

## A REVIEW

# Ninth Lok Sabha Polls And After

The Central Congress(I) Government led by Rajiv Gandhi has not only been humbled at the hustings, but also has been virtually rejected by the people. We congratulate the common people of our country to bring out this welcome development which we consider significant for so many reasons.

### WHY SIGNIFICANT

First, the ouster of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre has taken place in an election which has not only been far from free and fair, but has been an exercise in criminality, barbarity and malpractice, too, turning the battle of ballots into one of bullets to put our heads down in shame before the world. In view of the unprecedented toll of lives taken recklessly on the days of the poll and afterwards and the massive rigging resorted to, violent as also silent, at the behest of the ruling parties by way of an unending flow of black money, flexing of muscle power and using foul machineries for the purpose—the 'magical 3 M's' so

to say — we cannot but point out that our apprehension as stated in the Statement of Policy on the Ninth Lok Sabha Polls released on 6th November last "that this Lok Sabha Poll is going to be the most corrupt and filthiest of all" has come true. True to our apprehension all the tall promises the Rajiv Gandhi Government had made in the Electoral Reforms Act of stringent measures and stern action against those indulging in malpractices during the elections have also been proved to be a hoax. And, top of all, what happened in Amethi, the constituency from where Rajiv Gandhi himself contested, ridiculed contemptuously the concept of the so-called people's

verdict. It is no wonder, of course, for a man like Rajiv Gandhi and his party, the Congress(I), whose track record, to say the least and as is well-known to the people, is full of corrupt practices coupled with a high degree of criminalisation of politics and attempts to take the country towards the abyss of all-out fascism by hook or by crook. It is indeed heartening to know that amorality in Amethi has shocked some eminent personalities whose timely response to the need of the hour has moved the public opinion throughout the world. The Election Commission had to order-repoll in some 97 booths in Amethi in the face of massive protests but it did not order repoll in the whole constituency, a demand which our party considers absolutely just and correct. To make the Election Commission take moves in the matter, it is known to all, even the President of India had to interfere, pointing finger to the gravity of the situation. All this is too bad a commentary on the neutral role the Election Commission is expected to perform.

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## Khudiram Centenary Observed in Calcutta

Khudiram, the martyr remains the symbol of valour and death-defying spirit. The martyrdom of Khudiram will ever remain the source of inspiration to those who strive to fight against social oppression and injustice.

Though the present rulers of our country spare no pain to obliterate the glorious chapter of the uncompromising trend of the anti-British imperialist struggle but to the people of our country that uncompromising struggle ever remains the

source of inspiration and pride. And Khudiram was the pioneer of that era of the uncompromising struggle. The martyrdom of Khudiram awakened the entire nation and hundreds of students and youth came

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Present on the dais on the Khudiram Centenary celebration : (from left) Com. Manik Mukherjee, Sri Sailesh Dey, Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Sri Bimal Dasgupta, Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta, Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee and Sri Prafulla Kumar Sen. Sri D. L. Sengupta, not seen here.

# Proletarian Era

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## Kultali : West Bengal

### Murder, arson, loot by CPI(M) with Police help

Discerning people knows how the SUCI, for pursuing the path of movement along people's pressing demands, is facing onslaughts at different places from vested class and administration. This is also true in West Bengal ruled by the CPI(M) and among all the districts the Kultali and Joynagar segment of South 24-Parganas top the list.

As before, the CPI(M) led antisocials with the backing of administration and police unleashed a reign of terror just after the last parliamentary election in West Bengal. On 9th December last, in the morning when poor peasants and the SUCI workers were engaged in harvesting at Nagenabad Mouza of Moipith - Baikunthapur Gram Panchayat under Kultali P.S., notorious CPI(M) antisocials who were earlier sheltered and utilised by the Congress(I) jotedars, pounced upon them and killed Com. Dilip Giri a promising SUCI worker and injuring many others among whom Com. Susen Maity, member, 24-Parganas District DY0 has been lying in a critical condition with severe spinal injury due to gun shot. Altogether 15 people were missing. More than 35 houses were gutted, along with paddy stacks, granaries, cow-shed and cattle. A child suffered severe burn injury.

This is no isolated incident. Since long poor

peasants, agricultural workers and sharecroppers have been recovering benami lands through powerful movements led by our party from the clutches of Congress(I) jotedars. The jotedars, failing to stall peasant movement sided with the CPI(M) using it as their weapon. The CPI(M), took the opportunity. Organisationally very weak there and cornered by mass movement led by the SUCI and its revolutionary politics, the CPI(M) has been taking heinous attempts to break the political base of the SUCI at Kultali. Torture, looting, murder etc. by antisocials, plundering paddy, police repression and firing extorting money etc. on the one hand and sheer opportunism to break people's moral backbone on the other failed to misguide the masses, who overcoming terror, gave a crushing defeat to the CPI(M) at Joynagar and Kultali is the only constituency in West Bengal where CPI(M) lost its deposit in the last Assembly polls. The happenings of Kultali is to be judged in this background. Last year too during harvest people resisted loot of paddy by the Congress(I) antisocials resulting ghastly murder of Com. Purnima Ghorui, a 13-year old and a Komsomol member. Her murderers yet move scot free. And most heinous of all is perhaps the demand of the CPI(M) men in connivance with

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## Battle Of Ballots Turned Battle Of Bullets

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It may be mentioned in passing that no less repugnant, if not reprehensible, has been the observation of the Election Commission on the announcement by Rajiv Gandhi, as the then Prime Minister, of the 'Indira Mahila Yojana' on November 19 last as a "borderline case" of violation of model code even though this announcement had come after the official declaration of elections. On the part of the Prime Minister it was blatantly improper, since the 'Indira Mahila Yojana' was planned not by the Congress(I) but by the Government of India as early as August 17 this year, the report of which came out in a section of the Press and was not contradicted by any quarter then. Be that as it may, coming to the point of our discussion, it may be observed that going by the incidents in Amethi, which have come to lime-light for obvious reasons, what has actually happened in the whole of the country during the elections is anybody's guess. Even after all these odds, the results show that the Congress(I) at the Centre has been thrown out of power.

Secondly, the defeat of the Congress(I) has taken place in a situation in which the non-Congress(I) parties had failed miserably to present a united face, let alone build up a countrywide united mass movement on a common minimum programme and a code of conduct which our party has been trying for since long as the need of the hour. One can easily understand that had this united movement on the burning problems of people's life against the repressive and corrupt regime of the Rajiv Gandhi Government been successfully built up, it would have been possible then to wipe out the Congress(I) in the elections and isolate this party from the people. The defeat of the Congress(I) even in the absence of such a united movement clearly shows that the urge to defeat

the Congress(I) in an attempt to come out of the stranglehold of corruption, nepotism, repression and attack on democratic rights of the people was so strong that regardless of the apprehension that no party was going to get an absolute majority in the Parliament the people have voted the Congress(I) out of power.

Thirdly, this brings the country to a new situation when the non-Congress(I) parties have to prove their bona fides as to their concern for the people through their conduct and policies to be pursued on each and every issue.

Fourthly, the future will tell whether all the non-Congress(I) parties on whom the responsibility of forming and supporting the new non-Congress(I) Government from outside has been devolved under the present circumstances will be able to rise to the people's expectation and conduct their activities on the basis of some well-founded principles or will be dictated by petty and narrow considerations, filthy personal ambitions and conflicts of ego the possibility of which cannot be ruled out. Such an outcome, if it comes true at any moment, will but prove to be disastrous for the people, delighting none else but the crafty and self-seeking leaders of the Congress(I).

### CONGRESS(I) STILL A DANGER

The defeat of the Congress(I) notwithstanding, the danger posed by it even now should not be underestimated. This danger will remain till this party is completely isolated from the people not only politically but also socially and giving a thorough exposure of its design through democratic mass movements built up painstakingly. It is the Congress(I) which still enjoys the support of the industrial, bureaucratic, military complex, and thereby poses the danger of staging a comeback in a favourable situation, serving as it

still does the aggregate interest of the ruling class, albeit under a so-called radical cloak. Incidentally, it may be recalled that this industrial-bureaucratic-military coterie acts as the extra-constitutional authority in the topmost echelon of administration and is the mastermind and stringpuller behind everything. Although out of power today, it does not mean that the Congress(I) has been thrown down to dust for good by the ruling class. We should better keep in mind how the Congress(I) led by Late Indira Gandhi had come back to power in 1980 although the party had suffered a far more ignominious defeat in 1977. Whether we like it or not, there is nothing to suggest that the same history may not be repeated in near future.

### CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT—NOT CHANGE OF STATE

Besides, it would be simply wrong to expect that with the new non-Congress(I) Government at the helm of affairs there would be redressal of the genuine grievances or the fundamental problems of the people today or tomorrow. To expect so would be far from reality. Because, we should not forget for a moment that although the Government has been changed at the Centre, the whole social system and the State structure remain unchanged, that is, they remain exploitative and capitalist. It should be clearly understood that the question of solution to the fundamental problems of the people's life does not depend on change of Government, far less does it depend on replacement of a dishonest leader by an honest leader at the Centre, if at all that comes about. It is the teachings of Marxism-Leninism—and everybody believing in Marxism-Leninism knows it well—that the State and the Government are not one and the same. The Government may be chan-

ged through an election but the State cannot. It is only through a fundamental or radical transformation of the present social set-up through anti-capitalist socialist revolution that the people's miseries can be brought to an end.

### CORRECT APPROACH TO PRO-PEOPLE MEASURES

This does not mean that since the new Government is a minority Government and since a fundamental change has not been and cannot be achieved through elections, therefore no pro-people measures can be adopted by this Government. In our Statement of Policy on the last Lok Sabha Polls we pointed out that even a hotch-potch combination of different parties in the Government might be made to adopt a pro-people orientation under the impact of powerful united democratic mass movements on the burning problems and legitimate demands of the people. Referring to the history of the United Front Government in West Bengal in 1967 and 1969, we pointed out in the same statement how with the participation of our party, the SUCI, in the Government with the policy that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements' real relief to an extent could be provided to the people and, above all, a surge of legitimate democratic mass movements could be unleashed to achieve the people's cause. This was a unique experiment in our country based on the thoughts of our beloved departed leader, teacher and guide and an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Obviously, the question of non-interference of police in legitimate democratic mass movements brings to focus the relationship between legality and legitimacy. Comrade Ghosh explained that everything legal might not be always legitimate, rational and humane in a class divided society. We refer to this background with the ob-

ject that in order to take advantage of the fall of the Rajiv Gandhi Government in favour of creating a congenial atmosphere and getting a breathing space for democratic mass movement and in order to attempt to bring about pro-people orientation of the new non-Congress(I) Government this is the only course left before the people. We are suggesting some concrete steps and putting forth some demands in the concluding part of this discussion, but before that some more issues are there which merit attention.

### DANGER OF COMMUNALISM

One such issue is the most dangerous problem of communalism, casteism, parochialism, separatism, etc., which has been vitiating the socio-political climate of our country for a long time to the serious detriment of the people's unity and interest. In the past we showed by concrete analysis how the Congress(I) had been acting as abettor, perpetrator and the main architect behind all these forces in its bid to extend the lease of life of the crisis-ridden capitalism by creating and perpetrating cleavage among the people while paying lip service to secularism and national integration. We had then analysed that there were parties and organisations ill known as communal. But to consider the Congress(I) as secular or a force of national integration was absolutely erroneous. We had therefore observed that historically the fight against authoritarianism and communalism had been interwoven and that the main edge of attack should, therefore, have been directed against the ruling Congress(I) while maintaining necessary vigil against all the communal forces. It should also be realised that both authoritarianism and communalism have gained in strength, taking advantage of the absence of democratic mass movements in the country.

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## ROLE OF BJP

We also viewed, particularly in the background of the Babri Masjid - Ramjanmabhoomi issue, the role of the BJP to patronise and lend active support to the Viswa Hindu Parishad's programme of Ramshila Puja, etc., as highly condemnable. The BJP speaks of positive secularism, but we fail to understand how the leaders of this party miss to take note of some pertinent points. Everybody knows that secularism recognises religion as the private affair of the believer. Forcing religion into social activities only helps grow religious fanaticism and bigotry. None should forget for a moment that India is a vast country inhabited by people professing so many religions, speaking different languages, practising different customs, habits, etc., but all of them live in a territory and are bound by the bond of Indian nationhood, howsoever weak that bond may be for historical reasons. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that politically India has attained nationhood long before, and as a country it is independent and sovereign. In regard to such a multi-lingual, multi-religious country like India we should realise that the question of integration of culture and thinking pattern of the people on the principle of democratization of society, even in the bourgeois sense of the term, assumes importance of a cornerstone of a civilised polity today. But it would be absolutely wrong to think that the Hindu and the Indian are synonymous terms, as the BJP leaders would have the people believe. Rather this type of thinking is patently chauvinist and poses a hidden threat to the minority community of this country. Obviously, this kind of thinking, however well-intentioned and based on the 'age-old Indian heritage', is bound to send a danger signal to the minority community on the one hand. And on the other, it refuses to recognise any change in the concept of values, ethics,

etc. But it is wrong to view any value or principle, or for that matter anything in this world as immutable and sacrosanct. And such a notion is bound to fail to cope up with the changing reality of the situation. Far more incompatible is the idea of the BJP which advises the minority community to be integrated with the majority community forming what it calls 'integral humanism' and which, according to the BJP, is the only panacea for the present socio-politico-religious malaise in our country. We consider integration — cultural, social and all else — a process and till that integration is really achieved, it should be clearly understood that it can-

not materialise at the dictate of anybody. Moreover, once real integration is achieved the question of identifying one community in which another community has been supposed to have been absorbed does not arise at all; rather a deep sense of alienation is bound to grow among the minority community, resulting in disintegration instead of integration. If we view this problem against this objective reality it becomes crystal clear that the main task to maintain communal harmony devolves naturally on the majority community.

For this reason, it should be remembered, that majority communalism is far more dangerous than minority communalism. And it should also be realised that the virus of majority communalism cannot be fought out by minority communalism and vice versa. Above all, the question of protecting the minority community has always been cherished by all sections of democratic minded and well-meaning people in our country. The BJP leaders claim that they do not practise Hindu communalism and as a

proof of it they say that their membership is not confined to the majority community only and there are many members in their party from the minority community also. While not contradicting this claim about the nature of the BJP's membership, we cannot forget that after all what matters most is the conduct and practice of a political party. The leaders of the BJP also claim to lay stress on the question of conformity between profession and practice and cleanness in politics. For obvious reasons, both the perception and understanding of our party differ fundamentally from those of the BJP on all issues. We are against all sorts of oppor-

## PROPOSAL OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

might have happened during the elections, now after the dust has settled it is high time all well-meaning, right thinking people came forward to fight out one of the greatest evils plaguing our country, that is, the evil of communalism in general and majority communalism in particular, and bring about amity among all sections of our people.

A few more issues are there which should be noted very carefully in this context. It is a fact that not a single political party or combination of parties like the National

same serves basically the interests of the vested class.

As regards the Janata Dal, it is a fact that it has been formed mainly from the breakaway force of the Congress(I). And it is also known that this Janata Dal is the main constituent of the National Front. It may be mentioned here in passing that although the Janata Dal talked of free and fair elections it could not maintain in so many constituencies what it had pledged, as a result of which our party has also been a victim in some states.

## CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND TWO-PARTY PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Coming back to the point that not a single party or combination of parties has been able to achieve an absolute majority in the Parliament, it should be understood clearly that the crisis of capitalism has come to such a pass that nothing has crystallized in the political arena through this election other factors notwithstanding. The vertical division among the monopolists, particularly in the FICCI, should not also be lost sight of. Now the way this crisis of Indian capitalism is getting accentuated day by day — although the move to form a 'National Government' has not matured now — there is nothing to wonder if the National Front led by the Janata Dal, the BJP and the Congress(I) and even the Lefts agree all to form a government of this kind in the name of championing the cause of national interest. It will be in reality to serve the interest of the vested class — whether by the marked bourgeois parties only or in combination with the social democrats.

A few words about the present role of the Congress(I) would be pertinent here. It is to be noted specially that the Congress(I) which is well known for 'horse trading' has shunned that path although it has emerged with a single party majority and, taking into

*Majority communalism far more dangerous than minority communalism*

Front has been able to achieve an absolute majority in the Parliament. This phenomenon of a hung Parliament did never happen since independence. Now at a stage, the support of the BJP on the one hand and of the Left parties on the other from outside was ensured, the BJP's proposal for formation of a National Government including the Congress(I), behind which, as reported in the Press, the present Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh had also approval, cannot but raise some serious questions. First of all, this very proposal for a National Government by the BJP makes it clear that the slogan of nationalism voiced so long by the Congress(I) has hardly any difference from the brand of nationalism of the BJP although the latter is presented to the people under the garb of Hindu religious revivalism. That means, the suggestion to form a government even with the Congress(I) whatever the anti-Congress(I) posture so long of the BJP, has been prompted by an intention to show that the BJP is no less a champion of the "national cause", although the

tunism and consider that higher culture and ethics should constitute the basis of all our activities—political, social, etc. In the present perspective we like to ask the BJP leaders a few pertinent questions. In the first place, how would they like to explain their election performances this time? It is known to all that the BJP President had said to the Press when the election results were coming out that his party expected to win in some 40 odd seats. Later on, this figure rose up, according to his statement, to 65 or so. But the fact is that the BJP has bagged 88 Lok Sabha seats which is certainly fantastic. Now after the way the dispute over Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi controversy was raised to a high pitch by the VHP with direct patronage from the BJP on the eve of the elections—if the fanning up of Hindu religious sentiments had anything to do with the voting pattern—may we ask which party has ultimately been the largest beneficiary, even outdoing the Congress(I), the party which was engaged very much in playing the so-called 'Hindu card'? Whatever

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## Khudiram Centenary Observed

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forward to lay down their lives for the cause of the country.

The 3rd December of this year was the birth centenary of Khudiram and as a prelude to the observance of the year-long birth centenary programme, a mammoth gathering was organised under the auspices of the DSO, DYO, MSS, Pathikrit and Komsomal at Subodh Mallik Square of Calcutta on that day. This gathering was significant having a different connotation in the matter of emotion, discipline and purposiveness. Not only the preannounced revolutionaries and the eminent educationists but a large number of freedom fighters and eminent personalities participated, despite old age and ill health to pay their respectful homage to Khudiram.

Different sections of people participated in the meeting. The students and youth outnumbered others. The workers of factories and offices as also peasants from farflung villages took part in the meeting.

Two well decorated processions, one from the Deshbandhu Park of North Calcutta and the other from the Ballygunge station of south Calcutta converged at the Subodh Mallik Square. Thousands of people thronged the routes through which these processions passed. These processions were decorated with a life size portrait of Khudiram and quotations of many eminent persons. The processions were reverberated with patriotic and mass songs.

The other attraction of this gathering was the procession of the Komsomal with burning torches. When one hundred volunteers of the Komsomal entered Subodh Mallik Square, starting from the pedestal of the statue of Khudiram, situated at some distance, with burning torches in their hands the entire gathering was bestirred with emotion. The young

volunteers vowed to become the true successor to the revolutionary martyr. Khudiram and paid him revolutionary homage in the military fashion.

Sri Prafulla Kumar Sen, the revolutionary freedom fighter presided over the meeting and the music squad of the DYO presented the opening song. Then the portrait of Khudiram was garlanded by Prof. Menoka Basu Roy of the MSS, Smt. Anjali Sen of the Pathikrit, Sri Rathin Sikdar of the DYO, Sri Shantu Gupta of the AIDSO, the revolutionaries Sri Prafulla Kumar Sen, Sri Ashoke Kumar De and Sri Bimal Das Gupta, Sri Sailesh Dey, the litterateur, Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Visva Bharati University and Com. Nihar Mukherjee, a freedom fighter and the General Secretary of the SUCI.

Sri Bimal Dasgupta, the respected revolutionary was the first speaker. In his speech he stressed the necessity of emulating from the life of Khudiram and other revolutionaries. He lamented the present state of affairs in the country and urged the youth to remove the present darkness. He deplored that the present national leaders in their narrow interest had become involved in divisive politics.

Dr. Pratul Ch. Gupta, said that the independence achieved by us was incomplete. The present turmoil in the country and the mutual clashes had not enhanced the glory of the people as the successor of Khudiram. He urged upon the people to ponder deeply over these questions for a permanent solution.

Sri Sailesh Day, said that Khudiram was hanged in 1908 but he lived in the inner most heart of the revolutionaries. The life of Khudiram inspired the revolutionaries in martyrdom. The song on Khudiram imbibed hun-

dreds of the youth and Asfakulla, Baikuntha Sukul and others were the successors of Khudiram and we must learn from the lives of these revolutionaries.

Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, said that Khudiram was hanged for his attempt to murder Kingsford. Again various murders were being committed at present in various parts of the country. But what a great difference between these two types of murder! The attempt of Khudiram added a great momentum to the national independence struggle whereas the murders being committed today were pushing the country towards the backward direction. He demanded the rewriting of Indian history with proper assessment of the uncompromising trend.

Sri D. L. Sengupta, the former MP said that the main aim of the revolutionaries was to live and die for the ideal. They faced death smilingly and never wanted publicity. He lamented that there was no ideal in social and individual life at present.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, said that the events of bombblast at Muzaffarpur and the subsequent hanging of Khudiram created immense emotion and gave a great momentum to the independence struggle throughout the country. The revolutionaries used fire arms not for terror-

ism but by giving their own life they wanted to arouse the nation. The revolutionaries did not believe in publicity and so many a treasure of the revolutionary movement had been lost or had been in the process of being lost. The history of the revolutionary movement was required to be rewritten and the great and noble life of the revolutionaries were to be thoroughly studied and cultivated by the youth.

He said that there were two opposite trends in the national independence movement. One of these two trends was under the leadership of Gandhiji and this was the compromising trend. The other was the uncompromising trend which was led by the revolutionaries Bagha Jatin, Netaji Subhas Bose, Bhagat Singh and Chandrasekhar Azad and the like. The compromising leadership which led the national independence movement failed to accomplish the task of social and cultural revolution in this country inhabited by people speaking different languages and professing different religion. This was because of the fact that at the time when the national independence movement started in our country, capitalism had become reactionary internationally. So the reformist bourgeois leadership of India put a brake to the democratisation of the society and as a result the dream of revolutionaries for which they sacrificed their life — the dream of complete emancipation of the peo-

ple, the building up of a social order free from all sorts of exploitation and the freeing of the society from all sorts of feudal mental make up and concepts — remained unaccomplished. Had there existed a correct revolutionary party at that time the situation would have been different. But that did not happen as the CPI was not a real revolutionary party.

He further added that those who pined to do away with this rotten capitalist social order must acquire the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the most developed ideology of the present age and engage themselves in the revolutionary struggle for the transformation of the society. In order to conduct the much bigger task of social and cultural revolution, the revolutionaries of today would have to steel themselves by taking lesson from the revolutionaries like Khudiram. Com. Mukherjee concluded by saying that that was the historic path and true homage to Khudiram would be paid only by fulfilling this task.

In his short presidential speech Sri Prafulla Kumar Sen urged upon the youth to fulfil the task of building a social order free from exploitation.

From this meeting 'All Bengal Khudiram Centenary Celebration Committee' was formed with Sri Bimal Das Gupta, the revered revolutionary as the president and Sri Soumen Bose as Secretary.



A section of the gathering at Subodh Mallik Square Calcutta on December 3, the Khudiram Centenary celebration day.

## SHAHEED KHUDIRAM

# A Tribute on Birth Centenary

On 3rd December last fell the birth centenary of Khudiram Bose, a great martyr of the Indian freedom struggle on the gallows of British imperialism. With the execution of Khudiram on 11 August 1908, a new spirit emerged before the youth of the country — to live and die like Khudiram, in the midst of uncompromising and unwavering struggle against foreign rule till the country's independence was won. Thus he became a symbol of struggle and self-immolation for the great cause of the nation.

We know, Khudiram's was not an accidental emergence, his struggle was not something simply individual and fortuitous. The series of anti-British mass struggles, uprisings and rebellions of the common exploited people, coupled with the growing urge for the growth and development of Indian national capital gradually paved the way for the national freedom struggle. The renaissance movements in the nineteenth century — the movements for social, educational and religious reforms, for free press and freedom of expression — created the necessary intellectual and spiritual ingredients. The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 signified the beginning of a political organisation led by the Indian bourgeoisie to secure their own interests.

However, the Indian national capital began to grow at a time when, as Lenin had shown, capitalism as a world social force had become reactionary and decadent, and when, particularly after the November Proletarian Revolution in Russia in 1917, the bourgeoisie as a class could no longer play the revolutionary role against feudalism and colonial rule, it had done earlier.

Applying this Leninist teaching on India's freedom struggle, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a great Marxist thinker of the era pointed out, the Indian bourgeoisie for this obvious historical reason, was, from the very beginning, characterised by playing a compromising and vacillating role in the national movement, so much so that they could not raise the

demand for complete independence of the country and secession of all relations with British Crown till 1930 from the Congress platform. The Congress movements therefore, remained all through a reformist oppositional compromising movement in character. Gandhiji's creed of non-violence, despite his contrary wishes, provided the Indian bourgeoisie with the required ideological weapon to restrain the freedom movement within the narrow bounds they envisaged.

As against and parallel to this, the enlightened sections of the common people, poor and middle classes, who were dissatisfied with the Congressite leadership, formed revolutionary groups and took recourse to the path of armed struggle against the British rulers. They were convinced, and with historical justification that rule by force could be overthrown by the use of counter force alone, and not by any sentimental appeal or peaceful agitation. The question of violence or non-violence, Bhagat Singh beautifully explained, did not veer round any ethical principle as was believed by Gandhiji — for none of the revolutionaries thought of taking to the militant actions out of any personal interest or vengeance, it was a question of policy regarding the means of struggle to be decided in accordance with the objective situation. So the action of Khudiram and Prafulla Chaki contemplated to kill the magistrate Kingsford, although it later proved to be a failure, was the demonstration before the country that when appeals and peti-

tions failed, there was another course of struggle left — the revolutionary armed struggles. This uncompromising struggle demanded much greater involvement, dedication, courage and sacrifice. One had to stake one's life at every moment, take the risk of ruthless persecution, deportation to distant islands, or an ever-secluded, absconding existence. And thousands of youths, following Khudiram's model, came forward, on occasion after occasion, in all corners of the land, to show that they were ready to give a test of their mettle: Kanailal, Satyen Bose, Jatin Mukherjee, Binoy, Badal, Dinesh, Surya Sen, Vaikuntha Shukul, Chandrama Singh, Ramprasad Bismil, Asfakulla, Chandrasekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukdev and Rajguru — to name only a few of them, many of whom remained nameless, unhonoured and unsung; but they all carried the flame of militant struggle from one generation to another, from one part of the country to other parts.

Painful though, it is a fact that the present generations of the country are almost oblivious of this glorious chapter of history of our freedom struggle. Not by any fault of their own, but because of falling prey to the conspiracy of the ruling class to keep this chapter in the dark. In the official text books history has been twisted to shower all credit of winning independence upon the Congress leadership and the Gandhian movements, with little or no recognition of the role of Khudiram, Bhagat Singh and others of the uncompromising trend. At best they have been depicted as individual heroes with courage and still in the use of bombs and pistol, but not as representing a separate independent and parallel current. A false and super inflated image of *ahimsa* or non-violence as the decisive factor in achieving inde-

pendence has been created and sustained through all forms of curricular and media propaganda.

However, this conspiracy was exposed to the nation by our most beloved great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Proceeding from a thorough and scientific class analysis of the Indian freedom struggle, he pointed out that the same bourgeoisie which had exercised its control over the freedom movement through the Gandhite leadership of the Congress, isolating Subhas Bose and other leftists from its platform and totally suppressing the role and voice of the revolutionaries, usurped power after independence in 1947 and established capitalist exploitative order in the country. So they wanted to keep the episodes of uncompromising revolutionary struggles out of the memory of the people so that their character and examples do not inspire the students and youths today to fight against the injustice and oppression of capitalist rule.

Another grievous damage done by this compromising bourgeois leadership to the freedom movement was their failure to carry forward the tasks of social and cultural integration of our people. Since they adopted a compromising attitude not only towards British rule but also towards the feudal outlooks and values prevailing in the country then, they could not incorporate in freedom movement the programme of democratisation and secularisation of the society, uniting the people into an emotional whole irrespective of their caste, race, language, religion etc. thereby eliminating all elements of socio-political separatism. As a result, as Comrade Ghosh analysed our people emerged as a nation only politically and geographically, but they remained separate in terms of caste, race language and religion, creating the fertile soil for all the caste and communal riots, language fanaticism, ethno-cultural alienation which we witness today.

However, our country could be saved from this peril had there been a real revolutionary communist party to strengthen the uncompromising trend of struggle and gradually turn the freedom struggle into a struggle for emancipation from all sorts of exploitation, under the leadership of the proletariat. But the so-called communist leadership of the undivided CPI failed to develop as a genuine communist party despite the nomenclature and consequently, could not grasp the political significance and historical potentiality of the uncompromising trend of freedom struggle. They rather supported, directly or indirectly, the Gandhite line on all major political questions in general, and on some occasions, even opposed the popular mass action of the freedom movement as such, thereby isolating themselves from the patriotic feelings of the people. Later, some of them argued: why should we remember and cultivate Khudiram and others? They were terrorists and individual heroes. A system could not be destroyed by killing some individuals, etc.

Although this argument sounded very much Marxist, Marxism does not approve of such formalistic analysis. Marxism teaches us to judge a social movement not by the akinness of its slogans and programmes to Marxism but by its proper historical role in social development. Other wise Lenin could not have hailed the struggle of the Decembrists, the revolutionary democrats of the nineteenth century Russia, as the "first breath of freedom". Moreover, when the CPI and its daughter-factions started serving the capitalist class directly from governmental office in some states, they also began to view characters like Khudiram's to be possible obstacles to easy fulfilment of their political objectives. This is perhaps why, in the big size 925-page book on Indian Freedom Struggle recently written by Mr.

(Contd. on page 8)

## Ruling class aims at two-party system to misdirect mass upsurge

(Contd. from page 3)

account the number of seats of its allies, there was enough scope for it. But the party has taken a stance, however temporary, as if its character has changed suddenly. The truth is not far to seek. If the Congress(I) would take recourse to that old unscrupulous path, it would certainly invite the people's wrath and resentment, helping prepare the ground for people's movement. But now that the future of the new government is hanging in the balance there is uncertainty as to how much popular support this government will be able to rally in its favour. In the event of its failure, the ruling capitalist class will need another party of its choice to come to its rescue. The Congress(I) can deliver the goods in such a period of crisis only if that party can salvage its lost image in the meantime. It is known to all discernible people that this is a part and parcel of the game of two-party parliamentary system which has been put to experiment in our country since some time past but not yet gained much ground. Although the experiment to introduce the two-party parliamentary system suffered a serious jolt with the fall of the Janata Party government in 1979 only after 30 months of its rule at the Centre, our party had then analysed that the ruling class was not going to abandon the idea but was switching over from the national arena to different state arenas to implement its scheme. The necessity to instal the two-party system mainly stems from the urge of the monopolists to stave off the crisis of Indian capitalism. It helps the people's wrath and pent-up resentment not to find expression through mass upsurge against this oppressive and exploitative capitalist system but be misdirected and channelised into the blind alley of parliamentarism-

legalism-reformism, creating illusion and expectation for a change from the new Government. Generally the two-party parliamentary system is viewed as a wider reflection of people's verdict free from the stigma of one party rule. But the fact is that whichever party or combination of parties comes to power it does not pose any threat to the ruling class since in the ultimate analysis any government coming to power serves as the caretaker of the capitalist state and thereby helps to serve capitalism. Therefore, our party is of the firm opinion that if this new non-Congress(I) government fails to bring about a basic departure from and undo all the anti-people policies and corrupt practices pursued so long by the Congress(I) government at the Centre against which the people have burst out, no tangible relief is expected to come in favour of the common people. It should be clearly understood that no stunt or palliative offered by the new government can deliver any goods. Our party had shown to the people by concrete analysis in the past how, in the face of serious crisis, the Indian monopoly capitalists were moving to come to an understanding with regional capitalists, both in the economic and political fields, among others, in an attempt to stave off the ever growing serious crisis. With the Congress(I) at the Centre, its out and out anti-people, undemocratic and corrupt policies notwithstanding, there was no denying the fact that after all the Congress(I) was a national party. But now with the change of government and a government of the National Front have been installed in power at the Centre, it is clear that the interest of the regional capitalism will try to assert itself more in matters, economic and political. The collusion and contention between the interests of the aggregate monopoly

capital and that of regional capital will find a new character this time and it is to be seen how these problems are tackled by the new government.

### ROLE OF CPI(M)

We may now say a few words on the role of the CPI(M) in particular. Previously we have shown the BJP's role in fanning up and fostering Hindu communalism and have condemned it as something too dangerous. We have also called upon the democratic minded and well meaning people to come forward to fight the menace of communalism, particularly the notorious virus of majority communalism. But we are constrained to say that the CPI(M)'s role was not also free from blemishes on the question of communalism. Although the CPI(M) was highly critical about the BJP's role in fanning up Hindu fanaticism, authentic reports from different sources only confirm that the CPI(M) left no stone unturned in appeasing minority community obviously with an eye on petty electoral dividends. It is well known that some minority leaders of repute in different states, alarmed at the continuous pro-Hindu stance of the Congress(I) on the one hand and of the BJP on the other gave an open call to defeat the Congress(I). Clearly, the advantage of this situation has been utilised by the Janata Dal in most of the States and by the CPI(M) and its allies in West Bengal in particular. Even if a figment of it is proved true, what comes out then in bold relief is that the elections just held were not a battle of principle but an exercise in sheer pragmatism or opportunism—what is called in journalistic parlance as realpolitik. But the tragedy and hypocrisy of the game come to the forefront more if we cast a look at the fact that starting from the Congress(I) to the BJP, the Janata Dal, the CPI(M) the CPI etc., all

these parties practised communalism this way or that way — this time under the 'official seal of approval' of socialism, secularism and democracy incorporated in their constitutions for the first time at the dictate of the Election Commission as per the provisions of Representation of People (Amendment) Act, '88. All these parties did not hesitate for a moment to incorporate this clause not caring to protest against its undemocratic aspect that these parties were being dictated by the Election Commission as to what should be there in their constitutions. Having obtained the official seal of secularism, all the parties have been found to tread the path of communalism of this or that brand. This fact by itself exposes once more the deceitful character of these parliamentary parties.

The performance of CPI(M) in West Bengal at the Lok Sabha polls needs to be explained here. Through this election it has come to light that despite so many odds and adversity the people have generally voted for a change. The support of the common people, most of whom are deprived of minimum education, should not be taken for granted. From their own experience, despite all odds, they have brought about a trend of change not only at the Centre but also in the States where the governments are run by the Congress(I) or by non-Congress parties not excluding the CPI(M); but the case in West Bengal is somewhat different. Before coming to the point of the election results in West Bengal it is necessary to point out that the overall election results clearly indicate that the common people have had enough of experience of the anti-people, oppressive and opportunist policies of the ruling parties. Incidence of corruption, although the Congress(I) government at the Centre had been the main culprit, is no longer a monopoly of the Congress(I) alone. Any party or government serving the in-

terest of the crisis-ridden capitalism is not only bound to shiver in crisis after crisis but is sure to wallow in corruption. Our party led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed long before by penetrating analysis that capitalism of today was not only repressive, exploitative and reactionary, it served as the breeding ground of corruption. In capitalism and among those parties serving the interest of this crisis-ridden capitalism, corruption exists as an entity, as it biologically natural, and unless restrained by the impact of powerful democratic mass movement built up on the edifice higher culture there is no escape from it. It is therefore clear that any party indulging in corruption, being seated in governmental power, in this exploitative and oppressive system is bound to generate wrath and resentment among the common people, because it is the people who suffer most the bite of corruption and very much hard hit by the anti-people policies of these governments.

On the question of difference in the voting pattern between the Northern and Southern States it should be noted that none of the non-Cong(I) Governments refrained from pursuing anti-people policies, nor did they come forward to build up a movement with a clear perspective and pro-people orientation in which case this difference would have been eliminated, wiping out the Congress(I) in the course more or less completely.

### FACTS BEHIND RESULTS IN WEST BENGAL

Coming to the case of West Bengal it would be absolutely wrong to deny the fact that deep-seated resentment was there not only among the educated middle class people, but also among a large section of the village people. It has been so owing largely to its non-Left and anti-people policies, a pathetic absence of administrative neutrality, charges of corruption, ineptitude and anti-people language and edu-

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(Contd. from page 6)

cation policies serving the interest of the vested class. In fact, there is nothing mysterious about the result in West Bengal. Electoral malpractice, in this state, starts from the stage of preparation of voters' list where manipulation makes havoc of it and operation of false voting machinery in connivance with committed booth officials and this continues to the stage of counting where committed counting personnel can turn black into white. Judging by the way the CPI(M) has been able to spread its tentacles over the administration during all these years and has developed a kind of expertise, so to say, at the back of the people at large, it was no wonder that West Bengal proves to be a paradise of administrative rigging in favour of the CPI(M) and its allies, something which no other State Government perhaps enjoys. But what is highly annoying is the fact that the CPI(M) stormtroopers were very active this time in the countryside where the scene is now-a-days dominated by the vicious chain of panchayats controlled mostly by the CPI(M). Apart from lure of fabulous sums of money, threat, intimidation, etc., the same thing happened in Calcutta and the supporters of this party have surpassed this time all the past records in brazenly mounting physical assaults, flexing muscles and rampaging with firearms even in Calcutta and suburbs not only on day of polls but afterwards too. Any veneer of shame has been shed by the CPI(M) exposing its ugly face and revealing how madly this party has had to win its tally of Lok Sabha seats. Even after having made elaborate arrangements

for administrative rigging in West Bengal, the CPI(M) sensing the adverse mood of the people took recourse to naked physical assaults, hooliganism and armed attacks even in an attempt to come out victorious any how. No doubt because of its so-called radical posture and social demo-

cratic character, this party enjoys the power to befool the people even then it has belied the expectation of its erstwhile admirers because of this kind of conduct. It is painful that the leaders of the CPI(M) have taken no lesson from their experience in Tripura. Even after ruling the state for a long time when it was expected to establish closer ties with the people, the deployment of the Army by the Centre on the eve of the Assembly elections there, which was highly condemned by our party, posed a threat and paralysed the rigging machinery of the CPI(M) and the Congress(I) came back to power. When this type of politics is pursued by a Left party then it becomes very difficult for the common people to make a distinction between the pro-capitalist, pro-jotedar policies of the Congress(I) and those followed by the governments run by the CPI(M). The leaders of the CPI(M) may be delighted at the temporary gains but one should not forget that untruth or injustice can befool only a section of the people and that too for some time only; but it is impossible to befool all people all the time. If the CPI(M) leaders do not shun this kind of filthy politics, then they too run the risk of being paid back in their own coin — the same way the Congress(I) has been paid back at the Centre. We would also ask the leaders of the CPI and other Left parties to think over how long they expect to survive being fed on the spoils of the CPI(M). The sooner these parties give up this policy, the better for them. Otherwise, these parties too, await the same fate of being rejected by the people in future.

#### TASKS AHEAD

There are some other pressing problems plaguing the country today. What is happening in Punjab, in Assam and elsewhere on this or that demand, such as those of Jharkhand, Gorkhaland, Bodoland etc., should be viewed in a wider pers-

pective. Indian people have witnessed how their genuine grievances have been treated by the Congress(I) Government with utter disrespect and contempt. By neglecting the psychological and emotional questions involved in all such issues, the erstwhile Congress(I) Government wanted to reap dividends by fishing in the troubled waters. But these are matters of the past. All democratic minded and well-meaning people sincerely desire that all these movements and demands should be embraced and integrated in the mainstream of democratic polity, better still in the democratic mass movement on the burning problems of the people.

## New Central Government must mark a break with Congress (I) policies

People would expect that the new non-Congress(I) Government under the leadership of Mr. V. P. Singh will institute a high power committee with men of integrity to unearth the truth relating to the arms deal of the Bofors gun, HDW submarines, and the findings of the Fairfax, and will mete out exemplary punishment to those found guilty. Another most important task before this Government is to restore congenial democratic atmosphere in the country. Therefore, to emphasize the need to mark a break with the past politics pursued by the Congress(I), we take this opportunity to place some demands before the new Government for immediate implementation. The demands are:

1. Introduction of all-out State Trading to bring down the prices of essential commodities.

2. Formation of an Election Commission with men of integrity and creation of an independent machinery under the Election Commission to conduct elections free from interference by both the Central and the State Governments.
3. Mass media like Doordarshan, All India Radio, etc., should be controlled by autonomous bodies and not by the Central Government.
4. All undemocratic Acts and undemocratic Amendments to the Constitution like the Representation of People (Amendment) Act, 59th Amendment to the Constitution, Industrial Relations Bill, Hospital and Other Institutions (Redressal of Grievances) Bill, etc. and above all the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution must be scrapped.
5. The National Policy on Education, 1986 must be withdrawn and its implementation stopped, and a pro-people education policy formed in line with the one suggested by the All India Save Education Committee.
6. Police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements.
7. Introduction of right to work as a fundamental right and right to recall the elected representatives found to act against the people's interests must be guaranteed in the Constitution.
8. A pro-people fiscal policy has to be introduced whereby burden of taxation is lightened on the poor and more taxes be imposed on the rich.
9. Drawing loans from the IMF and the World Bank on humiliating terms must be stopped and the country be freed from the debt trap.
10. The IPKF must be completely and unconditionally withdrawn from Sri Lanka with immediate effect.
11. Good relations be restored and maintained with the neighbouring countries and soured relationship with Nepal be improved.
12. An anti-imperialist, particularly anti-US imperialist foreign policy be followed in accordance with the principle of 'Peaceful Co-existence and Non-alignment'.
13. The concept of secularism must not be confused with equal encouragement to all religions as practised by the Congress(I) government.
14. Humanitarian approach be adopted and rational solution be attempted for what happened in Bhopal Gas Massacre.
15. The problem in Punjab must be solved expeditiously with a sympathetic attitude in consultation with all concerned.

Above, we have mentioned only a few outstanding demands, but there are others which have also to be taken up shortly. We are aware that placing these demands before the Government is important, but no less important is the role of the people. We strongly feel it is high time that people's struggle committees were formed to act as watchdogs and volunteer forces were raised in support of these demands. And, above all, a countrywide mass movement be built up for the implementation of these demands and for restoration, preservation and extension of democratic rights, norms, values and ethics to rid the country of the morass of crisis of morality. This is the need of the hour. Let us all unite to try to perform the tasks which have been devolved upon us historically at this critical juncture.

## KULTALI

(Contd. from page 1)  
the police of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 per family for permitting the poor peasants to harvest the paddy in their own lands.

Notwithstanding police camp in the locality a few hundred SUCI workers have been evicted forcefully. The conditions laid down by the criminals for the SUCI workers' coming back are deserting the SUCI and a fine ranging from Rs. 5000 to 10,000. Evicted people are in great distress, yet braving all odds they could cultivate their lands. Situation worsened during the parliamentary election when the CPI(M) threatened to loot paddy if the electorates voted for the SUCI. Its vote increased remarkably — 5192 from 4609 at the Moipith-Baikunthapur segment. At Kultali segment as a whole the increase has been from 45,790 to 54,420. This enraged the vested class, now under the CPI(M) banner and as its sequel is what happened at Kultali. The public upsurge that ensued rendered 3 criminals dead. Among the 3 dead one was Sundar Molla erstwhile Congress(I) Upa-Pradhan and another was Chitta Das, former Congress(I) President (local) both turned CPI(M) later.

The real culprits, since then are moving freely in open daylight while at their dictate the police are arresting indiscriminately our comrades. And in the presence of police and EFR the CPI(M) criminals on 11th and 12th December looted 13 houses and tortured people. Without taking any cognizance the police have arrested the victims of loot and arson who rushed to the police camp to lodge complaints. Yet common people remained undaunted.

This incident once again proved beyond doubt how the CPI(M)

has come to the rescue of the vested interests in the rural sector as they have been serving the interest of the bourgeoisie in the industries.

It will not be out of context to note that just a few days back on 6th and 7th December at Baikunthapur and Jalaberiya under Kultali P.S., the CPI(M) unleashed attack and murdered Com. Hriday Sardar and severely injured others.

Com. Fatick Ghosh Secretariat Member West Bengal State Committee, SUCI, Com. Debaprasad Sarkar leader of our party in W.B. Legislative Assembly, Com. Amirali Halder, Party's State Committee member and Secretary W.B. State Committee AIKKMS met the Chief Secretary of the State Govt. and the

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Director General of Police on 13.12.89 and submitted a memorandum with the names of every affected man as also of the miscreants and demanded the following :  
1. Immediate steps to contain the atrocious outrage of the CPI(M) hoodligans and ensure normal life and security of the SUCI people in the locality ; 2. Immediate steps to arrest the murderers of Dilip Giri ; 3. Immediate arrest and exemplary punishment of the miscreants responsible for loot and arson ; 4. Immediate steps to trace the missing persons ; 5. Steps to restore the looted materials from the culprits ; 6. Immediate steps to protect the poor peasants' life and grain from being plundered ; 7. Immediate steps to ensure necessary compensation to the victims whose houses have been set on fire ; 8. Immediate steps to ensure administrative neutrality of the police.

## Khudiram : A Tribute

(Contd. from page 4)  
E M S Namboodiripad, the CPI(M) leader, the activities of the then undivided CPI, in addition to the Congressite movements, have been described in colourful detail—in many cases with misrepresentation of facts relating to the CPI's mistakes, but there is no chapter and no narration of the struggles of Khudiram, Bhagat Singh, Bismil or Asfaqulla, nor any attempt of analysis of this revolutionary trend.

On the contrary, Comrade Ghosh taught us that the revolutionary trend in freedom movement represented the most progressive and most advanced level of socio-political movement in that period in our country, no matter whatever limitations we may discover today in their theories or organisational process in the light of still more advanced knowledge of Marxism acquired by us. So we who are striving for further social progress by engaging ourselves in the proletarian revolutionary movements against the existing capitalist system

so as to fulfil the dreams of the freedom fighters, shall have to correctly evaluate the role of this trend, assimilate appropriate lessons from their life, struggle and character, and then proceed further. There is both a continuity and a break in between these two stages of struggle — continuity in the historical sense and break in the sphere of theory and strategy of struggles. Moreover, proletarian revolution demands inculcation of proletarian revolutionary character, proletarian culture and values which can develop among us only in course of cultivating, assimilating and exhausting the finer qualities of character of the revolutionary freedom fighters like Khudiram.

On the basis of these teachings of Comrade Ghosh, our party, SUCI, and its different mass wings have made it a part of their programmes to observe the birth anniversary or martyrdom anniversary of these revolutionary freedom fighters. It is through our efforts that the celebration of 11 August, the day of

Khudiram's martyrdom and 23 March, that of Bhagat Singh's, has taken the form of a popular social movement throughout the country. It is through our movements that the demands for installation of statues of these martyrs in all important places of the country, declaration of these dates as National Days and rewriting of the textual history of freedom struggle to duly recognise and incorporate the contributions of the uncompromising trend have become popularised everywhere.

To day, when Indian capitalism, submerged in allround inescapable crises, is launching worst-ever attacks on the cultural fabric of the society, trying to make men bereft of human values and conspiring to blot out the memory of struggles of the revolutionary freedom fighters like Khudiram, let it be a pledge on our part, on the occasion of the Khudiram's birth centenary, to carry the message of their struggle to every corner of the country, to highlight the relevance of cultivating the life and struggle of Khudiram and others in the present situation of the country !

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

A.P.

Polling was marred by police firings in 16 places and several bombings and group clashes were reported. Elections in the Rayachoti Assembly constituency was countermanded following the murder of the Independent candidate, Mr. Subha Reddy.

(The Statesman, 23.11.89.)

HARYANA

At least eight persons were killed and 37 others injured, some seriously, in firing incidents in about eight places in Haryana during today's Lok Sabha Poll.

Booth-capturing and rigging were also reported from Rohtak and Faridabad. Four people inclu-

ding two women were killed in Jui, 15 km. from Bhiwani and two in neighbouring Hisar.

WEST BENGAL

With the polls in West Bengal a few days away, numerous instances of voters' names being dropped from the electoral rolls are coming to light.

At least three people were killed and 80 injured in about 45 incidents of pre-election violence in West Bengal, the Chief Secretary, Mr. T. C. Dutt, said in Calcutta.

(The Statesman, 23.11.89.)

Manipulation of voters, whether subtle or crude and violent, has come to be accepted as a part of the heat and dust

of an election. Victory depends as much on the skills of "booth managers" as on the merits of a candidate. In the conundrum of politics, no party or individual is free from this taint, but no words are strong enough for condemning the seamy sideshow staged by the leftists in West Bengal... Calcutta has witnessed its worst spell of violence in recent times. The police and the administration have looked on as the CPI(M) has unleashed all the muscle power at its command to build up an atmosphere of terror. ... If this is the nadir which has been reached in the city, one wonders what might be happening elsewhere in the state.

(The Telegraph, 26.11.89.)

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