-left and anti-people policies and suppression of legitimate democratic mass movements. On the other side, in Andhra Pradesh and Kashmir, the Congress (I) failed to register a win because of the strong anti-Congress(I) feelings among the people of these states following the undemocratic dismissal of the elected governments in these states by the central Congress (I) government headed by Indira Gandhi. It should not be overlooked that in all states where the Congress(I) could not enforce a massive victory the industrial houses and the administration distributed favour proportionately between the party in power and the Congress (I) as part of the bourgeois design for the regional and all-India parties.

This election brings home the lesson again that the only course before the people to foil the bourgeois design of foisting all-out fascism is to build up broadbased legitimate democratic mass movements all over the country on the edifice of higher culture

and ethics to restore, preserve and extend democratic rights, norms and values and to force the governments at the Centre and at the states adopt pro-people policies. A victory for the Congress(I) at the polls is not a case for the people to rejoice over. The promises held out by the ruling party during the poll campaign will soon be shelved and this most trusted agent of the bourgeoisie will pursue more anti-people policies in the days ahead and adopt still more repressive measures in its service to the cause of the crisis-ridden ruling class.

It should also be carefully noted that since this manipulated election result could not be made wholly believable to the people despite the concerted media propaganda, the ruling party has taken to a course of holding bilateral talks with leaders of opposition parties in a bid to forestall united opposition pro-

test against the crimes committed at the polls. Whatever the promises from the ruling party be about taking a fair attitude to the minisculed opposition, the opposition leaders should make the contents of their talks public, otherwise the ruling party's design cannot be exposed fully to the people.

We urge upon all left democratic and opposition parties to ponder if the time is not ripe yet to come forward and unite in the task of the hour. Or, will they allow themselves to be at the mercy of the ruling party for their bare existence? All well meaning, democratic minded and peace loving people in general and the rank and file and supporting masses of the left democratic and opposition parties in particular have a positive role to play at this hour. They must step forward, realizing what history ordains them at this hour and impress upon the leaders of these parties to unite for the people's cause and take to the only deterrent course—the course of united mass movement.

Letter to Chief Election Commissioner

(Contd. from page 1)

2. It has been reported in a section of the press that re-polling was ordered in at least 246 Booths covering 6 states (reports Basumati, a Bengali daily on 26.12.84)—probably highest in number since 1952. Re-polling in some 100 booths more was demanded by different political parties, although not conceded by you.

3. Widespread complaints regarding defective electoral rolls which means, among others, wanton exclusion of genuine voters, large-scale inclusion of bogus and under-age voters has also been admitted by you. We are enclosing herewith a separate letter on this particular point*

4. Reports of a cold wave on and around the

* In a separate letter of even date. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee demanded of the Chief Election Commissioner, extension of date for inclusion of voters' list.—Ed. P. Era.

day of poll, particularly in Bihar, UP and Punjab taking heavy tolls of lives, came out in the press. It is astounding to note the high percentage of poll in Bihar and UP despite this cold wave. We choose to take up the case of a constituency—Amethi in particular—for its obvious importance. It has come out in a section of the press that when the D.M. expected at best 50% polling, he wondered at the high record of 75.80% of the votes being polled in this constituency—the figure being discovered during the final stage of counting.

An Officer, who chose to remain 'anonymous', confided that there were instructions from the 'top' to make Rajiv Gandhi victorious by a 'record' vote. It seems that the men in charge, in their overzealousness, could not find time to cover up the palpable and gross anomaly involved in it and the con-

(Contd. on page 8)

Some aspects of the last parliamentary poll

ELECTION 'FREE' BUT NOT 'FAIR'

"Chief Election Commissioner Trivedi has described the election campaign as dignified. But the truth is that it has been the bitterest and the most undignified election campaign since Independence.

In private consultations Congress(I) members of Parliament say that the party has been able to alert Hindu voters in North India of the danger of disintegration following the Punjab crisis and Indira Gandhi's assassination. They expect Hindus to vote in a big way for the Congress(I).

Then there were the subtle and not so subtle Hindu communal sentiment and the exploitation of anti-Sikh feeling. Money power was in evidence everywhere. In Delhi alone nearly ten crores of rupees have been spent in various ways and under various guises. The government's intelligence machinery was fully used—or misused... Telephones were tapped and mail was intercepted... What the Congress(I) has done in the current election campaign is to foul the springs of democracy in such a systematic manner as to render the operation irreversible... as if the fatal poison gas from Bhopal has enveloped Delhi and the whole country, suffocating what remains of our institutions and sapping what little has managed to survive of our values".

K. R. Sundar Rajan in The Sunday Observer, 23.12.84

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITS HISTORY

"Give unity a hand" reads the current election theme of the party, spelt out in posters and full-page newspaper advertisements and designed—for the first time in its history by a professional advertising agency, Rediffusion, whose foreign consultants are Ted Bates, the US agency that serviced the prize account, President Reagan, in 1980 as well as 1984 elections... the offi-

Press Information Bureau is now set in gear to dish out in the guise of news, amusingly tall claims: 'No more starvation death' says one released on November 17.

—India Today, 15.12.84

"For the first time in recent years the phrase 'Akhand Bharat' became relevant in north India. The last time the phrase was used by the Hindu Mahasabha in the early fifties."

The Week, January, 6-12, '85

P.M.'S CONSTITUENCY—IF ALL WERE THE SAME!

"Rajiv Gandhi has given to Amethi," in the words of his close aide Arun Singh, "ongoing and underconstruction projects worth nearly Rs. 1,000 crore, with at least one big project in each of the five assembly segments. The 40-crore HAL project at Korwa in Amethi, the Rs. 25 crore BHEL plant in Jagdishpur, the Rs. 750 crore fertiliser plant in Tiloi, the Rs. 10-crore Samrat cycles plant in Gauriganj and the Vespa scooter plant of Lohia Machines in Salon. The modern 400-bed Sanjoy Gandhi hospital at Munshiganj would be ready by next year. Besides, between 1981 and now we have increased the acreage of irrigated land from 15 per cent to 70 per cent."

—The Week December 23-29, 1984

"FAIR ELECTION" OF THE CONGRESS (I) GENERAL SECRETARY!

Arun Nehru, AICC(I) General Secretary and close aide of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is credited with many qualities, the latest being the gift of prophecy. Soon after his renomination from Rae Bareli, Nehru had said in an interview to an Allahabad-based English daily that he apprehend that some elements would 'bump off' some candidate from Rae Bareli in order to have the election countermanded.

...HarSwaroop Baj-

pai, 53, ...an independent candidate (according to district Magistrate Pulak Chatterjee) was found on the road side near Pahu-rawan village on the Lucknow-Rae Bareli highway by the Bachrawan police at 11.30 on the night of December 23. His hands and feet were tied with rope and an electric wire was tied tightly round his neck. Blood was oozing out of his nose and ears and there was sign of an injury on the head.

...Bajpai was admitted to the Rae Bareli district hospital at 3.10 in the morning of December 24 (first taking to the police station and from there to Primary Health Centre and finding no doctor again taking back to police station) when it takes 40 minutes to reach the district hospital.

...Bajpai's widow has accused Arun Nehru of having her husband killed by goondas... as he retired three days before in favour of J. N. Mishra (the candidate of Sanjoy Manch)... to prevent the latter's victory.

...Dr. Jauhari, Chief Medical Officer of the Rae Bareli district hospital said that when Bajpai was brought to hospital 'his pulse and blood pressure were so low that they could not be registered'. Still, the doctor certified that J. Bajpai died at 8-30 a.m. on 24th (after the polls started) records regarding Bajpai, are missing.

...Meanwhile the State government has handed over investigation of the murder to the state CID and Chief Election Commissioner R. K. Trivedi had ordered... all documents relating to the case be sealed."

—The Week, January 6-12, 1985

TWO NOTABLE EXAMPLES!

"Baghpat has by now become notorious for the kind of intimidation practised by lathi-wielding Jat followers of Charan Singh. As usual thousands of Harijan and non-Jat voters were prevented from casting their votes and as usual their votes were cast *en bloc* by impersonators... (this time) the Harijans (Contd. on page 7)

BHOPAL

RAIL-ROKO MOVEMENT

The recent Bhopal tragedy which did cost incalculable damage in terms of human lives and sufferings created deep wrath among the people all over the country against the authority.

In fact it was the utter negligence of the multinational company to ensure the necessary safety system on the one hand and the criminal neglect on the part of the state government of Madhya-pradesh to keep a virigilant eye on the company's adherence to safety standard on the other which were solely responsible for the man made calamity or disaster perhaps the biggest of the century.

To launch a mighty protest against this heinous crime and realise the legitimate demands for the victims of the tragedy, the Jowarili Gaskanda Morcha, organised a programme of movements.

Under the leadership of the said Morcha, the Rail-Roko movement was launched at the Bhopal railway station on the last 12.1.85 at 2.30 pm. More than a thousand people took active part in the said programme. The police,

present in huge numbers, made arrest of nearly two hundred participants including seventy women. Even the children were arrested. Later at night they released all but the leaders including Comrades Alope Pratap Singh, Bibhuti Dutta Jha, Satya Narayan, Ajoy Singh, Kisore Umrekar, Suresh, Promode Kumar and Dr. Anil Sadgopal. They were kept in the jail custody till 20.1.85. It was decided that a mass rally would be organised on the next 16.1.85, as a protest against the police action.

The 3rd January—incidentally the day completing one month following the Bhopal Tragedy—was observed as a Protest Day by the Morcha.

On that day a well organised protest rally of nearly ten thousands people with posters and banners and shouting slogans on various demands started from the Union Carbide office to place their 32 point charter of demands before the Chief Minister of the state. The huge rally which gathered before the Chief Minister's residence were speak out the truth (Contd. on page 7)

KULTALI

(Contd. from page 3) village of the same Chuprihara Anchal were murdered by the congressmen with poison in 1967 when we were a constituent of the UF Ministry but even then there was no politics of reprisal from us. And today, when the Congress (I) after its massive victory on an all-India basis, has formed practically an opposition-less government at the Centre and even has made perceptible advance in this state, how hollow it sounds and absurd is the proposition tried to be made out that SUCI is killing Congress (I) workers in these areas! We believe that the people will be able to see through the game..

We have already met the Chief Minister of West Bengal and urged upon him to put an end to Congress(I) terrorism in the

wide areas of the Kultali P.S. and to institute an impartial enquiry of the incidents. We demand that normalcy be immediately restored in all areas of Kultali P.S., steps be taken for ensuring the safety and security of those who had to leave the villages as also their free movements and usual livelihood guaranteed. The first step necessary is to create such a congenial atmosphere where people can speak out the truth without least fear and apprehension. After that the true and correct version of the incidents that took place on 14th, 15th and 19th January, be brought to light through a Judicial Enquiry.

(SUKOMAL DAS GUPTA)
Secretary
West Bengal State
Committee
S. U. C. I.

Some aspects of the last parliamentary poll

(Contd. from page 6) were bold enough to register their protest at this form of booth capturing by refusing to vote even after a repoll was ordered in some booths.

"What is reported to have happened in Amethi is equally worthy of condemnation. More than one complaint to the Election Commission has testified to the fact of unprecedented and large-scale electoral mal-practices in Rajiv Gandhi's constituency, some of which were fortuitously even seen by newspaper reporters and photographed by press cameramen."

And all this from the Constituency of Mr. Clean!

"Emerging from the various reports is the clear impression that the Congress(I) has surpassed the earlier record in aggressive tactics during the elections. The most charitable interpretation possible for this is that contrary to its professed public claim, the party this time really felt vulnerable at the hustings."

—The Herald Review
January 6-12 '85

SYMPATHY WAVE BEFORE AND AFTER

"We are not aiming to cash in on the so-called sympathy wave after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. We know there is sympathy, but we do not know if it has anything to do with voting pattern."

—AICC(I) General Secretary, Moopanar quoted in India Today, 15.12.84

"Rajiv's mother has died; may be the sympathy will pull him through in Amethi. But not all Congress(I) leaders have lost their mother".

—Biswanath Mukhedjee,
CPI leader

"The Congress(I) which won four seats in this state (West Bengal—Ed. P. Era) in the last elections will not be able to better its performance. If there is anything called a Rajiv wave then God save this country."

—Jyoti Basu (Telegraph,
25.12.84, 26.12.84)

"The Congress (I) would not get majority in

the Lok Sabha and the opposition parties would be called upon to form a government. In West Bengal... the Congress(I) assessment was that it would get two seats but as a face-saving device had added a zero to make the figure twenty."

—Saroj Mukherjee, CPI-(M) State Secretary, at a press conference on 21.12.84 (The Economic Times, 22.12.84)

"We could not realise a latent sympathy wave. Indira dead is more powerful than alive".

—Jayoti Basu

"...the electorate in its disenchantment with the Congress (I) will carry out its own selection irrespective of the number of candidates. A combination of these factors will result in the rejection of the Congress party at the coming polls". ... India has entered an era of coalition and a 'government of national unity' will emerge"—Atal Behari Bajpayee, BJP President in his interview with Blitz 8.12.84

"I think a sympathy wave, not discernible before the poll coupled with the quest for stability... heavily influenced the elections."

—Atal Behari Bajpayee, BJP President — Herald Review January 6-12, 1985

"The day Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated... I had told Dr. Bapu Kaldate (the General Secretary of the Janata Party—Ed. P. Era) that the fate of the opposition was sealed. But as we were going to the hustings, I could not have made this statement publicly... the sympathy factor was very much there. The opposition made a mistake in its assessment."

—Chandra Sekhar, Janata Party President to Sunday Observer, 30.12.84

"It is a vote for Hindu India. The constant repetition in a very wrong way, of Anandpur Sahib resolution and no mention of minorities in his (Rajiv Gandhi's) speech all point to the fact that Hindu vote was being sought... administrative machinery was

misused... booths were captured and the role of money power... if democracy has to survive in this country, some thing drastic has to be done so far as the electoral process is concerned".

—Jagjivan Ram—Herald Review January 6-12, 1985
Though outdone, still spelling out the truth!

"It was possible mainly because of the large-scale rigging by the ruling party. There are innumerable instances of the official machinery being misused... where was the 'sympathy wave, in villages? It was all a creation of you journalists".

—Charan Singh to Sunday Observer, 30.12.84

'SYMPATHY WAVE' NOT TOUCHED

"For the people of

Andhra, so soon after the Congress(I) had tried to oust a popularly elected government it was impossible to believe, that the party which had created such discord in the state could ever be the guardian of national unity. All the six union ministers were defeated... of the two prominent Congressmen who won—Vengal Rao and T. Anjaiah—the first was gifted victory by the two communist parties and the other... (because of) his well-known alienation from Rajiv Gandhi...

...in far away Sikkim sitting Congress(I) member was defeated by former Chief Minister Nar Bahadur Bhandari whose popularly elected government was the first to be ousted unceremoniously after Mrs. Gandhi had launched her campaign against (unwanted) state governments... (and) at the

time of writing, Farooq Abdullah's National Conference also seems to be heading for victory—in the valley...

—M. Rahaman in
Sunday Observer,
30.12.84

'SYMPATHY' WAVE A COVER

"The sympathy wave, which had got greatly eroded by the time of the elections... was used as a facade for rigging election far outgiving what Bhutto did in Pakistan in 1977"—said Lt General S. K. Sinha who fought the elections as an Independent candidate from the Patna Lok Sabha constituency."

The Statesman
31.12.84

WHOSE VOICE ?

"The People will get the Parliament we decide"
Arun Nehru, quoted in
—SUNDAY 2-8. 12. 84

Bhopal : Rail-Roko Movement

(Contd. from page 6) as the Chief Minister was out of the capital, it was decided that a Stay-in would continue till his return. More than a thousand people took part in the Stay-in programme.

On the following day, a small deputation which included Dr. Anil Sadgopal, Comrades, Alok Protap Singh, Bibhuti Dutta Jha, on behalf of the Morcha and twenty five members from the different Mohalla Committees met the Chief Minister and discussed the relevant issues. But it was a fruitless exercise. Being urged by the deputationists the Chief Minister himself placed his proposals before the gathering. It was not at all convincingly.

The Stay-in continued till 12. 1. 85.

The main five demands of the movement were:—

- (i) The date of the closing down of the Union Carbide must be immediately declared.
- (ii) All affected persons must have to be provided with modern scientific medical treatment and facilities.

(iii) Those who have lost their earning husbands or sons, or any earning member of the family must have to be given P.F. benefits lifelong or they must get employment according to their qualification and ability.

(iv) Every affected person must have to be given a sum of two thousand rupees as a financial help.

(v) Those who have temporarily lost their working ability must have to be given unemployment allowance till they regain their fitness.

The movement had no doubt achieved some success. The authority had already conceded the other demands, partially.

Before concluding, one would like to highlight some aspects of the movement. From the very beginning the CPI, Congress(I) and Janata party tried their best to disrupt the movement.

While the Morcha demanded a financial help of rupees two-thousand for every affected person the CPI leader Mr. Bal-

krishna Gupta in a statement appealed to the Chief Minister to give instead rupees five hundred only. The said statement included many a thing detrimental to the cause of the victims and the movement.

It also came to light that some persons belonging to the CPI and Janata party were in collusion with the police and helped the latter to arrest the leaders. Not only that. To confuse the people and disrupt the movement they took various means. Through propaganda and publicity, they tried to convince the people that the movement had been withdrawn. Thus they practised utter falsehood to disrupt the movement and to meet this object they got the help of some newspapers.

Among the different redeeming features of the movement one deserves particular mentioning.

Under the leadership of Comrades Krishna Bai and Kamala Devi, a large number of women participated in the movement. They manifested praiseworthy determination and fighting spirit even in the face of heinous atrocity perpetrated by the uncivilised police force.

To Election Commission

(Contd. from page 5)
sequent reaction in the mass mind thereafter. Perhaps, their motto was "nothing succeeds like success"!

5. A Calcutta-based English daily also published photographs showing a lump of stamped ballot papers in the said Amethi constituency. Another Bengali daily reported that voters standing in the queue were openly distributed money. When asked by the reporter the answer came that they were paying back 'loans' and nothing else! This also happened in the said 'honourable' Amethi constituency!

6. In the Rae Bareilly Constituency, an Independent candidate died on the 23rd December night but his dead body was reportedly removed to some unknown place obviously to avoid countermanding of the elections in this constituency. We demand a thorough probe of this horrifying fact to unearth truth.

7. Mr. R. K. Ganesan, Secretary to the Commission, (reports The Statesman on December 24) told about 'violent and silent' booth capturing in some constituencies. By 'silent' booth capturing meant the cases where supporters of a particular party forcibly prevented non-supporters, particularly weaker sections from exercising their franchise (and also apparently impersonated the latter).

We hope you have seen the photographs of teenagers either casting the votes or standing in the queue published in some dailies. But what Mr. Ganesan or these dailies did not report or rather failed to take note of was that of elaborate arrangement of large-scale administrative rigging resorted to by the ruling parties at the Centre and in the States to win the elections by manipulation which surely add to its gravity and dimension.

8. You might have noted that all political parties have alleged on different occasions in the past as well as at present of large-scale administrative rigging, denial of which

always came from those quarters who were the actual beneficiaries. From our little experience we can refer to some palpable features which clearly point to this fact of administrative rigging. Let alone our experience in the past, this time also there have been instances galore of gross discrepancy between the number of votes (recorded in the Form 16 and duly countersigned by the respective Presiding Officers) being polled at different booths and the actual number of ballot papers found during counting. Reports are also there of a good number of ballot papers without having any signature of the Presiding Officers. Ballot boxes with broken seals, paper seals bearing no signature, discrepancies in the signature of the Presiding Officers—between the one in Form 16 and those in the ballot papers—and supply of previously stamped ballot papers to the voters have been reported and duly protested by us in writing, but in vain. It is also curious that in so many cases the indelible ink left no mark and it just vanished, defeating the very purpose for which it is used. You can easily understand what these features really point to. These are typical features of rigging done with the help of administration. There are also innumerable complaints of manipulation by the Counting Officials even during counting. So it is clear that starting from the stage of preparation of electoral rolls to that of counting manipulation is a common feature.

9. The role of industrial houses and black money mostly acting in favour of the ruling party, fabulous expenditure by some parties far exceeding the ceiling set up by the Election Commission, bribing the youth forces for election campaigning, inciting communal and caste feelings against the model code of conduct, drainage of huge money from the exchequer in different forms including that of nursing and nourishing some 'favoured' constituencies called for stringent

measures by the Election Commission to the extent of declaring the election of these constituencies null and void if the charges are established. We urge the Election Commission to exercise its discretion in the interest of ensuring free and fair elections and not to turn the whole exercise into a mockery.

10. The dimension of this mockery becomes more vivid when you take into account the unequal rights enjoyed by the political parties with regard to their access to mass media like the Doordarshan, AIR, and also the monopoly press owing to invidious distinction between them as recognised, registered and unregistered—thus offering some parties plenty of opportunity and depriving others from the same. Not only this; the unbridled misuse of government controlled media and monopoly press clearly prepares the mass mind in favour of the ruling party and helps bringing about artificial polarization to the detriment of the principle of democratic elections.

You are aware that this time there prevailed serious doubts even among certain quarters of the ruling party at the Centre about the outcome of the election results in regards to the possibility of winning absolute majority, not to speak of two-third majority in the parliament. But this time the result has been a 'miracle' surpassing all previous records.

Judged in this particular context, the task of investigating the charge of certain quarters of the mal-practices should be seriously taken up by the Election Commission in order to prevent the whole exercise of election throughout the country from becoming a costly mockery of people's verdict. Taking all these into account, we have two humble suggestions to make—one immediate, the other long term—for your active consideration.

First, we propose formation of a high-power commission to go into the reported mal-practices particularly in (i) Amethi and (ii) Bagpat constituencies—the first one returning the Prime Minister and the second a leader of the

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's statement on Elections results

Calcutta, 31.12.84

"The way the Congress(I) came to power with unheard of absolute majority reducing the opposition virtually to almost nil pushing the country towards one-party-rule leaving no scope for the people's voice to be reflected in the parliament, poses a grave danger to our democracy. This will, no doubt, create favourable condition for bringing about fascism in our country.

"With deep agony and concern, we urge upon all well meaning, democratic minded, freedom-loving people in general and Left Democratic Opposition Parties in particular, to come forward and build up a country-wide united democratic mass movement which alone can safeguard people's interest and act as a deterrent to the impending danger of all out fascism, the worst enemy of mankind and civilisation."

Appeal to left democratic and opposition parties

(Contd. from page 1)
fore and upto the counting time along with various other methods of rigging adopted. The use of Government controlled media on an unprecedented large scale in favour of the ruling Congress(I) party and role of the monopoly press in continuously creating pro-Congress(I) psychology in the minds of the people with the design to make the manipulated results credible, deserve to be condemned.

The S.U.C.I. Central Committee requests you to consider seriously the dangerous way the election results have been manipulated and the alarming situation posed through the opposition-less one party-rule in the post-election

Opposition—as a kind of sample survey.

Second, we propose that Election Commission should be manned by an independent staff having no connection with either the Central or the state governments, who should be men of integrity and honesty and be given the responsibility of the entire conduct of the elections.

Hope, you will kindly consider these suggestions seriously and let us know your valued opinion and decision at the earliest.

With regards,
Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

Nihar Mukherjee
General Secretary
SUCI

days and find out ways and means to face it effectively.

The S.U.C.I. Central Committee strongly feels that country-wide people's protest movement should be organised against this. And, those parties of the opposition who have representation in the newly constituted parliament should immediately adopt suitable programme of protest-actions unitedly. Those may include resignation of all Opposition M.P.s in protest, or boycott of the sessions of this rigged parliament or other effective forms of people's movement outside in accordance with the democratic aspirations of our people.

S.U.C.I. did also approach and request you to organise united people's movement against the danger of impending allout Fascism and at this crucial hour is again approaching you to consider the proposal in all seriousness because such a country-wide democratic mass movement can alone act as a real deterrent to Fascism, the worst enemy of mankind and civilisation.

Our Party is very much anxious to have talks with you in details immediately to shape out the idea of a united people's movement.

Expecting immediate response from you.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/-

(NIHAR MUKHERJEE)
General Secretary
SUCI

Editor in Chief—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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