

Alternating Scenes in the Indian Sub-Continent

Alternating scenes of mutual hostility and peaceable intentions from the ruling parties and clique between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are observable. Deep concern for arms purchase has been followed by mutual recognition of sovereign right to defence. The sub continent is facing the danger of super-power contention and hegemonistic desire supplementing the class desire of the ruling bourgeoisie. Our party appeals to the working people of the sub-continent who are under the grinding wheel of crisis-ridden moribund capitalism at an unprecedented scale, to be on the alert against cooked up tension or war-like situation that the bourgeois rulers may seek out of desperation from their utter failure to touch a single problem in people's life at this stage of intense and all-out crisis of the system.

Indo-Pak Parley

Mr. Narasimha Rao, the Indian Foreign Minister flew to Islamabad for a parley with his counterpart, the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Agha Shahi, last week. On 10th, in the joint statement at the end of two-day talks in Islamabad the Indian and Pakistani Foreign Ministers agreed that though non-alignment ruled out either country joining a military pact, each reserved the right to acquire arms for self-defence while deciding to remain in touch 'on a continuing basis'.

The two sides, it is known, however differ in their approach to resolve the Afghan crisis. According to an Indian source both countries had agreed that Afghanistan must regain its independent and non-aligned status. "It is only on how to achieve the end that we differ".

(Statesman June 11, '81)

Pakistan has strongly stuck to the position that they mean to secure arms from the U.S. They have equally strongly maintained that these arms are not meant to be used against India.

Before the visit of Mr. Rao, Mr. Agha Shahi issued a statement where it was stated, "Our relationship with the USA will be different from the military aid relationship of the past." Mr. Shahi found a hopeful change in Indian stance in so far as in some bilateral joint statements it has

called for withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan.

The assurance given by Mrs. Gandhi that India does not covet Pakistan territory, that it respects that country's territorial integrity, its independence and sovereignty and that it appreciated its security concerns was well received by Pakistan on its part. Mr. Agha Sahi also showed concern for the Gulf States if the arms race and military build-ups by the super powers as also the resulting tension actually disturb their security.

So, from all these utterances of mutual good will and intentions one may wonder what caused the earlier atmosphere of hostility and tension. Or on the reverse, are all these assurances of any real worth, the real guarantee against deterioration in relationship? Not to go by the words but by facts as also to seek the real source of tension and hostility one needs recollecting some events of not too distant past.

Cross currents of facts and events

In our country, the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi was finding for the first time the gathering clouds of war, just on the eve of Mr. Breznev's visit to India. The fall out of the 'clouds' was an agreement with the Soviet for an arms loan worth Rs. 1,360 crores, repayable in 17 years at 2.5 pc

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National Trade Union Convention against price rise and anti-working class politics of the Government

National Trade Union Convention under the joint auspices of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), AITUC, CITU, INTUC Dara group, HMS, BMS, UTUC (Bowbazar) and TUCC was held on 4th June 1981, at Shanmukhanda Hall Bombay against price rise and anti working class policies of the Government. The proceedings of the Convention was conducted by a presidium of which Comrade Gian Singh Vice-president UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was a member. Leaders representing the central trade unions participated in the deliberations. Comrade Gyan Singh addressed the delegate session. Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary UTUC (Lenin Sarani) addressed both the delegate and the open session.

One of the resolutions adopted at the convention called upon the working class of India to rally together in the fight against price rise and to press for the following demands:

(1) Sale of all essential commodities such as food grains, edible oil, cloth, sugar etc. at subsidised prices through a network of shops in public distribution system under the control and supervision of popular committees by ensuring adequate and uninterrupted supply of these commodities.

(2) Remunerative price to the peasants and higher wage to agricultural workers.

(3) Stringent measures against black-marketeers, hoarders, smugglers, speculators and officials protecting them. In this anti-price rise movement, the trade unions should enlist active support and co-operation of other sections of the consumers and toilers.

The convention further called upon the working class to unite on the following demands—economic and trade union rights.

(1) Need-based minimum wages on the basis of norms laid down by the 15th Indian Labour conference;

(2) Full neutralisation of the rise in cost of living. Removal of ceiling of Rs.1'30 per point rise in price index (1960) base arbitrarily fixed by the BPE;

(3) Enactment of legislation for agricultural worker's wages and job security;

(4) Ban on retrenchment and closures; introduction of unemployment allowance to the unemployed;

(5) Withdrawal of victimisation measures against workers and TU activists;

(6) Rectification of fraudulent cost of living indices;

(7) Recognition of TUs through secret ballot;

(8) Full guarantee of collective bargaining and TU rights without any discrimination.

(9) Repeal of National Security Act and other repressive measures.

The convention adopted the following programme taking into account the need for a prolonged and sustained movement with everwidening mass base:

(1) Observance of an all India Protest Day and Demand Day;

(2) A massive workers, march to Parliament;

and (3) A country wide, one day token strike in all sectors of industry.

To conduct the entire programme most effectively the convention elected a National Campaign Committee.

The National Campaign Committee of the Central Trade Unions comprising of representatives from the above mentioned eight Central Trade Unions in its meeting on 5th June at Bombay has decided the following:

(1) Next meeting of the committee will be held on 24th July, 1981 at Delhi;

(2) For implementing the operative portion of the resolution adopted in the convention, all Trade Unions and Federations are directed to, (a) hold similar pattern of conventions at state level within August 1981 where all the eight participating Central Trade Unions should move together in organising state level

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interest rate. By this deal, Indian military will be able to add to its arsenal, besides British made Jaguar deep penetration strike aircraft (Purchased during Janata rule), MIG 23s and 25s and TU-72 tanks.

Then after the arms deal of Pakistan with the USA worth Rs. 2000 crores, claimed to be for replacement of old weaponry, the Indian Prime Minister was warning the people by saying, "I sense war in the situation developing as a result of the United States supplying arms to Pakistan." The national press immediately responded by raising a hue and cry over Pakistan's arms purchase and installing a 125 MW atomic reactor. On two counts e.g. arms purchase and nuclear reactor, Pakistan rulers have been charged with bellicose intention and the demand was raised for India embarking on production of atomic weapons. The Indian Prime Minister has assured that Pakistani nuclear technology will be met by "appropriate response." It is reported (India today, May 16-31, '81) that India may shortly detonate at Pokhran a more powerful device than the one of 1974.

Pakistan spokesmen have denied bad intentions behind the arms purchase from the US. Mr. Agha Shahi, Pakistan's Foreign Minister told the correspondent of The Hindu, in an interview in Washington that: Words have been used to say that storm clouds of war are gathering. What I wish to say is that in Pakistan, we have no such clouds.... I wish to state categorically that Pakistan will never commit aggression against India. We are not for military conclusions".

Pakistan's Ambassador to New Delhi, has written in an article published in an Indian magazine (India Today, May 16-31, 81) that: "Manifestly Pakistan does not possess even nuclear explosion capacity, let alone a weapons one. Those who

Peace manoeuvre and war manoeuvre two sides of the same coin of capitalist rule of exploitation

have conducted explosion tests for peaceful purposes may conceivably decide to manufacture weapons. For Pakistan that option does not even exist".

So, decidedly with superior military strength over Pakistan, including nuclear potentiality and advancement, with a long term modernising programme of military equipment costing not less than Rs 3200 crores, with defence budget mounting in every Central budget, with Soviet military backing assuring supply of whatever defence materials that India may ask for and this assurance being given by no less a person than Marshal Orgakov, Chief of the Soviet defence forces and first Deputy Defence Minister who visited New Delhi very recently and above all the shield of Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971 providing for direct Soviet help and support, can there be a real security danger of India from Pakistan? One may conjure an imaginary danger of the US directly taking part in war between Pakistan and India but judged from reality and geopolitical reasons, that will mean stretching the imagination too far.

But even when a bourgeois politician, the ex-Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Dasai was finding no reason to be panicky about Pakistan securing arms from the US, of course to serve different interest in the parliamentary politics, the social-democratic parties like CPI and CPI(M) were vying with each other and both with the ruling party in raising alarm and thereby to whip up war psychosis in our country.

The CPI(M) in its Polit Bureau communique published in their party organ, People's Democracy (April 26, '81) observed that: "Never before has the threat of aggressive conflicts on Indian borders been as serious as now". It also

appealed to all left democratic and patriotic forces to "build up a powerful movement which will rouse the patriotic consciousness of the entire people, rally them against the danger that is coming."

New Age, the organ of CPI, of even date published the views of its National Council. It reads. "The National Council of the Communist Party of India fully shares the nation's concern at the massive arms build up in Pakistan by the US imperialists and their collaborators in Beijing."

In their mutual competition to please the Soviet revisionist clique while CPI(M) made reference to China's association with the US imperialism and asked Socialist China to make self-criticism of its foreign policy, CPI went further to call China a collaborator of the US imperialism. Again to please the Indian national bourgeoisie while CPI(M) was giving call for rousing "patriotic consciousness" of the people against this "national danger", CPI went to a ludicrous extent when it saw in the motive of Pakistan "to force, upon India heavy defence expenditure, if not to involve our country in arms race" and even "obstructing" our country's developmental activities!

To the mortification of CPI and CPI(M) the Indian Prime Minister was not as 'national' as they were. She had to pipe a different tune. She was saying on the floor of the Parliament on April 27 that: "The big danger today is that though nobody wants war, there may be a war with everybody drifting towards it." It means according to Mrs. Gandhi that even though the rulers of these countries wish to avoid, matters may actually drift towards it: How can this happen then?

In one of her remarks, the Prime Minister accused the rulers of Pakistan

of resorting to diversionary tactics of generating war psychosis in a bid to meet extremely difficult internal situation. This she also hinted at the rulers of Bangladesh, when anti-Indian hysteria was being whipped up on the territorial right over the New Moore Island.

What comes out as logical inference from this rather couched admission is that the rulers of capitalist countries faced with deeper and ever-deeper all out crisis with no prospect of relief in sight, failing to meet not a single problem in people's life the discontent of the oppressed people mounting to fearful proportions and not being able to suppress this surge of popular demand for rights and freedom, even by resorting to total denial of democratic rights and foisting autocratic rule before them than the age old capitalist device of injecting war hysteria and drowning the populace in war and devastation. The creation of war-hysteria is a device which not only diverts the attention of the people from the real problem of their life but uses the genuine patriotic feeling of the people to serve the heinous design of the capitalist class. Is it not then the reason equally applicable to Indian ruling class? Otherwise can the Indian Prime Minister explain why after the thaw in diplomatic relation between India and Pakistan in the wake of massive Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan there was sudden shift from the trend when Pakistan was purchasing arms from the US?

If the military rulers of Pakistan are making that country's defence an excuse to suppress the democratic forces within the country, will this kind of attitude and resultant mutual hostility generated in India help the demo-

cratic minded and patriotic forces there or otherwise?

Again, during her recent tour in the Gulf States, Sm. Gandhi was repeatedly warning against the danger of super power contention being brought to door steps. The question is: will she like then to encourage the Soviet ruling clique directly and the US indirectly to be active in the region and play their hands in embittering the relationship between neighbouring states in Indian sub-continent? Is she not aware of the US design to pressurise Pakistan, taking advantage of the situation created due to massive Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, to concede her territory, and naval and air ports for building up bases and make its physical presence in the region?

During her tour in the Gulf States, the Indian Prime Minister was showing the identity of interest by pointing out that the security of the Gulf was interlinked with the security of Indian sub-continent and for that the Indian Ocean must be free from naval bases of the super-powers. True, but can she deny that the Soviet military intervention and stationing of one lakh troop and sophisticated weaponry in Afghanistan is bringing the super-power rivalry in the form of building naval and military bases round the sub-continent? Is not the paramount question then the withdrawal of troops and armaments from Afghanistan so that there is no excuse if excuse is at all necessary for the US to build up naval bases in the Indian Ocean or the reported military bases within the territory of Pakistan? Is that event will it not create a chain reaction when the revisionist Soviet leadership may jump with necessary military might creating further tension in the sub-continent? Should not Indian diplomacy be directed to end this tension? But why not that serious initiative is being perceived? Answer to

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Pressure on the Judiciary

There has been a definite attempt on the part of the Indira Government to take away whatever little relative independence the judiciary still possesses. The Central Law Minister's circular to Chief Ministers setting down the condition of appointment of Additional Judges at the High Courts, the pressure of the ruling party that is being mounted on the Supreme Court, the talk of constitutional changes for a Presidential type of government, the spate of constitutional changes, the attitude of disdain of the ruling parties to judicial power of the courts, introduction of summary trial in so-called disturbed areas bypassing the protection of the citizens from the courts—all are unmistakable symptoms of deep socio-economic crisis that now casts its shadow over the moribund bourgeois political system of our country. Only the conscious, determined and freedom-loving people can resist the menace of a constitutional dictatorship of worst kind.

Central Law Minister's circular: its implication

On 18th April last, Mr. Shiv Shankar the Union Law Minister sent a circular to chief ministers of states asking them to obtain the consent of additional judges before being appointed for being made permanent outside the states and that they can give name of states in order of preference. Apart from inviting strong resentment from several Bar Associations and individual lawyers, the Law Minister received strong feelings from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Even some of the temporary judges who had given such undertaking earlier since withdrew that. The Supreme Court has before it for disposal the writ petition of three Additional Judges. On 8th May, the Supreme Court in its interim order has asked the government not to refuse extension of permanent appointment on the ground that the concerned judge has not responded to the government's letter asking for undertaking.

The Supreme Court also directed the union government to take a decision before June 6, on whether any of the three Additional Judges whose term would expire on that date should be reappointed as Additional Judges or appointed as permanent judge or otherwise.

The Union Law Minister, made a vain exercise in the Lok Sabha

to defend his act by arguing that this was inspired by the recommendation of the Law Commission that one-third of the judges in a state should be outsiders. The Law Minister argued that this was needed for national integration. The second reason, he said was that he was receiving complaints about favouritism and nepotism, even political links in the matter of appointment of judges. The overall impression, the Law Minister was trying to give in defence of his action was that it was calculated not to curb the independence of judiciary but to strengthen it. He however avoided, in tricky manoeuvres, the content of the strong disapproval of his act by the Supreme Court Chief Justice.

In no uncertain term, the Chief Justice, is reported to have pointed out in his letter to the Union Law Minister that if the purpose of the circular was to collect data concerning additional judges, then the task could as well have been performed by the Chief Justice without the aid of the Law Minister. The Chief Justice is also said to have drawn the Law Minister's attention to the constitutional position which is that transfer of a judge from one High Court to another must be preceded by consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Taking a serious view of the matter the Chief Justice is understood to have indicated that the practice of taking undertakings

from judges was not in the best interest of the judiciary.

Meanwhile a tussle is on between the government and the Supreme Court on the question of giving extension of tenure to Additional Judges, Mr. Justice O. N. Vohra and Mr. Justice S. N. Kumar of Delhi High Court. Their petition is pending before a Constitution Bench on July 20. Meanwhile the term of the judges expires on 6th June. Naturally, before the vacation, counsel of the judges appealed for extension of the term till their petition was disposed of. The judge, Mr. Justice Talzapurkar, requested the government to do so. But the government has not heeded to the request of the Court. On application made to the same judge who was vacation judge, the court issued a show cause notice on the government as to why their term would not be extended. The judge has remarked in his judgement that the government's refusal is based on "extreme and non-germane considerations and therefore mala-fide and unconstitutional."

The union Law Minister's assurance in the Lok Sabha that not all the additional judges would be made permanent in other states evokes serious doubt that this method will be used to make the judges amenable to political pressure of the ruling party. Otherwise if the charges of corruption against the judges would have of any concern to the Union Law Ministry then it could have very well adopted the method of giving no extension to the judges beyond their usual term of two years. There were other methods through which the Chief Justice could easily make either the corrupt judges non-functioning or obtain their resignation. The plea of national integration becomes ludicrous when one remembers the Law Ministers assurance that only those judges will be transferred who are under a cloud. Surely

those will not be the persons best suited to bring in national integration. So whatever may be the plea, the motive of the Indira Government is clear. It is to put rein on the judiciary so that it may not come in the way of the authoritarian activities of the ruling party of whichever label. Recent concrete instances confirm the suspicion of the attempt now going on to make the court a mere appendage of the government. The Bhagalpur blinding of prisoners incident, Samastipur jail firing killing six and injuring seriously at least twenty-five, report about undertrial prisoners numbering 19,000 only in Bihar for period more than the term of imprisonment as per law had they been proved guilty, the report of such plight of four young adivasi in Santhal Parganas and in all these cases, the stricture of the Supreme Court on the Mishra Government, its directive to Patna High Court to allow bail to all undertrial prisoners who have been in jail for five years, to provide free legal aid and make arrangement for committal proceedings before a magistrate every two weeks have angered the ruling party that suffers no sense of guilt for all these outrages.

What may be the real implication therefore, of this power of transfer of judges at the hands of the union government is clear. Two instances of transfer of judges, one from Kerala to Madras High Court and the other from Patna High Court are still fresh in people's memory. In both the cases, the transfer was politically motivated. The senior judge who was to be the Chief Justice of Kerala High Court had the record of giving the judgement on Rajan case that forced Mr. Karunakaran the Congress(I) leader to quit the ministry. The other justice Sinha had similar record of incurring the displeasure of the ruling party. There is unmistakably an attempt to put rein on the judiciary by giving appoint-

ment of judges to persons selected by the ruling party as also threatening transfer to those who refuse to obey the order.

Meanwhile the ruling party's campaign against the judiciary took a significant turn when an MP of this party, in course of his speech made definite aspersions on the judiciary by holding that "a stage has come when the judiciary is tampering with the executive and is trying to usurp the power of the executive". And he would not like to act as an "enemy of the people by not protesting against the irresponsible and obstructionist judiciary".

This remark drew volleys of protests. The Supreme Court Chief justice rebuffed: "We hope those who address the nation do so with an equal sense of responsibility".

The Supreme Court Bar Association presided over by another Congress(I) MP Mr. A. K. Sen held Kamal Nath's aspersions "unwarranted" by 92 votes to 22. But the matter does not end here. Mr. Kamal Nath and K.K. Takappa two Congress(I) MP's gave notice of breach of privileges against the Chief Justice. Knowledgeable circle feels that this pressure tactics of the ruling party has for its immediate object of filling 2 vacancies in the Supreme Court and over 75 vacancies in 18 High Courts, by its own nominees. General Zia sacked the High Court judges, here is a different tactic of filling the posts of the judges by persons amenable to the ruling party. This aspect is being openly discussed in the press.

Pressure on the Judiciary

People of our country have lived through the experiences of Emergency when a constitutional dictatorship was imposed and to circumvent the obstacles of the judicial forum, spate of amendments to the constitution came. The thirty-ninth amendment came in the wake of the Allahabad High Court judgement. The motive of the amend-

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Trade Union conventions, similar conventions are also to be held at important industrial centres or regions within the States (b) State level co-ordination committees of the trade unions are to be formed in the similar pattern of the National Campaign Committee, c) An All India Protest Day will be observed on any day in September after completing the first phase of the programme, d) The Bombay Convention resolution and the decision adopted there are to be popularised extensively in state and regional languages, e) There will be an All India massive working class march before the Parliament in Delhi sometime in November, 1981 and after that there will be an All India One Day Bandh to be observed in the whole country.

Comrade Pritish Chanda who addressed both the Delegate Session and the Open Session and Comrade Gian Singh who addressed the Delegate Session explaining the present situation stressed upon the imperative necessity of unity among the working people and urged to make the programme, adopted at the convention, a grand success.

Appeal of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to the delegates of National Trade Union Convention

UTUC (Lenin Sarani) circulated an appeal to the delegates at the convention. While holding this moribund capitalist system entirely responsible for the intense crisis that has set in our country the appeal stated, "The crisis in our country has not set in just overnight. It is gradually and persistently growing for decades—only the cumulative effect today has landed the country into a horrible position. What is the real cause of this crisis? Who is to be blamed? Is it due to the refusal on the part of the

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working class to produce more as the ruling class is propagating day in and day out to hide its own criminality? Or its real object is to mount an offensive by the ruling class to pass the entire burden of its crisis on to the shoulders of the working people of the country?.....

The appeal pointing towards the fact that both "..... Agricultural and Industrial production has definitely increased both in terms of gross productivity, testifying to the unfailing labour of the toiling masses inspite of severe restrictions placed on them by the owners of the means of production....." said that "despite being a vastly resourceful country and a huge population as a potential work force eager to work, due to lack of domestic consumption, the urge for increased production on the part of the owners is seriously missing..... Otherwise, how is it that installed capacity of our industry is not fully utilised so much so that 50% of the installed capacity even in key public sector industries in our country remains unutilised?.....

"Above all comes the problem of inflation and recession. We have always maintained that inflation is not caused by the workers' pay packet. It is, rather, caused mainly by deficit financing, over taxation, circulation of black money etc. etc....."

".....Prices are rising at an alarming rate but no Government has so far seriously attempted to check its rise. In consequence the real wages of the working people are falling but the rate of super profits of capitalists are rising even with restricted quantum of production.....Thus the ruling class is passing the entire burden of its crisis on to the shoulders of the working people....."

The appeal further emphasised "..... unem-

ployment, rising prices, high taxation compounded by corruption and malpractices, hoarding and black-marketing by rapacious traders have made the lives of the people unbearable. The crisis is all pervading and the attack on the people is all out. High tide of repression is the order of the day. Legitimate strikes are banned, demonstrations of protests drowned in blood and agitations suppressed, efforts to organise movements frowned upon and unabashed victimisation resorted to demanding slavish submission to the dictates of arbitrary whims of ruling cliques. Draconian Acts like NSA, ESM Act, Disturbed Areas Act are being used to gag each and every legitimate movement of the working people. The whole system is geared to keep the labour as slave tied to apron strings of the capital.....

"In view of the above and taking lessons from historical experiences the trade unions today are required to realise its correct objective and formulate appropriate policies. The ruling class is out not only to suppress the militant class conscious section of the trade union movement but also putting all efforts to divert the trade union movement from its true perspective by pushing through anti-working class ideas. They advise the trade unions not to struggle but only co-operate (that too at their terms), to be 'responsible' and to become partners in management. The protagonists of the ruling class propagate that labour and capital should not develop a relation of confrontation but instead preserve the atmosphere of amity and co-operation for mutual benefits because of the fundamental 'commonness of interests' between capital and labour.....

"The agents of the ruling class more cunningly sell the same idea by preaching that the trade union movement should concentrate only on reforms and poultry concessions. But we know that, mere reforms keep intact the foundation of the power of the ruling capitalist class and concessions never alter the basic conditions, rather, keeps the exploitative system unimpaired....

"That is why, the struggling workers and employees today have learnt that mere reformism and economism in trade union movements is a curse on the working class and a boon to the exploitative capitalist class. Any trade union movement devoid of this class objective and goal of emancipation from capitalist exploitation is nothing but a weapon in the hands of capitalists who tell the workers not to disturb the capitalist exploitative system but remain content with the occasional crumbs thrown at them and continue to remain slave of the system...

"So the main question today before all trade unions remains to pursue the correct path of class struggle and to reject the line of class collaboration. This is a vital question to which no worker can keep his eye shut. The ruling class is afraid of the growing class struggle and so the capitalists and the government today are conspiring and unleashing heinous

devices of creating divisions in the ranks of the working people by fanning out all divisive forces and creating strifes amongst the people on the questions of caste, communal, linguistic, religions, provincial, local versus outsiders, reservationists versus anti-reservationists etc. etc.

"The need of the hour is therefore unity in the ranks of the working class. We believe that despite difference of policy and approach between different trade union organisations united movement can be developed and it is possible to jointly resist the mounting offensive of the ruling class and the government. The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) as in the past, stands firmly for this united trade union movement on common issues on the basis of agreed programme and code of conduct. But one aspect in this regard should always be remembered that unity is not for unity's sake but for advancing the struggle. So we urge upon all Central Trade Unions and all delegates participating here to unite for joint struggle on the basis of a minimum agreed programme and a code of conduct and to take this unity deep to grass root level".

With an appeal to take a vow the Appeal concludes "Let us vow to carry forward the struggle remembering that the working class today is the social force to change the course of history—the trade union movement must be equipped with this scientific idea, and build up the struggle based on higher values, culture, moral and ethics free from vile ruling class culture."

READ

1. Some Aspects of Struggle to build up Communist Character (English)
—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Re : 1.00
2. Do (Bengali) Re : 0.75
3. Do (Hindi) Re : 1.00
4. Gandhibad : Ek Alochanatmak Addhyan (Hindi)
—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Re : 0.75

Bagmati Rail Disaster —an unpardonable Crime

The railway accident of 4 16 Down Samastipur-Banmashi passenger train on the railway bridge over Bagmati river in Bihar on 6th June will go down in history as a most shameful example of how a government in our country can be criminally apathetic to the people.

The press reported that seven bogies over-loaded with passengers went off the railway track and got submerged deep down the river Bagmati. The government whether at the Centre or in the State seemed to be oblivious of the primary duty of immediately rushing all help and necessary arrangement for rescuing the trapped passengers most of whom died instantly.

Instead, for three days people were being fed with contradictory reports as to the probable causes of the accident or the number of persons dead to an unbelievably low figure.

That is to say, the sole concern for both the Railway Administration as also the Bihar state government was to trope out so-called excuses or mutual apportionment of blame but none of them did care to do what is expected of a government in any civilised society.

It is reported that only after the intervention of the Prime Minister that the military personnels and equipments were pressed in service, that too, after so much delay and such administrative bunglings of sending the personnels first and then the equipments. Indeed it is a government that works! After rescuing only 238 bodies from under the water, the rescue operation stopped declaring that it was not possible any further. The Railway authority tried to limit the figure of casualty at 200 when bare experiences and even the estimate of no less a person than the speaker of the Bihar Assembly put the figure

at so high as 3000.

The government's attempt to hush up criminal negligence which is at the root of this accident, unprecedented in our country, or for that matter, in the world, will be obvious from the diverse causes that have been framed up in nervous haste from different quarters.

First came the news that the railway track on the bridge gave way. Later it was denied and came the story that some village people were crossing the railway track with cattle and due to vision dimmed by heavy down-pour the driver could not check the speed of the train in time but suddenly used the brake and as a result the bogies went off the track to deep down the water. This cock and bull story having proved of no use, the final version came to the effect that a gale on the day virtually blew the bogies, several hundred metric tons in weight, out of the bridge to the river. Inventive brains indeed!

But to the misfortune of such inventive brains, the Meteorological department did not come to their rescue. "It did not record anything on the day nor received any information about any gale from weather office in the area." Besides the non-availability of the report neither the area nor the bridge bore any sign of such a gale passing over nor the people did witness any.

Put to such an unenviable position the government instructed the central weather office not to say anything, to the Press on the weather condition prevailing in the area on the day.

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So, all the attempts were, are and will be made to cover up what should be termed a national scandal.

Meanwhile, an army of VIPs, from high ups in

the Railways to the ministers, and deputies was trooping in the VIP lounges near around the place of accident and the state government had hardly any time to attend to the anxious queries of the bereaved families or to those suffering grievously after looking to the core and comforts of the VIP's.

This is the society where we live in! People have no security even when they travel a train. They will die like animals. The government has no concern to rescue the dead bodies, even nor to attend to the families destituted this way. No need of enquiry about the criminal negligence, omissions and commissions of the Railway authority. If at all there is a routine enquiry, it is to shield the guilt of the high ups and to make some poor paid employees, the scapegoat.

But the filthy bourgeois politics is not ended here. Even in the midst of such a ghastly accident, the group conflicts of the ruling party go on merrily. Who does not know the relationship between Mr. Jagannath Mishra, the Chief Minister and Mr. Kedar Pandey, the Railway Minister in the state politics?

Comrade Sankar Singh, C. C. member and Secretary, Bihar State Committee of our party has, while severely condemning the criminal negligence has demanded an open and thorough enquiry not to shield the guilty but to bring them to book meted-out exemplary punishment. He has also called upon the government to protect the victim families with adequate reliefs including employment.

Comrade Singh has urged upon the people as also the left and democratic political parties to unite in defence of these just demands so that even after committing this unpardonable offence the government can not get

Demonstration of Tornado affected villagers of Keonjhar, Orissa

On the last 26th May the local organisation of SUCI organised a big protest demonstration before the Keonjhar Collectorate against the government's negligence in rendering adequate help to and rehabilitation of the tornado affected people of the recently tornado hit villages of Keonjhar District in Orissa. More than 300 people of the storm stricken villages participated in the demonstration defying naked obstruction created by the police, government administration and Congress(I) goondas, who threatened the villagers not to join the demonstration of 26th. The local buses were forced to leave in the darkness of night at 3.00 A.M. although the scheduled time of their leaving was 6.00 A.M. On the way the Congress (I)

goondas tried to forestall the demonstration but ultimately failed. People walked about 30 K.M. to reach Keonjhar town to stage there a successful demonstration before the district collectorate with the following demands among others:

1. Adequate relief must be given to the tornado affected villagers.
2. Proper rehabilitation of the affected people must be arranged immediately.
3. All sorts of corruption in distributing relief materials by the government administration must be stopped immediately.
4. Free text books must be supplied to the students of tornado affected villages.
5. All affected students must be exempted from all kinds of fees including examination fees for one year at least.

A protest meeting against the District Collectorate and OCL management

6th June, Sundargarh,

A mass meeting under the presidentship of Sri Johan Dung Dung was held on 7.6.1981 at Saliyameta Village near Lanjiberna, to protest against the OCL management's attempt to acquire land from the villagers at negligible rate. Comrade SK. Kasim local SUCI leader and Convenor, of 'Lanjiberna Sangram Committee' was the main speaker.

The main speaker Com. SK. Kasim condemned strongly the attempt of the district Collectorate and OCL authority to acquire land on low return. He said while the poor villagers rightly demanded to pay at least one lakh of rupees per acre of land, the district authority has verbally declared to pay only ten thousand rupees per acre. He said the district authority was adamant and had not yet opened any

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away with mere excuses only to hide its guilt and deny responsibility to the people. While sharing the grief and agony of the victim families, we request them never to condone the crime of this government but to take the resolve to

be freed from the shame of such governance, such indignities. The destiny of the nation, the fate and future of the people can not be left at the hands of the criminals whether donning the robes of politicians or not.

CPI and CPI(M) vie with each other to whip up national chauvenism to please the national bourgeoisie and Soviet revisionism

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all these questions can be found if the class compulsion of the rulers of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is seen from bare facts and events.

The Indian Scene

After the 1980 election, Mrs Gandhi's party came to power with the high sounding slogan of a government that works. Indeed, it has worked. High rate of inflation and taxation, swelling unemployment, loss of jobs, widening trade deficit, mounting deficit financing, sluggish production, dwindling investment of capital despite cajoling and bounties of concessions, subsidies and subventions taking one-tenth of the budgetary resources, the much vaunted Sixth Plan becoming virtually a non-starter, sickness of industries widely spreading, communal and parochial forces rampaging, indignities to women almost a daily occurrence, degeneration and decay in the ethical standard of public life, man's life having neither security nor the dignity—such are the achievements of the government that works! But the government has certainly worked when it reintroduced the PD Act, made such new enactments like the National Security Act, Essential Services Maintenance Act, Disturbed Areas (Summary Trial) amendment, interference with the powers and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, unilateral settlements by GIC gazette notification or LIC Act and now the talks of taking away the right to strike in the name of 'industrial truce' by evolving 'consensus' of central trade unions led by bourgeois and social democratic parties including CPI and CPI(M). Already an undeclared emergency is at work in the country. A war like situation or war psychosis can only help

legitimise this condition and mute the opposition growing from the people. It also helps the Indian bourgeoisie otherwise.

India's economic strategists find no hope of securing enough money for industrial investment during the Sixth Plan for very little remains from the budgetary resources after meeting the ever increasing demand for subsidies from different sections of the capitalist class as also the mounting expenditures on defence and top-heavy administration. Despite all sorts of fiscal concessions and reversal of industrial policy, the private sector i.e. the monopolists show no inclination to invest because of basic reason of market crisis with more than 70% of the populace having no or very little purchasing power. That is why, there is now a concerted attempt on India's part to woo the huge accumulation of petrodollars (236 billion i.e. Rs. 188, 800 crores) of OPEC countries within which category falls most of the Gulf States, to come to Indian soil in their own or joint ventures with Indian monopolists. At present, 84 P.C. of this huge accumulation is tied up in advanced capitalist countries. But after the Iranian experience when during the American hostage problem Iranian capital was frozen in the US, the rulers of Gulf States surely felt disturbed.

It is to be marked that during her recent tour in the Gulf States, the Indian Prime Minister took with her ministers and high officials attached to Economic Affairs and Commerce. It was to explain to the rulers of the West Asian countries that India with technology, industrial capacity, trained manpower, developmental experiences can be of much help to these countries which had before

them the Iranian experience. Whereas these states can help India substantially if they agree to supply oil at contracted price. This will therefore be some sort of barter arrangement making possible at the same time outlet of finance capital of both sides. It will mean particularly a breakthrough for Indian finance capital in West Asia market.

For this object to fulfil, Indian Prime Minister was talking against both the super powers. When she was demanding withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan, she was collecting the good will of West Asian and ASEAN countries, so very essential for Indian finance capital as also to bargain with the Soviet for procuring most sophisticated military hardwares so as to emerge militarily as the most advanced and equipped within the region. This is not only to guard the pasture of Indian finance capital but to extend it farther so as to carve out a sphere of influence of its own. Another compulsion comes from the acute crisis in which the moribund capitalist economy is enmeshed with. As Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed long back that "the more acute the crisis is becoming the more militarised the economy of the imperialist capitalist countries is becoming. Attempts are being made by the imperialists capitalists to maintain, at least temporarily the boom of capitalist market through artificial stimulation by increasing military consumption."

—(War and Peace, Peaceful Co-existence And Peaceful Transition to Socialism)

And thanks to the parties like CPI and CPI(M), the bourgeoisie find no serious opposition to this diabolical design of starving the people to raise military budget

to such staggering proportions.

Be that as it may, when the Prime Minister, again, was accusing the US of disturbing peace on Indian Ocean by building naval bases, showing that security of the Gulf States is interlinked with that of Indian sub-continent, she was getting responsive ears from the West Asian states, playing upon their anti-US feelings and vociferous support from the Soviet lobby within the country.

So the war psychosis generated in India helps the Indian bourgeoisie many ways. It helps the aspirant Indian bourgeoisie to emerge as an imperialist power holding sway over an expanding region, firmer base of finance capital and stronger military might amidst grave crisis when people groan to pay for this price and social democratic parties play the role of opposition to keep them mum.

Pakistan—a seething Cauldron

For the military rulers of Pakistan, the story though a bit different, the compulsion is the same. People there have been going through uninterrupted ordeal of bearing the burden of a savagely repressive rule within which period two self-defeating wars have wrought havoc in their life. Apart from the severe economic exploitation and denial of minimum democratic rights, even the show of a bourgeois democratic system has become a matter, the rulers can ill afford. Since General Zia took over the charges of an almost permanent martial law administration, even the promised election, rigged though, true to the general feature in the sub-continent, has melt away. However, Soviet's military intervention in Afghanistan came as a boon to the military clique which playing upon the need of the country's defence has

virtually enslaved the nation.

By virtue of the interim Constitution, the country's judiciary has been made a mere appendage to the martial law administration. Thirteen High Court judges have been sacked. The matter has come to such a pass that Mr. Anwarul Haq, the Chief Justice of Pakistan Supreme Court, who was rather friendly with General Zia resigned after coming to the conclusion that the power of the judiciary to decide whether any legislation is valid is no more in Pakistan. The Karachi Bar Association summed up the situation thus: 'The regime has lost its legal and moral authority to stay on in power.'

Pakistan's economy is in shambles. Inflation rate is on the increase—on an average 15 p.c. a year, trade deficit mounting to Rs. 2,000 crores, foreign debt to well over Rs. 7,000 crores and the talk of devaluation of Pak currency by 20 p.c. is in the air. Over and above all this, the tremendous burden for providing food and shelter to the streams of Afghan refugees numbering now about 1.5 million as also mounting military expenditures spell doom for the people and the country.

Bangladesh Development

A state of Emergency has been clamped in Bangladesh following the assassination of Ziaur Rahman, the President of the country. Since then the relation between the Indian and Bangladesh governments has somewhat improved, whether temporarily or not. Before that, dispute over Farakka waters apart, deterioration in diplomatic relations and mutual acrimony were marked particularly on the question of territorial right over the New Moore Island in the Bay of Bengal. Whatever may

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Attempt to make the Judiciary, an appendage to the administration

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ment was clear—to protect the office of Prime Minister for Indira Gandhi from judicial review. The hated Forty-Second Amendment made a short work of basic and fundamental democratic rights and liberties of the citizens who after that piece of enactment lost their right to life even!

It is well to remember that the bourgeois liberal thinkers, the jurists who once defended the independence of judiciary calling it the sentinel of liberty and custodian of rule of law are today speaking in different tone. This is not to suggest that real liberty of the people is attainable under exploitative rule of capital, but to point out that during those days of renaissance or laissez faire economy the people at least enjoyed relative freedom which is at stake today in the period of monopoly. That is why those who were the avowed upholders of judicial independence are advocating today of a presidential type of highly centralised and personalised form of government on the plea of inducting talents or technocrats in the administration. But they speak not in vacuum. They voice but the class compulsion. The deep crisis set in the bourgeois system has assumed all pervading character. Even the apparently highly personalised party like the Indira Congress shows distinct signs of cracks. Not a single state unit nor a single state ministry is free from squabbles and internal rifts. There is the danger of its break-up under stress and strain in the socio-economic fields; other bourgeois parties and even the petty-bourgeois social-democratic parties are also fragmenting to groups and pressure lobbies. The bourgeoisie, intent on bringing two-party system is finding it difficult to sustain it even after the manipulated victories of its chosen

parties. The Janata experiment is a pointer to this reality. Not that, the bourgeoisie will not try again or abandon the idea but they are also, for what is called, a contingency planning'. From that contingency planning is being voiced the demand for a presidential type of government which will obviate the necessity of two or three well knit parties as bourgeois alternatives at the national plane. But to clear the deck for constitutional dictatorship in whatever form the judiciary is required to be a mere rubber stamp of the wishes of the ruling clique. That is why slowly but steadily there is renewed attempt to further centralise the administrative power and extending its hold and grip over the judiciary. This is the background against which is to be viewed the full import of the present controversy, at times acrimonious between the the Union Government and the Supreme Court.

The controversy— people's task

In this debate while the ruling party who are showing distinct trend of authoritarianism are holding the judiciary responsible for blocking the path of progress, claiming the supremacy of the parliament and the wisdom of elected representatives of the people. What all these mean, people know. People know that in the name of country's progress although the Constitution underwent changes nineteen times through amendments during the brief period of 1971 to 1976, they were meant to make the government not accountable to the legislature, the judiciary or to the bigger sections of the masses but to concentrate powers to defend a most oppressive and thoroughly corrupt social system. In fact, the false cry of people's cause has been the age-worn tactic of the

authoritarian rulers. Our country is no-exception.

Again, the Court that pleads for its innocence, as if the apostle of virtues is not for the common people but for those who can buy justice which more often than not begets gravest injustice against the deprived, against those who are robbed. Human progress has never been the product of courts' verdict nor of executive decisions. It has always been the product of conscious socio-political movement led by the force that can hold before the society higher moral values and ethics on the firm footing of which a new order of society can be brought into being. This is not to say that at a particular juncture, the tussel between liberal bourgeois thoughts that places sanctity of judicial forum above the filthy autocratic move of ruling political parties cannot or should not be taken advantage of by the toiling people who refuse to confine their attention within the bourgeois claptrap of constitutionalism i.e. fight within legalism-constitutionalism. The class-conscious toiling people must be aware of the warning of their leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that the real issue, the real fight is outside, in the open arena of class struggle. This issue or fight must be joined by the oppressed millions. Their resolute defence to inalienable fundamental and basic democratic rights and values can get the best expression in organised movement having the object and the real purpose of acquiring political power of their own. This parallel political power is the real guarantee of a radical social transformation giving real recognition to the worth of manhood.

That is why while the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties vie with one another in pursuit of authoritarian methods and

People must be alert against the diversionary tactics of Crisis-ridden bourgeoisie

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be the respective claim and counter claim, arguments for and against such claim and counter claim in the vital interest of the people of both the countries a just and peaceful solution is needed. In Bangladesh as also in our country, there are political parties and forces who will try to cash in on the issues in their petty parliamentary interest. But for the people of both the countries, the stake is the same. For them, the real issue is to defend and extend their democratic rights and liberties but people in both the countries are faced with crisis ridden ruling capitalist class and vested interest who deny them those to shackle them in brutal exploitation.

Crux of the problem

People of the sub continent are to be conscious of the very root of the all-out crisis that engulfs their social life. It is the capitalist productive system all over the globe that is in the throes of severe all-out crisis, the intense general crisis at its third phase. Moribund capitalist system of these countries of the sub-conti-

ment with further complexities of their own due to long subjugation under imperialist rule as colony as also the reactionary national bourgeoisie taking over the statepower from the imperialists have failed and will not be able to solve a single problem in people's life. It has nothing to offer new except degeneration and demoralisation. The crisis is so deep that the bourgeoisie is hard put in all these countries even to sustain a show of bourgeois democracy. Even with facade of parliamentary democracy, in India, the ruling class is adopting one method after another to stave off the crisis. Not only they are shifting the entire burden on to the shoulder of the half starved, ill-clad people and coming down heavily on mass movements at their first sight—they are also fanning up parochial, communal and divisive tendencies to disrupt the unity of the common people. As crisis mounts and popular discontent erupts, the desperate bourgeoisie all over the world seeks a temporary solution to war manoeuvres. But

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behaviours but are widely debating over constitutionalism-legalism, the class conscious people cannot harbour any illusion as to the real intent and purpose of this mock-fight and high sounding rhetorics. They know that it is a trap that both the bourgeois ideologues and petty-bourgeois constitutional reformists lay before them. But neither the court nor the ministry can bring in even a respite let alone freedom, from the crushing burden of capitalist exploitation unless there is strong movement for that by the people. The present political context when the petty-bourgeois 'left' parties who once called the people to join in move-

ment are not only averse to people's movement but are also doing their best to keep the people away from movement in their bid to improve the prospect of their being chosen by the ruling bourgeoisie as the trusted defender of moribund capitalist order, gives all the more urgency to the need of organised democratic movement of the people that our Party SUCI, as the party of the proletariat is striving hard and alone in the country to build up. So to join and strengthen this movement is now the most sacred task for all those who want to stand for freedom, liberty, democratic norm and values, ethics and progress.

Indian Sub-Continent

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even war manoeuvres cannot continue for long. Necessity arises for a shift to peace manoeuvres. People cannot lose sight of this fact.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great teacher of the proletariat warned us about this aspect long back, at a time when the US military clique having a severe bruising at the hands of the Vietnamese people was shifting to peace manoeuvre. The pseudo-left and pseudo-Marxists, the world over were hailing the dawn of a peaceful era and detente. But came the warning from the great teacher reflecting the revolutionary wisdom:

"Now we are observing a phase, though a temporary phase, very temporary phase where they (imperialists-capitalists—Editor, P. Era) are switching over, trying to switch over from war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre which have two edges for the imperialists. The same policy got reflected at a time in peace manoeuvre and at another time as war manoeuvre. One phase was a continuous indulgence in localised war, another was to try to come out of war impasse and to have a peace manoeuvre that too was just to stop the gap".

(Speech at the extended C. C. meeting, April 25, '71).

We quote this startling piece of revolutionary insight into war and peace from proletarian standpoint not merely to show its vindication in subsequent events, like in Reagan's victory and resumption of cold war politics in the US but also to warn against any illusion that may be created from the assurances and promises about the peace intentions of the bourgeois politicians of these countries in the sub-continent. The crux of the matter is that breeding ground of war is capitalism and so long therefore it remains, we are to be alert both against attempts to

generate war hysteria as also the danger of illusory promises of mutual good will and amity that often prove empty rhetorics, pressed under class compulsion and objective.

Role of Soviet revisionist clique

While, peace-loving, democratic minded people of these countries feel the necessity in their very interest-relaxation of tension in the entire sub-continent, peaceful and urgent solution of all outstanding disputes that exist between the neighbouring countries if not by one stroke, but step by step, this just urge is eluding fruition because of the super-power rivalry from hegemonistic desire.

That is why whenever a situation was maturing for closing of ties either between India and Pakistan or China and our country, it was marked that Soviet revisionist clique aided by its lobby-men tried their best to foul the atmosphere. This time also, on the eve of Chinese Foreign Minister's impending visit to India with constructive package proposal over the solution of long standing border disputes, the Soviet ruling clique is feeling uneasy. In a desperate bid, it did not mind stooping so low as to accuse Chinese hands behind the assassination of Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh. In tune with this counter move of the Soviet revisionist clique, CPI and CPI(M) are busy maligning the Chinese leadership for arms build up of Pakistan when it was obvious from the prompt diplomatic move of the Chinese Premier, Zhao Ziyang who toured Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal that the Chinese leadership was eager more than anybody for relaxation of tension in the sub-continent and for mutual understanding and help.

Long back, our party led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave the pointer to the world proletariat that:

"With days passing on, all the events that happened since the Twentieth Party Congress including the latest summit (Nixon-Brezhnev Summit—Ed. P. Era) have revealed that solely with the motive of increasing their respective spheres of influence, the leadership of Soviet Union is hand-in-glove with the US imperialists."

Indeed in the present phase of revival of tension it is the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan that is providing an ostensible plea for making its presence in the region by the US imperialism, playing on the security danger of Pakistan. Therefore those who would like to really fight US imperialism will demand the excuse for its presence to be removed at once, that is to say withdrawal of Soviet troops and armaments from Afghanistan. Again, those really desirous of relaxation of tension in the subcontinent can see very well that this can be possible when the neighbouring countries can settle their disputes in an appropriate atmosphere of understanding unhindered by super-power manoeuvring and pressure politics.

So to give the cry for relaxation of tension in the sub-continent will be a false one if attempts are also made simultaneously to vitiate the atmosphere as a proxy of superpower interests. India's interest or for that matter, mutual interest of the neighbouring countries demand, not to be pressurised and influenced by these forces.

In the same reading quoted above, our party also showed that, "...Soviet leadership have not only utterly violated the basic principles of non-interference of any country into the internal affairs of any other country, on the contrary they have given their stamp on the continuous interference and aggression under the garb of honouring 'obligations to allies', a language the imperialists use at the time of peace manoeuvres".

(On Nixon-Brezhnev Summit, Proletarian Era. Sept. 15, '78).

Hunger Strike by AIDSO against Police firing in Patna and Samastipur

In protest against the recent firing in Patna and at Samastipur the students of the Muzaffarpur District Committee of AIDSO organised a hunger strike at the local Kalyani Chak on the last 26th May. Simultaneously a mass signature campaign was also organised where hundreds of people registered their signature in support of the demands of the hunger-strikers. The whole programme was converted into a big street corner meeting in the evening and it created a great impact upon the masses. The demands included:

i) Autonomy of the educational institutions must immediately be

We Appeal

We appeal to the people of the entire sub-continent to be wide awake not only to the class designs of their respective ruling capitalist classes who are in desperation because of the ever-mounting crisis of capitalism with no prospect of any respite but they are to be alert also against the nefarious games of the super powers and their agents who are helping the bourgeoisie by fouling the atmosphere. The people can bring the situation under their firm grip not by falling pray to the machinations of war merchants and social democratic traitors. They can intervene effectively to demand peaceful solution of all outstanding disputes between the nations in the region only by the weight of their organised democratic movement. We appeal to them to be all attentive to this solemn task

They are to take their destiny, the destiny of their country in their own hands.

restored.

ii) Police must not enter into educational campus.

iii) All officials responsible for firing in Patna and Samastipur must be immediately arrested and given exemplary punishment.

iv) All arrested students must be immediately released unconditionally.

v) Scientific and secular education system should be implemented.

vi) Job or unemployment allowance to the unemployed.

vii) Examination must be held without any delay in R. M. L. College of Management and Labour Studies.

viii) Stop encouragement to communal and separatist movements.

ix) Stop atrocity over Harijans and down-trodden sections and women.

x) Police must not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movement.

Protest meeting against the District collectorate and OCL management

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dialogue on this matter with the small land-owners concerned. He said a justifiable settlement on the issue should be made by the district authority through direct talk with the small land-owners and Lanjiberna Sangram Committee. He urged upon the villagers to protest actively against this attitude of the authority. Others who spoke in the meeting were Mangra Oram, Jura Khalko, Budha Dhanwar, Philip Khalko, Bindra Kisan and Mangla Kisan.