

# What should be the Revolutionary Approach While in Bourgeois Government ?

—From the Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

".....(with) the establishment of the United Front Government.... a m p l e scope has also been created to control the bureaucracy and the police, foil the anti-people cliques and conspiracies of the privileged class and to unleash a mighty wave of democratic mass movement. But to make it a success, indomitable courage and daring initiative are necessary on the part of the United Front Government to pursue some well-defined clear-cut policies.

".....I say that the fault is in this system; it is this system that corrupts a man. If you in order to serve this social system or to reform it with a view to make it permanent and lasting take up the reins of administration then you cannot but be corrupt. You can also use the administrative machinery while in office of the government. But for that is needed a completely new ethical concept, a new outlook which would not mean rule of law literally

but would entail on you, the complex and heavy responsibility of supporting and patronising each and every legitimate movement of the people against the reactionary and privileged classes. For this, you will have to rise in revolt against the existing social order courageously. Those who talk of a compromise between the two not only cheat themselves but also cheat others.

".....Those who believe that the United Front Government is in a posi-

tion to do much for them and will remove the distress of the common men in our country are, either knowingly or unknowingly beguiling themselves and others. One may not object to their deceiving themselves, but we should definitely object to their deceiving the common men. Because, if people are allowed to be deceived thus, it would not only mean wastage of time but also help parliamentary illusion to take deeper root in mass mind. This in

reality will do us no good rather it will damage our cause greatly.

".....The state and the government are two different words having two distinctly different meaning. One is permanent, the other is temporary. One is the care-taker of the other—the government is the care-taker of the state. The United Front Government is fortunately or unfortunately the care-taker of the capitalist state in our country. Now the (Contd. to Page 7)

## COM. NIHAR MUKHERJEE

### Demands withdrawal of Capital Punishment Order

In an urgent telegram Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India urged upon the Acting President of India Shri B. D. Jatti on 9th July '77 to immediately commute death sentences on Miss Malina Dhak, alias Miss Renu Mukherjee and four other political prisoners awaiting execu-

tion and to probe into death sentences, if there be any more such cases and commute those too.

Comrade Mukherjee also urged for scrapping the provisions of death sentence.

Copies of the telegram have been sent to the Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai and the Home Minister, Sri Charan Singh.

### Police shall not interfere in Legitimate Democratic Movement

—SUCI Demands Declaration from 'Left Government'

Comrade Sukomal DasGupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI has issued to the press the following policy statement on the above subject on 20th June 77:

"The fundamental or qualitative difference between a government run by any party of the capitalist class and a genuinely left government lies in its attitude to the legitimate democratic movements of the people. It is for this reason that our party alone strove hard and ultimately got accepted by the United Front Government in West Bengal in 1967 that 'police shall not interfere in the legitimate

democratic movements of the people.' Our party is fully aware that since under the present condition a government is after all a care-taker of the capitalist state, a left government cannot absolve of its responsibility of making people politically conscious about the exploitative character of the capitalist state and of doing every thing to help, encourage and strengthen the legitimate democratic struggles of the people to grow and develop by making them free from police interference. The task of such a left government is also to educate the

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## Observe 5th August as the Memorial Day of COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH The Great Teacher of the Proletariat

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of our Party SUCI, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the age, our dearest leader, teacher and guide breathed his last on the 5th August, 1976. The coming 5th August will be the first Death Anniversary of the great departed leader. The Central Committee of our Party has decided to observe it as a 'Memorial Day' in a solemn and befitting manner in order to place before the people the great significance of the day.

In order to observe this day in a befitting manner the central committee has adopted the following programme :

- Hoisting of Red Flag in Party Offices and garlanding the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat on 5th August.
- Wearing of 'G. S. badge' on this day by all the workers and supporters.
- Literary campaign by selling party booklets containing Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thought.

### Memorial Meeting Of

COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

The Great Leader of the Proletariat

5th August ● Sahid Minar Maidan ● 5 P.M.

Main Speaker : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

President : Comrade Pritish Chanda

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA ( FORTNIGHTLY )

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# 'JANATA' GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET—

## THE SAME OLD MOULD

The Conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to install two-party parliamentary system in the country as was evident during the last poll to the Lok Sabha got its further manifestation in the first budget that has been presented by the Janata Party. The Congress as the ruling party of the bourgeoisie for the last thirty years defended and protected the aggregate interest of the capitalist class through tax and other fiscal policies in the budget. Now that the Janata Party has come to power it is playing and will have to play the same role as the defender and protector of the aggregate class interest of the bourgeoisie. No wonder, therefore, that tax exemptions to the tune of Rs. 240 crores, besides giving Rs. 284 crores as export subsidy, have been provided to the capitalists while a net additional tax burden of Rs. 142 crores has been imposed on the poor and middle class people.

### A Budget that Pampers the capitalists

Common people's expectation that now that they have been freed from Congress brand of 'socialism' some relief, some amount of justice would be given to them by the Party that has replaced the Congress. But that expectation has been belied precisely because of the reason that ours being a class-divided capitalist society the government runs not to fulfil the just wishes and expectations of the exploited millions but to subserve the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. The change of party or the government does not alter this basic social law.

So, through various concessions like further extension of scope and raising of the rate of the investment allowance, liberalisation in capital gains tax, dividend distribution, preferential treatment to companies undertaking 'rural welfare' and for taking over of sick units by Profit-making Companies etc., the government have given bounties of concessions to the capitalists besides giving export subsidy and reduction in excise and customs duties. The total reaches about Rs. 500 crores. Whereas, rate of surcharge on income of middle class people and indirect taxes like excise and customs duties have been enhanced to increase the financial burden on

poor and middle class people. The total comes up to Rs. 142 crores of which Rs. 130 crores will go to the central coffer.

On the expenditure side, defence takes one-third of the total and comes round Rs. 3042 crores. The Finance Minister claims that there has been a reduction by Rs. 56 crores. But along with this so-called reduction the government has provided for Rs. 45 crores as loans in the budget on various defence projects.

### Deficit Financing

#### absent in the budget?

The Finance Minister has made another bold claim that true to election promise, deficit financing has not been resorted to and the deficit in the budget has been slashed down to Rs. 72 crores only. The claim can not be said to be justified. The government has taken loan to the tune of Rs. 800 crores from foreign exchange accretions with the Reserve Bank. Money circulation has already increased on this foreign exchange accretion. So, if the present loan is further used to meet ordinary government expenditures, it will mean nothing other than deficit financing. Again the government will resort to market borrowing to the extent of Rs. 1000 crores which if paid for meeting government bills, will do the same thing. There will be increase in money and monetary resources

without addition to volume of goods in the market.

It is worth remembering that the money supply already increased by 17% in the last financial year and the whole-sale Price index registered an increase by 12%.

### What the Government's Survey says about the state of the economy

The Central Government before presenting its budget, placed the 'Economic Survey'. It reveals, despite many contradictions and paddings glimpses of truth. What are they?

(1) It makes an admission that the record production of 12 crores tonnes of food-grains in 1975-76 was not due to any improvement in agriculture as was claimed by the Congress government but was due to exceptionally good weather and that the country's agriculture continues to depend on weather and likely to remain so for quite some time in future.

(2) Despite good harvest, good buffer stock of grains, 'temporary stability' in prices and better foreign exchange reserves, the Survey notes that the state of the economy is 'disquieting' in as much as the growth of national income has been a meagre 2%.

(3) This is because of inadequate growth of purchasing power. And because of inadequate internal demand, domestic products were compelled to resort to export.

(4) But industry could not compensate for the loss of internal market by export because of stiff competition in the world market. As a result production lagged, there were more lay off, retrenchment of workers, lock-out and closure of industrial units. The case in point is the consumer goods industries like textile, jute and sugar.

Textile industry had to cut down production by 11%.

(5) The previous Congress Government tried for increase in public investment taking advantage of the favourable factors but failed because of acute recessionary condition in the market due to inadequate growth of purchasing power. The Survey, therefore comes to the conclusion that "new investment will be undertaken far more cautiously than in the past."

(6) The Survey, in its anxiety for increase in employment opportunities prescribes investment in agriculture and labour intensive projects like cottage and small industries distribution of surplus land to the landless and poor peasants for employment and strengthening the internal market.

(7) But it can not escape contradiction when it has to admit that the strategy of raising, yields through scientific cultivation can only succeed only "if farmers have the necessary finance to purchase required inputs" which is absent because of fragmentation in land ownership.

The Economic Times (14.6.77) also has to admit this fact when it says that "the present rural structure of a surplus labour force and a coalescence of trading and usury capital with large landownership" stands as a bar to sustained growth of agricultural production.

### Plan Expenditures— "Economic philosophy" of Decentralisation

The Janata Party's budget has allocated 30.4 p.c. of the total plan expenditure towards agriculture and allied activities. The expenditure figure is only 0.5% more than last years allotment in the budget of Mr. Subramaniam. As regards priorities listed in this years budget too, they are no shade different from the last years'. This fact has been admitted by the Statesman, a mouthpiece of monopoly bourgeoisie, in its editorial comment

on June 18, '77.

But Mr. Patel and his party want to make a distinction in this 'economic philosophy' from that of the Congress by raising the slogan of 'decentralisation of economy' and amazing though but nonetheless it is a fact that even the CPI(M) spokesmen are at one with this slogan and outlook.

Mr. Jyoti Basu, member of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) and the Chief Minister of West Bengal, in an interview with the correspondent of 'Blitz' had this to say:

"As far as the CPI(M) is concerned, we do not have any basic difference with the Janata Party on the issue of involving the masses in nation building work through the philosophy of decentralisation and this is exactly what we want to do at the state level."

(Blitz—June 11, '77)

'Ganasakti' the Bengali daily of CPI(M), in its editorial comment of 6th July on the solution of unemployment problem reflects the same approach.

It is simply amusing to note that the slogan of decentralisation of economy is being raised both by the Janata Party and CPI(M) as if to counterpose capitalism. This talk of decentralisation in economy in the present stage of monopoly capitalism, really means according to the spokesmen of these parties putting more emphasis on extending irrigation facilities and practices like double cropping, distribution of surplus lands to the landless and poor peasants. Moreover, rural programmes like building of roads, markets etc. by the use of 'grain for work' on the line of 'drydole' in T.R. works, will, they hold, engage more people. They are also holding that not much reliance can be had on the organised industrial sector in creation of job opportunities because the industry is in the midst of severe crisis. So, labour intensive rural

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cottage and small industries are to be encouraged by investment in order to create jobs in the rural sector in the economy. Together with these, 'seed money' from banks to unemployed youths will ease the unemployment problem. All this, they say, 'decentralisation of economy.'

The utter futility of these so-called schemes for reviving the internal market by increased employment are quite obvious within this capitalist system.

First the decentralisation of the economy is being talked about at a time when the Indian capital has not only given birth to monopoly capital but monopoly finance capital and financial oligarchy. That is to say it is a period of capitalist development of the economy where capital and product have been both concentrated and centralised together with the concentration and centralisation of financial resources in the financial institutions like banks, insurance and other government agencies. Unlike, therefore in the competitive stage of capitalism, is it possible today that decentralisation of capital and its investment will take place? Is it not a fact that bulk of the capital will have to be invested by the financial institutions which are the 'cashiers' of the monopoly bourgeoisie? Will they not be guided by the law of maximum profit in their investment programme? Is it not a fact that although it was claimed that more capital would flow to small and cottage industries before nationalisation of banks and insurance but experience is quite otherwise because of this law of monopoly capitalism?

It is therefore well to recall that even when Sri Morarji Desai was the Finance Minister, in reply to a question as to why instead of in Ambar Charkha, bulk of investment of capital of LIC had been in monopoly concerns, Sri Desai replied that because the latter could provide both the

## The Slogan of 'Decentralisation' Aims at Consolidation of Fascism

guarantee of return as also the rate of return which the former could not. This will be true in future too. So, the bulk of capital would go to monopoly concerns but just like the Congress, the present ruling party would make a fanfare of whatever little investment being made in small and cottage industries just to distract the attention of the people from the whole truth.

Secondly, at this stage of monopoly capitalism, small and cottage industries can survive only as ancillary to big industries. The reason behind the liquidation of rural cottage and small industries with the development of capitalism still remains which is the law of capitalism. It would therefore be not historic nor scientific to hold that the law of monopoly capitalism will continue to operate but small and cottage industries would be revived simply by the doles of the government. At best, they may be one among so many welfare schemes which would remain entirely dependent on the government both for financial resources as also the market. The question of tackling unemployment problem or reviving the market by such a palliative is just utopian, to say the least. So, it is obvious that as regards the implementation of this policy of 'decentralisation of the economy', the initiative and effective role will be with the government through banks, insurance and other financial institutions under its control. The task of providing markets for the products of small and cottage industries will also be with the government. That is to say the tasks of providing financial resources as also providing market for decentralised growth of the small and cottage industries will be done by the centralised administration of the government. It means more concentration of power and administrative

fascisation, already developed.

As we have already shown that in reality very little portion of the total investible capital will go to the rural small-scale industries and thereby the task of laying the rock bottom foundation of fascism will continue as before. The only job that the present slogan, therefore can do, is by adding to the political confusion of intellectuals and middle class people. No doubt, in the name of rural regeneration the party in power, will try to use the support of a section of the rural middle class by pampering them. To those who are acquainted with the economic policies of Fascist Germany, this will not be entirely unknown. Small peasant economy, middle peasants' viable farms, manufacturing to extract cheap labour were also the characteristic features of Fascist economic philosophy of Hitler's Germany. It is for this precise reason, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, one of the outstanding Marxist philosophers and thinkers of the era, reminded us, long ago that the petty-bourgeois social democratic parties had joined with the bourgeois parties in peddling this sort of hoax only to help the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to arrest major sections of the toiling people in the rural economy in a state of half-clad and half-fed condition either in small patches of land or cottage industries, just to provide extra lease of life to capitalist exploitation which is the root cause of people's miseries. Social-democracy is thereby playing its role as the 'last prop' of capitalism without bringing an end of which it is impossible to bring an end to capitalism.

### Lesson of History—Anti-Capitalist Socialist Revolution Can Alone Solve the Problems

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the

proletariat, our beloved leader and teacher, has taught the Indian working class and oppressed people:

The productive system in our country is not only a capitalist one but it is such that can hardly hold out any prospect of uninterrupted development of production. Capitalism in our country, though relatively backward is already crisis-ridden, chaotic-discredited. Present-day capitalism, unlike in its earlier period is incapable of bringing about industrial revolution by continuous, expansion of market. It is but natural therefore that unlike capitalism of the eighteenth century, capitalism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in the midst of third phase of intense crisis of world capitalist market, can not bring about, in any country, uninterrupted expansion of market. As a part and parcel of world capitalism which is moribund, capitalism in our country too stands as the bastion of reaction.

So, in the agrarian economy, although capitalism has made a deep inroad, it has done so not in the eighteenth century manner of uncompromising battle against feudalism. True, capitalist penetration in our agriculture has been possible only on the ruins of feudal relationship. But thorough-going modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture has not come about. Indian capitalism, in its own interest, out of fear of revolution, wants to arrest vast sections of the rural poor in small patches of land so that there is no alarming influx of rural unemployed to the cities which are already plagued with ever increasing number of unemployed, so that the problem of unemployment does not reach a bursting point when the uprising can easily be organised.

.....Within the present capitalist setup in our country, thorough going

modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture being conducive and complementary to industrial revolution is simply not possible. The conspiracy is therefore afoot to keep the majority of the population arrested in the rural economy in half-fed, half-clad condition. The agrarian programmes of the ruling bourgeois party and the parties who speak of National Democratic, and People's Democratic Revolutions are the unmistakable indications of the same bourgeois conspiracy.

...The questions of modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture, uninterrupted industrial development, doing away with economic dependence and solution of unemployment problem—all these fundamental socio-economic questions are inextricably linked up with the main political question of overthrow of the bourgeoisie from state power, smashing the capitalist state machine and freeing the productive system from capitalist production relation and motive force of production.

Therefore, all these fundamental socio-economic problems of our country can only be solved through anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution which is placed as the agenda of the day.

—(Free translation from the speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh)

It is therefore evident that all these parties, from the branded bourgeois parties down to the so-called 'Marxist' parties, behind the cover of 'solutions' of their own, of these basic socio-economic problems, try actually to evade the basic political question. They strive to perpetuate capitalist exploitation by consolidation of the base of fascism with empty talks of 'socialism', 'progress' and all that. The Congress did it. Now another bourgeois party and even the so-called 'Marxists' join in the same game of deception. But are they able to change the course of history? No, it is simply beyond their means.



## WHAT THE SPOKESMEN OF THE LEFT FRONT ARE SAYING ?

The "Left Front" Government has come to power in West Bengal. "Poll trends cheer up Share Markets" was the headline of The Economic Times of June, 15, '77. Writing on the reaction of the State's business and industrial circles, the paper noted :

"Even Lyons Range has not been deterred by the spectacular success scored by CPM and its allies in West Bengal and the consequent likelihood of the return to power in that state by CPM-led Left Front".

"According to reports reaching here, after initial hesitancy the shares had steadied up in Calcutta on the view that conditions this time would be far different. It was felt that the new leaders of the state government would not allow industrial relations to deteriorate because in such an event West Bengal will lag behind other states in industrial progress.

In another reporting on the reaction of the Business Circle of the state, the paper of the same date noted :

"A few representatives of industry and business, who preferred to remain unnamed, told this reporter that the business world in West Bengal did not consider co-operation with the CPM an impossibility. The main problem that would require to be solved would be the apparent contradiction between demands for concession to labour in the present inflationary conditions and the hesitant attitude of most managements on this matter.

The spokesmen felt that the CPM by being in the Government would be able to play the role of a good mediator, particularly in view of its strong control over a great number of labour unions in the state.

Secondly, the attitude of the Janata Party at the Centre could actually turn out to be one of

cooperation with the state government somewhat along the lines of the relationship between the last Congress Government and the CPI Ministry in Kerala." Before the election, during the election and after it has come to power, its spokesmen have left nothing vague as to its purpose and intention. Below we give some excerpts from their interviews given to the press :

Mr. Promode Dasgupta, Member of the Polit Bureau and West Bengal State Secretary of CPI(M) told in a Press Conference :

"We have never taken any programme of 'Gherao'. Nor it is a bold form of movement".

—(Ganasakti 11. 4. 77)

Mr. Jyoti Basu another CPI(M) leader and now the Chief Minister of West Bengal assured the business houses that "the Left Front would not encourage 'gheraos'. The Government would intervene if anyone was gheraoed. He (Jyoti Basu) said workers had the right to strike and organise Bandhs but these should not be resorted to too often.

—(Statesman 21. 5. 77.)

Dr. Ashok Mitra, former Chief Economic Adviser to the Union Government and "assumed to belong to the CPI(M)'s 'think tank' ", in an interview to the Economic Times, 25th May, '77 had this to say :

Dr. Mitra was asked as to why he chose the CPM. He replied: That party has a very large following among workers and peasants and once it is able to take certain decisions at the administrative level it would have "the persuasive power to ensure that the toiling sections of the community are taken into confidence and the programme is carried out with their support."

Would that ensure industrial peace and discipline? "I think so"

was his reply.

(The Economic Times—  
25th May, '77.)

Dr. Mitra's interview in "SUNDAY",  
12th June, '77.

Dr. Mitra drew a distinction between the present 'Left' Government and the earlier UF Governments and held that the present one was more homogeneous in character. The Reporter asked: This homogeneity itself could raise fears and Kerala, '59, could happen?

His answer: Now, what do industrialists want. They want stability and whom are they afraid of the most? They are afraid of the organised working class and the lower middle class in the urban areas. But do they have any influence at all over these sections? Or, does the Congress or the Janata control these sections? No, it is the CPM which has their loyalty and it is only the CPI(M) which can promise industrial stability."

Mr. Jyoti Basu, Member of the Polit-Bureau, CPI(M), the present Chief Minister of West Bengal in an interview to the Blitz, BLITZ, June 18, '77 spelt out the priorities as also the objective of the government under its leadership.

'As far as the CPM is concerned, we do not have any basic differences with the Janta Party on the issue of involving the masses in nation-building work through the philosophy of decentralisation and this is exactly what we want to do at the state level'.

Mr. Basu made it clear: It will be wrong to think in terms of parties or groups at any level from the panchayat to the centre. Even in terms of basic Marxist unity of the people, irrespective of the class to which they belong, it is not only possible but it is the only task of the day to bring order in society, improve the condition

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## TEACHINGS OF COMRADE LENIN

"The bourgeoisie need lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust and who would paint in fine colours, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk who would divest the people from revolution by depicting in glowing colours the charms and the possibilities of the reformist path."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of personalities in the government, a change of 'cabinet' etc. leaving the old economic and political order intact. The Mensheviks and opportunists of all countries, who fear dictatorship like fire and in their fright substitute the concept "conquest of power" for the concept "dictatorship of the proletariat" usually reduce the meaning of conquest of power to a change of cabinet to the accession to power of a new ministry made up of people like Schiedemann and Nosks, Mac Donald and Henderson.

...The Mac Donalds and Schiedemanns in power, while the old bourgeois order is allowed to remain, their so-called governments can not be anything else than an apparatus serving the bourgeoisie, a screen to hide the ulcers of imperialism, a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the oppressed and exploited masses—capital needs such governments as a screen when it finds it inconvenient, unprofitable, difficult to oppress and exploit the masses without the aid of a screen.....governments of this kind necessarily remain governments of capital in disguise.

...The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of government, but a new state, with new organs of power, both central and local, it is the state of the proletariat, which has arisen on the ruins of the old state of the bourgeoisie.

...(it)...arises not on the basis of the bourgeois order, but in the process of the breaking

up of this order after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie..... The dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolutionary power based on the use of force against the bourgeoisie.

...Democracy under capitalism is capitalist democracy, the democracy of the exploiting minority, based on the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority.

.....The talk of the Kautsky and Co. about universal equality, about 'pure' democracy, and the like, is but a bourgeois screen to conceal the indubitable fact that equality between exploited and exploiters is impossible."

'Today,...the preliminary condition for every real peoples' revolution is the smashing, the destruction of the ready-made state machinery....

The Proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one.'

\* \* \*

Let the liars and hypocrites, the dull-witted and blind, the bourgeois and supporters hoodwink the people with talk about freedom in general, about equality in general, about democracy in general.

We say to the workers and peasants; tear the masks from the faces of these liars, open the eyes of these blind ones. Ask them :

"Equality between what sex and what other sex ?

Between what class and what other class ?

Between what nation and what other nation ?

Freedom from what yoke, or from the yoke of what class ?

Freedom for what class ?

(Contd. to Page 8)

## Deputation to the Chief Minister By the West Bengal State Committee

On behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of SUCI Comrades Sukomal Dasgupta, Ashutosh Banerjee, Anil Sen, Protiva Mukherjee and Manik Mukherjee met the West Bengal Chief Minister, Sri Jyoti Basu to hand over a list of organisers, workers and supporters of our Party in the state of West Bengal who were either murdered or against whom hundreds of false or baseless cases were instituted on political grounds at different times by the Congress-Jotedar-Industrial owners combine in connivance with the police.

List of murdered comrades included the category of those cases

where despite repeated complaints, police took no action against the culprits and were kept out of the arm of law. Such cases number nine. Cases are also there where the culprits were punished by the court, the number being nineteen. In all these twenty eight cases of murder, adequate compensation has been demanded. It is to be noted that such instances of murder of our Party workers exclude the cases of murder of trade union workers attached to our party and the list of which has been submitted by UTUC (Lenin Sarani) West Bengal Committee.

The third category of instances comprised 273

false and baseless cases involving 3652 workers, organisers, leading comrades of our Party connected with peasants and workers democratic movements. They have been and are still being subjected to harassment for long.

The Chief Minister told the deputationists that the list submitted by our Party would be placed to the commission of Enquiry to be set up by the State Government but as regards giving compensation to deceaseds' families no decision had yet been taken at the government level. The Chief Minister agreed to withdraw false cases against our Party workers.

## BJMWU Warns Against IJMA's Tactics

4th July, Calcutta :

The Jute magnets in the state have again created a climate of crisis in Jute Industry to fetch further concession from the government and to squeeze the workers in order to maximise their existing profit of crores of rupees. They have raised a hue and cry over so-called shortage in supply of raw jute and proposed a scheme of block closer.

Representatives of Bengal Jute Mill Workers' Union affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) attended the Tripartite meeting convened on 3rd July last over this issue on behalf of the Union Minister for Commerce and Industries where the Chief Minister and Labour Minister of West Bengal were also present and the union placed its memorandum unmasking the tricky game of the jute mill owners and the actual cause behind this present problem created by them.

In its long memorandum the BJMWU categorically declared that the plea of so-called shortage of raw jute of the jute mill owners was quite baseless.

The memorandum said,

according to the Reserve Bank of India bulletin for January '77 the supply of raw jute for 1976-77 was 7.8 million bales whereas the consumption at the usual rate during the period was estimated at 6.2 million bales, thus giving a carry over of a stock of 1.6 million bales which clearly disproves the managements claim. Secondly, if the supply and consumption of raw jutes for the year 1975-76 is taken into consideration, it would be obvious that the supply position of raw jute was still worse. But still then, such hue and cry was not raised by the IJMA. The motive, therefore, behind the present posture is obvious enough. Thus the memorandum opined, the motive of the IJMA behind their move of block closer is obviously (i) to extract further fiscal and other concessions from the government under the cover of a created or artificial crisis, (ii) to continue the unfair labour practices imposed on the workers during the Emergency and (iii) to deprive the jute growers of a fair and remunerative prices for raw jute.

The union demanded that

government would not succumb to the pressure tactics of IJMA and side by side demanded in its memorandum among others (i) Immediate withdrawal of all the unfair labour practices like the 'Bhaga' system, denial of standard wages to the workers, denial of statutory benefits e.g. over time wages, gratuity and others ; (ii) Immediate opening of closed mills with full complements and with existing benefits and rights and (iii) Giving full wages to the workers irrespective of their fulfilling the so-called arbitrary targets of production unilaterally imposed by the management and payment of bonus etc.

The memorandum also demanded monopoly procurement of raw jute direct from the growers by the Jute Corporation of India at the fair price of Rs. 250/- per quintal.

The Bengal Jute Mill Workers' Union was represented by Comrade Fatick Ghosh, President, Comrade Sanat Dutta, Secretary of the Union. Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta and Comrade Bhabatosh Dutta also attended.

## WHAT THE SPOKESMEN OF THE LEFT FRONT ARE SAYING

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**of the people in villages and lay the foundation of viable industry throughout the country both in the public and private sectors'.**

In an interview with The Economic Times, Mr. Basu pointed out that **any basic transformation of society cannot be attempted by CPI(M) unless it is in power at the centre.** But a reasonable degree of reforms can be carried out from the state level, he felt.

Q: Do you suppose they may shy away from further investment if pressed too hard by the labour?

A: Yes, we do want to encourage industrial growth in this state. There is bound to be some contradiction between demands from labour, and what managements are willing to concede. But this need not in most cases

lead to any deadlock. The disputes can be settled round the table. Of course, if a particular management is adamant on refusing what the government considers to be legitimate, the workers will have the right to strike.

The contradiction is there in any capitalist society and yet there is investment. Therefore, I see no reason why managements should shy away from investment for this reason alone.

Q: The CPI (M) is said to be attempting to set a model in efficient socialist government in this state. Are you trying to start a form of liberal 'new socialism' somewhat along the lines of the Euro-Communism?

A: **Basic transformation of society is not possible unless you are in power at the centre,** but a lot of reforms

(Contd. to Page 6)

## Police shall not Interfere in Legitimate Democratic Mass Movement

(Contd. from Page 1)

people that so long capitalism remains the question of bringing happiness and prosperity in peoples' life is a kind of utopia and a sheer illusion. We are conscious that although no amount of relief can ameliorate the basic problems of peoples' life still then for every bit of relief and reform a left government has to depend not on bureaucracy, but on organised movement of the people which will be conducive to the struggle for emancipation.

"We strongly hold that such a government should never use administrative machinery for party purpose and should always maintain strict administrative neutrality.

"It is well known to our people that our party appealed to all the left and democratic parties times without number for the building up of a left and democratic front as an

instrument of struggle on the basis of a common programme, sound principle and code of conduct which is the need of the hour at the present stage of democratic mass movements. But we are constrained to note that none of our leftist friends responded to our call. Even after the election they have not changed their attitude.

"Consequently, the representatives of our Party in West Bengal Assembly from opposition will not only constantly raise their voice for strengthening the legitimate democratic movements of the people by making them free from police interference and fight for administrative neutrality but will also stand firmly against any attack from the rightist forces against leftism and peoples' cause and our party will resist with all its might any conspiratorial politics of toppling this government from any quarter."



## Inside the West Bengal Assembly

After the 'Left Front' Government was installed in West Bengal a short session of the Assembly was held to place Governor's Address, outlining the policies and approach of the government and Vote on Accounts for three months besides regularisation of Ordinances.

Taking part in the debate on the thanksgiving motion to the Governor's speech, on July 1, Com. Debaprasad Sarkar, elected from Joynagar Constituency, 24 Parganas and leader of our legislative party, raised many important points.

Comrade Sarkar showed that ours being a capitalist society, any basic transformation of it is not possible by change in government through elections. A government elected through ballot is nothing but a care-taker of the bourgeois system.

Some reforms can be brought about in order to give some relief and respite to the people long oppressed under the bourgeois rule although it should not be in doubt that those reforms are of very limited nature because of the exploitative capitalist system and the limitation of the constitution.

However, the character of the government is determined not by what it says but by its approach and attitude to bourgeois legality, police and administration as also to legitimate democratic mass movements. This basic approach and attitude was laid down at the instance of our Party by the first UF government in 1967 when it declared that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements.' The underlying objective of this declaration was to encourage people's legitimate democratic movement and make them politically conscious. Wherever possible the government should bring suitable reforms but in most cases it would be objectively proved that no fundamental problem in

people's life can be solved within the capitalist set up. In sum, not by dependence on police and bureaucracy but on the strength of people's initiative and movement a true left government should function.

But I must say this approach and outlook are absent in the Governor's speech that contains the government's policies and attitude. It makes only a vague declaration: "It will not be the policy of the government to send police to suppress people's movement." Unless the government says categorically that it wants to encourage legitimate democratic mass movements, this declaration means nothing.

Comrade Sarkar demanded of the government to declare boldly that 'police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements'. He drew the attention of the government that there had been cases of police intervention in legitimate trade union movements and activities. He cited in this connection two concrete instances when police arrested the Asst. Secretary and a Committee member of worker's union in Hindusthan Iron and Steel Co. DumDum, after a gate meeting was organised. And then police also arrested eleven worker of Bharat Laminating (Behala) at dead of night. Comrade Sarkar therefore demanded of the government to take a bold stand in restraining police from its interference in collusion with employers and vested class in legitimate democratic movement.

Comrade Sarkar also said that the Congress adopted many black acts during the Emergency to put curbs on people's movement one of which was the West Bengal Prevention of Defacement of Property Act of 1976 by which wall-writing was prohibited in city areas. He therefore demanded of the government to withdraw this act.

Comrade Probodh

Purkait elected from Kultali Assembly Constituency, South 24 Parganas, held that it is no use talking tall and giving empty promises. People want concrete steps and measures. For example, will the government declare lay off, closure and lockout by the management as illegal? Will the government abolish the notorious provisions of C. A. R. Service Conduct Rules, introduced by the British to subjugate the government employees?

Before the debate on the Governor's Speech, our representatives also took part in the debate on Vote on Accounts.

Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar showed that the previous Congress government was totally isolated from the people and had to depend on police for administration. Besides they were afraid of mass movement and as such as a protector and defender of the aggregate class interest of the bourgeoisie they strengthened police force from public money through budget. So, for long, it has been the slogan of the leftist movement in the state—curtailment of police budget to enhance budget on education and other welfare measures. Naturally, people expect that the Left Front Government will show this pro-people approach. But unfortunately though, none the less it is a fact that expenditure on police as shown in the vote on Accounts far exceeds the figure during the Congress Government. While it was 5 p.c. earlier, it is now raised to 7 p.c. of the total budgetary allocations. He hoped that the Left Front government would curtail the expenditures on police and top-heavy administration so as to channelise public funds to more useful purposes like public health, labour welfare, creation of employment opportunities etc.

Comrade Renupada Haldar elected from Mandirabazar Constituency, 24 Parganas, while dwelling on the Vote on Accounts showed that just as on the

## Glorious Victory against Bus fare rise in Gauhati

[ By our Correspondent ] Gauhati 7th June.

Under the guidance of our Party SUCI the AIDSO and UTUC (Lenin Sarani) took the initiative to organise the people against the fare increase in Gauhati city buses. By the machination of the bus owners and the Assam Government combine fare in city buses was enhanced by 50% of the existing fare rate. UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and AIDSO, guided by our party took the initiative to resist this move and for this contacted the left parties of the state and their mass organisations. A 'Chhatra Sangram Samity' was formed with students from schools and colleges of Gauhati but CPI(M)'s student wing SFI did not participate. People saw that however much this

party is vociferous about people's cause, when situation demands active participation, it simply backed out. For long, there was no such resistance movement against anti-people move of the government and business community. But thanks to the initiative of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and AIDSO, the resistance move created great enthusiasm among the people. Sensing a stiff resistance and movement the government withdrew the order of the enhancement of fare on 5th June last. This was to avoid the 'Gauhati Bandh Call' given by the Chhatra Sangram Committee on the following day. It was therefore a significant victory and shows the fighting mood of the people, given the proper leadership.

## What The Spokesmen Of The Left Front Are Saying

(Contd. from page 5 ) can be carried out at the state level. As for basic transformation, we shall recommend measures to the central government, but avoid any confrontation. The question of 'new communism' can be debated if one gets power at the centre. In any case we have not changed our party's programme because of any new developments and I don't want to go into the question of the policies of the European Communist Parties. It is for them to decide.

In the meeting held on the Brigade Parade Ground

Calcutta, on 26th June, to celebrate the victory at the poll, the CPI(M) leader Mr. Jyoti Basu told :

"Class differences and conflicts are natural in a capitalist society. In the interest of West Bengal's economy we will seek to ensure that these conflicts do not intensify.....The right to strike is the ultimate weapon in the hands of the working class and we can not ask it to give it up. I hope industrialists will see to it that the need to use that weapon does not arise."

—(Statesman June 27, '77)

expenditure side, in the income side also, the old tradition of taxing the poor and giving fiscal concessions to the rich still continued in the present Vote on Accounts. He showed that while the Agricultural Income Tax, imposed on the rural rich has been slashed down financial burdens of common people by the indirect taxes like, excise and sales tax, Motor vehicles tax etc. have been enhanced. He hoped that the government would make a departure from the Pro-capita-

list budget of the Congress regime by reducing indirect taxes.

Comrade Bejoy Bauri, elected from Raghunathpur, Purulia District drew the attention of the government to the pitiable plight of the beedi workers in Purulia who number about 30 thousands. These workers have long been deprived of minimum wage rate declared by the government. He hoped that the government would at least ensure the minimum wage rate for the beedi workers of this district.

## What should be the Approach of the Revolutionaries while they are in Bourgeois Government

(Contd. from Page 1)

question before us is should this government work as a faithful agent of this capitalist state as did the Congress Government or should we give the discontent of the people against capitalism the concrete shape of an organised movement? This is the real issue. These two roads are open before us now. The reactionaries and revisionists regard the government as all powerful.

\* \* \*

"A left government can be basically different from the other previous government, so far peoples' interest is concerned, only if it adopts such a policy. And only by adopting such a policy, this left government can be basically different from all other previous governments. People of our country have already experienced that not only the Congress governments even the governments run by the PSP and CPI as well (Kerala and Travancore Cochin) did not hesitate to suppress people's legitimate movements on the same plea of "law and order".

".....Not only that, a left government should set a bright example in protecting people's interest by always removing all obstacles set before the mass movements by the bureaucracy as well as by effectively restraining the police who on and often suppress by brutal force the legitimate democratic mass movements on the plea of maintaining "law and order".....

"The Cabinet should also issue a general circular to all departments asking them to instruct in writing their respective officer and employees to strictly observe impartiality and maintain same standard where different parties are involved.

\* \* \*

"..... It should be

realised that in a capitalist society to depend on law and law alone will not deliver any good to the people. Because whatever is legal is not necessarily justified, moral and humanistic. It is more true in a capitalist society of the present day where order has become injustice. On the basis of this outlook, the United Front Government will have to patronise the mass movements. If the government can perform this correctly then something real for the people will be done. And it will be as good as cheating the people if this is not done however much is spoken of otherwise.

".....In conducting mass movements it is necessary to have the outlook perfectly clear on certain points. Every student of ethics and jurisprudence knows that what is legal may not be always justified and moral. Similarly everything illegal in the eye of law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral.

The government will fail to formulate correct policy towards mass movements, if it is not guided by this outlook. And in that case it will not be possible to acquire the land kept in possession by the jotedars in excess of the ceiling, under Benami transactions and distribute it to poor and landless peasants. But it is an imperative duty of the United Front Government, to do so. It is impossible to do it with the help of law alone.

\* \* \*

"Now, when under the present set up the capitalists not to speak of paying legitimate dues of the labour, are depriving them of their minimum necessities even—the workers in order to sustain, have no other way than to develop movements on legitimate demands. And the 'gherao', about which so much hue and cry has been raised is just one of

the various forms of democratic movement evolved through twists and turns of objective struggles and is already established as an accepted form of mass movement in our country.

Tata says that 'gherao' is the law of the jungle. I say if gherao is the law of the jungle then the law you capitalists-monopolists defend to perpetuate this exploitative capitalist productive system is the law of the deepest jungle. The object of 'gherao', workers take recourse to, is to establish social justice and not to exploit others. On the contrary, the rights of the capitalists are to trample under foot and crush the ideals of humanity and usurp all the fruits of social labour for personal benefit. And strangely enough they call it civilisation and denounce 'gherao' as the 'law of the jungle'. If gherao is the law of the jungle then the unfettered rights of the owners to retrench the workers, that is, the 'law' that stands for this unfettered right of the owners to retrench without giving any protection for the right to work, is the law of the deepest jungle. Such a law is uncivilised, primitive and brutal in nature. It ought to be changed before criticising the 'gherao' movement of the workers. The workers do not take recourse to 'gherao' just for a fancy. They toil hard day in and day out, they toil hard to produce for the society, for the whole country. Yet the proponents of anti-gherao movement do care nothing to protect the interest of the workers, the creators of social wealth. Had the interest of the workers been protected then they would have no necessity to take recourse to gherao. So long their interest is not protected, they would fight for their rights. If the 'law' instead of defending their interest stands as a bar, then if need be, they would defy such law and shall uphold the cause of

## UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Demands Non-Interference of Police in Legitimate Trade Union Movement

The State Labour Minister of the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal Sri Krishnapada Ghosh convened a meeting of the representatives of the Central Trade Unions on July 11 on the question of 'Industrial Relations (including Trade Union Rights) and other allied matters'.

Comrade Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) West Bengal State Committee and Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta attended the meeting.

Participating in the discussions, Comrade Fatick Ghosh, demanded that police should not intervene in the legitimate trade union movement as was the declared policy of the UF government in 1967. He cited cases of police interference in Dum Dum and Behala. The

union executives were arrested for holding gate meeting in Dum Dum. In Behala, the entry into factory to join duties by 98 workmen was being barred by the employer with the help of anti-socials and police despite the order of the Labour Department to allow the workmen to join their duties. Police also arrested eleven workmen. This is happening even after the installation of the left government. Comrade Ghosh also suggested that along with the two demands for bonus and CDS refund, reinstatement in services of workers and employees who suffered dismissal and termination during the Emergency in private sector concerns should also be included.

(Contd. to Page 8)

human justice—if need be, they shall force a change in the law itself."

"(Therefore)....the UF government shall also stop police interference in legitimate democratic movements, contrary to the practice during the Congress regime, and control bureaucracy effectively. Our party feels that this requires indomitable courage and firm conviction—the mentality to appease bureaucracy must be discarded.

"...And all this can not be performed depending solely on the administrative machinery. If we depend solely on this machinery the task will simply be foiled. So we need people's committees. On the question of the people's committees, the United Front Committee is sharply divided. The proposal for setting up the people's committees is an old proposal of our party. At the time of conducting food or other mass movements when we asked the struggling people to build up people's committees we did so in order to develop peoples' own instrument of

struggle.

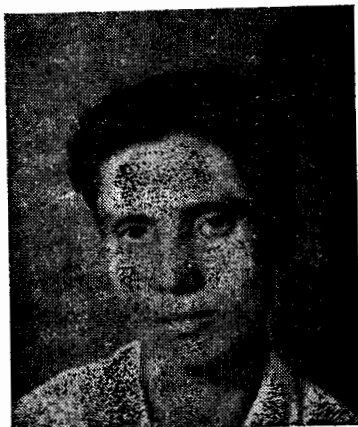
"...But the People's committees which we are asking the people to form now, since the formation of the United Front Government will be of different nature. The task of these people's committees are very limited and are complicated in nature. These people's committees which we need now will help the government in day-to-day administration and in implementing its progressive policies. They will also work to raise the level of political consciousness of the people and strengthen their organised movement to foil all conspiracies on the one hand and on the other, to keep the government on to the right track.

[Extracts from the speeches of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, on 24th April '67, at the Engineering Worker's Conference, Calcutta on 14th May 1967, published in socialist unity and a booklet in Bengali titled "Trade Union Karmee O Shramik Vaider Prati and another booklet 'Agami Sadharan Nirbachan O Bampanthi Front', 1961.]



## RED SALUTE COMRADE RAMAPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

Comrade Ramaprosad Roy Chowdhury a member of the Birbhum District Committee, an important state level organiser of the party, a member of the executive body of KKMf, member of the All India Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and a front ranking leader of many mass organisations breathed his last on June 30, at 8-20 P.M. at Suri District hospital.



As soon as the death news of Comrade Roy Chowdhury reached the office of the West Bengal State Committee, the red flag was lowered to half-mast and all the comrades and leaders present in the office assembled in the central hall to pay revolutionary homage to him in a solemn ceremony. After the observance of one minute's silence Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI paid glowing tribute to the revolutionary life of Comrade Ramaprosad Roy Chowdhury and highlighted how Comrade Roy Chowdhury, being inspired by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the departed leader of the SUCI and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the Era, transformed his life by carrying relentless struggle for the complete identification of the individual life with the party and revolution. Comrade Mukherjee added that the revolutionary life of Comrade Ramaprosad Roy Chowdhury would ever remain a source of inspiration and strength to the party comrades. In a resolution adopted by the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI on the same day revolutionary homage was paid to him. The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

In Birbhum, people paid their last respect to the departed leader in a moving way. Countless wreaths were placed on behalf of the different party committees, mass organisations and by the leaders and comrades. As the news spread many distinguished persons of the town and of different political parties and mass organisations came to pay their homage to the departed leader.

In a memorial meeting at Suri on 3rd July, presided over by Comrade Jiad Bakshi, a member of the Birbhum District Committee, revolutionary life of Comrade Ramaprosad Roy Chowdhury was highlighted by Comrade Pratiba Mukherjee, the Secretary of the Birbhum District Committee of the SUCI. She also recalled the untiring zeal of Comrade Roy Chowdhury in organising the poor and down-trodden people of the district and in inbibing them with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat.

### Teachings of Comrade Lenin

(Contd. from Page 4) Whoever speaks of politics, of democracy, of liberty, of equality, of socialism and does not at the same time ask these questions does not put them in the foreground, does not fight against concealing, hushing up and glossing over these questions is of the worst enemies of the toilers, is a wolf in sheep's clothing, is a bitter opponent of the worker and peasants, is a servant of the landlords, Tsar, capitalists.

## Central Committee Statement On President's Election

On the eve of the President Election the Central Committee of our party SUCI has issued the following statement:

"The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India in a resolution dated 1st July, 1977

expressed its firm opinion that in the present political situation Indian people needs such a personality in the chair of President of India, who shall uphold, defend and protect democratic norms, values, rights and legitimate democratic

mass movements and also shall not allow this post of high dignitary to be used as rubber-stamp of the ruling party.

"For this, the Central Committee of the SUCI urges upon all the left and democratic parties to set up a left candidate for the post of President of India."

## UTUC (Lenin Sarani) DEMANDS

(Contd. from Page 7)

Following is the memorandum submitted to the State Labour Minister, by Comrade Fatick Ghosh on behalf of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), West Bengal State Committee:

### Management's offensives are to be withdrawn

Since 1972, during the Congress misrule, a veritable reign of terror prevailed in the industrial field in particular and throughout the State in general. The biggest casualty has been the legitimate trade union movements. The workers were attacked by various methods like retrenchment, dismissal, termination, bar of their entry within the factory, lay-off, lock-out, closure etc.....

Working people expect that the Government will compel the management to reopen closed and locked out factories and establishments and take back the full complement of workers and employees with all the facilities and benefits they were enjoying.

Working people do expect naturally that their right to strike and other accepted forms of movement will be fully restored and guaranteed by the government.

### The Bogey of Industrial Unrest

...It would be relevant to cite the Government data to show that out of the total of 114 million mandays' loss in India during 1976, 7.7 millions were in West Bengal. But out of this 114 million mandays' loss as much as 9.3 millions were due to lock-out by the management. Again comparative figures show that whereas in Maharashtra, man days'

loss due to industrial dispute varied from 30.7% in 1965 to 27% in 1972, in West Bengal it varied from 12.5% in 1965 to only 10.8% in 1972.

### Police Must Not Interfere in the Legitimate Trade Union Movement

In order, therefore, to develop legitimate trade union movement of the working class to defend their rights and advance their cause, the United Front Government in 1967 declared the policy of 'non-interference of police in legitimate democratic movement'. This created a new upsurge in trade union movement.

The working class in this State, particularly expect that the same approach shall be adopted and followed by the 'Left Front' Government by preventing police interference on any pretext in the legitimate trade union movement.

But we are surprised to note that even after the installation of the 'Left Front' Government police are interfering in the trade union movement to aid and assist the managements in pursuing their anti-labour practices just as they were doing during the Congress misrule.

Through our memorandum submitted to you and the Chief Minister on 27.6.77 and 4.7.77 we have brought to the notice of the Government several instances of police interference. We showed there that even the Officer-in-Charge of a police station had gone to the extent of defying the order of the Labour Department and given his own interpretation about labour laws. This is strange indeed. It

goes without saying that this role and attitude of police can not ensure a healthy atmosphere let alone developing good industrial relations.....

### How the Industrial Relation can be improved

1. All closed and locked out factories and establishments are to be immediately reopened with full complements of workers and employees.

2. All those employees and workers who were dismissed, terminated, suspended, retired forcibly and were not taken back by the managements as vindictive measures should be taken back or reinstated forthwith. Such cases cover the whole period since 1972.

3. Full trade union rights including right to strike must be ensured. Police interference to break strike and all other legitimate trade union movements on the pretext of maintaining 'Law and Order' should be stopped forthwith.

4. Union offices, forcibly occupied by anti-socials backed by police and administration are to be returned. Free and unrestricted movement of union executives and activists to carry on usual trade union activities, holding of gate meetings, processions, demonstrations etc. should be fully guaranteed.

5. Unilateral increase in work-load by the management and cut in wages should immediately be removed.

6. Settlement of bonus question by restoring 8.33 p.c. as the minimum, much before the Puja.

7. Settlement of all the pending disputes between the workmen and the employers.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE