

# Make The Defeat Of Congress Purposive

## EDITORIAL

### Broadest Possible Unity on the Basis of sound principles can alone advance the cause of the People

Soon after the announcement of the Lok Sabha poll Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of the SUCI issued a statement on 30. 1. 77 on behalf of the Central Committee and in the said statement the Central Committee appealed to all opposition parties to forge a broadest possible unity to restore, defend and extend democratic rights and civil liberties of the people. Under the present suffocating situation when thousands of political prisoners are behind the bar and there are warrants of arrests against thousands of political workers, when the common people are denied all civil liberties and democratic rights through curtailment of fundamental rights and imposition of a spate of restrictive measures, when the administration has wielded supreme power by such draconic acts like MISA, D/R etc. and when the press has been gagged by the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable matters Act, besides censorship, it is imperative that the restoration of a congenial democratic atmosphere in the country is the main question and so the question of election is also to be considered in that perspective. Judged in the context of the present suffocating situation of our country, the appeal of the Central Committee of the SUCI for a broadest possible unity of all opposition parties is not a political exigency but an absolute necessity for effectively fighting against the onslaught on civil liberties and democratic rights in order to restore, defend and extend these rights of the common people. Our party has been consistently stressing the supreme necessity of the restoration of a congenial democratic atmosphere much before the announcement of the Lok Sabha poll and at a time when some opposition parties including a party claiming itself to be Marxist-Leninist were raising the demand of peoples' mandate or Referendum on the question of constitution amendment even under this suffocating situation marked by the total absence of democratic atmosphere. At that time we categorically stated our

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Calcutta, 13th February, '77: The Central Committee of our Party Socialist Unity Centre of India has issued the following statement to the press today:

"After reviewing the recommendations of the State Committees, the Central Committee of Socialist Unity Centre of India, has decided to contest in the following constituencies in the ensuing Lok Sabha election and the Assembly election in the State of Kerala.

"The Central Committee, directs the state committees that, even at this stage, they should strive for electoral adjustments, based upon principle as suggested earlier, with other opposition parties.

## List of Constituencies We shall Contest

### Parliamentary Constituency

#### West Bengal Name of Candidate

1. Jalpaiguri Prof. Joydeb Mondal
  2. Murshidabad Samsujjoha Biswas
  3. Joynagar (SC) Probodh Purkait
  4. Mathurapur (SC) Renupada Hilder
  5. Tomluk Prof. Ashutosh Samanta
  6. Bankura Ashutosh Binerjee
  7. Birbhum (SC) Brojagopal Saha
- and
8. Calcutta South
  9. Jangipur

### Other States

Assam—Dhubri, Gauhati, Karimganj (SC), Silchar.

Bihar—Muzaffarpur, Vaishali, Chhapra, Dhanbad, Jamshedpur.

Haryana—Rohtak or Mohendragarh

Orissa—Jajpur (SC), Sundargarh (ST).

Uttar Pradesh—Meerut

Kerala—Quilon

### Kerala Assembly Constituencies

Quilon, Kundara, Ecavipuram, Chathannoor.

## Let us recall the great teachings of Com. Shibdas Ghosh at this hour

".....Say for instance, an election battle is on us—and we can not but participate in the battle. One may hold: It is a mere election, we are fighting against Congress. Has revolutionary politics anything to do with it? And any and every means adopted to defeat congress is surely a revolutionary

one. No, certainly not! Because you must understand that in an election battle, Congress is on the one side, the opposition parties are on the other and so the people are involved.

So long the revolutionary situation has not matured, whether the people want elections or not, like it or not, welcome

it or not—people are dragged into it, they get involved into it. A revolutionary situation means, when the people have thoroughly realised the utter futility of the parliamentary system—that elections will bring no good to the people; they are well-organised

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## Contribute Generously to the ELECTION FUND

In an urgent call to the workers, supporters, sympathisers of our Party, and to the people at large, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary SUCI urged for generous contributions to the Election Fund of our Party. Comrade Mukherjee, has hoped that people who are appreciating the principled stand of our Party will also come forward to render all sorts of material and moral support in carrying through this stand in the electoral battle.

## What the CPI(M) says about Left Combination VIS-A-VIS OUR POSITION

While talking to the reporter of the Jugantar, a Bengali daily, on 4. 2. 77, CPI(M) leader Jyoti Basu was reported to have said about S.U.C.I after our leaders met them at their Party Office, the following:

"Representatives from

this party (SUCI) came to our Party Office, this evening. They want electoral alliance. But they are not within the left front. So, the question of alliance with them does not arise at all."

Mr. Jyoti Basu also said:

"When Jayprakash Narayan started his movement, we then talked with Ex-Chief Minister Mr. Prafulla Chandra Sen on the question of initiating a movement. SUCI got very much angry at that

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## Restore, Defend and Extend Civil Liberty and Democratic Rights

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view point in an article "Constitution Amendment—A Study"—published in the Proletarian Era dated June 15, 76 and also in another article 'A few questions on the issue of Amendments to the constitution' published in the P. Era dated November 1, '76 regarding the correct Marxist-Leninist angle in judging this question. We pointed out that such a demand would only provide an opportunity to the capitalist class to give a democratic stamp on all their undemocratic acts and so a working class party could not raise any issue other than the main question of the restoration of congenial democratic atmosphere in the country, under the given situation. Guided by such an outlook our party took a positive stand in the formation of the Peoples' union for Civil Liberty and Democratic Rights—a broad based platform for the restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights. Had all the opposition parties been steadfast in their demand for the restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights, they might not have to be faced with the election in such a suffocating situation. But under the situation when the election has been announced, this election should have been viewed as a part of the battle for the restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights. And in this fight for the restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights, it is necessary to forge the broadest possible unity of all those forces who are really committed to restore, defend and extend the rights. In course of conducting this movement a left core might have emerged in its womb and this united left core would have provided in the long run a viable left alternative to the country. So the central committee of the SUCI has given the call to forge a broadest possible unity of all those who genuinely stand for civil liberties and democratic rights of the people on the basis of a clearcut political objective, organisational

principle and norm in order to not only ensure the defeat of the ruling party but also to make this defeat a really purposeful one through a programmatic understanding on the question of civil liberty and democratic rights of the people. With this political objective in view our party approached other opposition parties like the Janata Party, the CPM and others. But the CPM leadership did not consider the question of a programmatic understanding on the issue of civil liberty and democratic rights to be an important one and the central committee of the CPI(M) clearly stated, "our aim is to see that the maximum number of votes are registered against the Congress rule" (Resolution of the central committee of the CPI(M) on 30. 1. 77).

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and went out of the front. Now when the election is near they want to come. But we have decided not to include them and they have not been taken.

**Rejoinder of our Party**

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI sent the following rejoinder on the same day, in a statement to the Press:

"We are surprised to see the comment purported to have been made by Sri Jyoti Basu as published in the 'Jugantar' (4.2.77.) reported by its State Reporter.

We went to discuss with the CPI(M) as we did with other opposition parties with the proposal of forming the broadest possible unity of all those forces who truly and firmly stand committed to restore, defend and extend civil liberties and fundamental and democratic rights and to make this as the central focal point in the coming election as also to ensure the defeat of the ruling Congress. We did not go with any proposal for inclusion of our party in the six party combination. It is known to all, that for long, there has been noth-

**EDITORIAL**

From this behaviour of the CPI(M), it seems that the leadership of this party are eager only to have some electoral gains and they do not bother at all for the future of the left and democratic movement of the country. Not for a broadest possible alliance with all the opposition forces on the basis of a minimum common programme on civil liberties and democratic rights but for exigency alone the CPI(M) to-day sought electoral adjustments with the very Janata Party whom they were attacking till the other day as dangerous arch reactionaries and extending support to Sm. Gandhi for fighting them, Mr. E.M.S Numboodiripad and Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjit in a joint statement as

**WHAT THE CPI(M) SAYS**

ing like a Left Front in West Bengal. And to forge a Left-Front, it is our party that alone strove hard, for a long period. What really exists, at present, is a fragment of the original Nine-Party Combination, now reduced to Five or Six Party issue-based combination. Had our Party been in that combination, there would have been no question of any separate talks with them on election alliance. The question of alliance arises only with those parties who do not belong to the same combination. As for example, they are trying for an election alliance with the Janata Party, we too, are having talks with them.

We took the initiative for opening talks with all the opposition parties, with a definite proposals on the vital question as to whether this alliance will be based on a clear-cut principle or on the basis of mere adjustment of seats. But if they are interested only in making an alliance with the Janata Party but not with a left party like SUCI,—if this be their attitude, then instead of dragging such irrelevant issues, they could better spell it out openly.

The CPI(M) did not

published in the 'People's Democracy' on December 12, '76, categorically reminded Sm. Gandhi of the 'support' extended to her by the CPI(M) and stated that the charge against the CPI(M) about its "attempts to remove Sm. Indira Gandhi from gaddi" was a 'canard'. In spite of such a definite pro-Indira stand hardly a month before the announcement of Lok Sabha poll, the CPI(M) leadership now are taking anti-Indira posture as it is expected to give them maximum dividend in the election. It is a fact that the CPI(M) leadership and other opposition parties as well are raising the demands of democratic rights and civil liberties in their election propaganda, but none of them has made these points the focal point of their alli-

participate in the mass movement led by J. P. in Bihar on the plea of rightist participation. Here also, not on the question of any movement, difference arose when the CPI(M)—only for holding a convention, that too for a day, joined hands with P. C. Sen, in a left-oriented state, West Bengal even at the cost of left unity and naturally to the detriment of the movement itself.

The political ideological criticisms which we launched at that time, centring round these questions against the CPI(M)—it is curious that the CPI(M) leadership gave a pre-condition that we must withdraw all these criticisms if we were to remain a partner of the left combination—which no party with self dignity, not to speak of a revolutionary party, could accept. They are maintaining that position till now and have not invited us in any meeting of the Left Combination. So, the question of deserting the Left Combination, on our part, does not arise at all.

Immediate sitting of all the opposition parties and adoption of such programme and also the criteria on the question of allotment of seats that can

ance with the help of which alone all the parties could have been made to firmly commit before the people. In absence of such a programmatic unity however minimum programme that may be, the present alliance is bound to become opportunistic to the detriment of the cause of the people. This opportunistic election oriented politics of the CPI(M) stood as an obstacle in the way of forging of a broadest possible unity with a programmatic understanding. Even on the question of seat adjustment, the CPI(M) leadership came to an understanding with the Janta Party but they refused to talk with a left party like the SUCI. In the state of West Bengal the West Bengal state committee of the SUCI took the initiative and contacted other opposition parties including the CPI(M) for exploring the possibility of forging a broadest possible unity as per the directive of the Central Committee of the SUCI. But the CPI(M) leadership not only did not entertain the SUCI's proposal of the broadest possible unity with a minimum common programme and sound organisational principle but on the question of seat adjustment also they refused to talk. Other opposition parties also did not respond to our call.

This is the truth. So although all the opposition parties particularly the CPI(M) and the Janata Party are pleading daily for not to split the opposition votes then how is it that all of them showed a cold shoulder attitude towards the SUCI? How is it that CPI(M) did not agree to talk with the SUCI, even on question of seat adjustment? So when all the attempts to forge broadest possible unity on the part of SUCI failed the SUCI had to take the decision of contesting from those constituencies where

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genuinely reflect the present organisational strength of different parties, necessary to ensure defeat of the ruling Congress and also selecting such candidates who are genuinely honest, sincere and dependable defenders of civil liberty and democratic rights of the people, upholding a high standard of democratic values and norms—does not this proposal of ours deserve serious consideration and thought, free from bias and animosity?"

# Balance Sheet of Emergency

## Civil Liberty & Democratic Rights

### President's Order of January 8, 1976

The President has issued an order under which the right of any person to move any court for the enforcement of the rights conferred under Article 19 of the constitution has been suspended for the period of the emergency.

The rights guaranteed under this Article of the constitution are broadly known as "the seven freedoms": (1) freedom of speech and expression, (2) right to assemble peaceably and without arms, (3) form associations or unions, (4) move freely throughout the territory of India, (5) reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, (6) acquire, hold and dispose of property, and (7) practice any profession or carry on any occupation, trade or business.

Earlier on June 27, 1975, by a Presidential order—the rights under Article 14, 21 and 22 were declared suspended during emergency.

—Statesman, January 9, '76

The said articles are the following:

#### Article 14

*Equality before law*—The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

#### Article 21

*Protection of life and personal liberty*—No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.

#### Article 22

*Protection against arrest and detention in certain cases*—(1) No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest nor shall he be denied the right to consult, and to be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice.

(2) Every person who is arrested and detained in

custody shall be produced before the nearest magistrate within a period of twenty four hours of such arrest excluding the time necessary of the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the magistrate and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a magistrate and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a magistrate.

(3) Nothing in clause (1) and (2) shall apply—

(a) to any person who for the time being is an enemy alien; or (b) to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention.

#### 16A (9) of MISA

Section 14 of PDA had sought to shut out a ny judicial scrutiny by courts of grounds of detention in habeas corpus case as has been done by the section 16A (9) of the amended Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) which prohibits the disclosure of ground of detention either to detenus or courts. This amended MISA (twice after the proclamation of Internal Emergency) also provides for arrest of the same person even after his release without disclosing the reason. And no person detained under MISA has any right to personal liberty by virtue of natural law or common law if "any." And this amended MISA has been included into the Ninth Schedule, thus taking beyond the ambit of judicial scrutiny.

#### 42nd Amendment

The 42nd Amendment of the constitution has wiped out the constitutional provision for redress under Sec-32 from the Hight Court and Supreme Court by a new Article 31D which says "Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 13, no law providing for (A) the prevention

or prohibition of anti-national activities, (B) the prevention of formation of or, the prohibition of anti-national associations, shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by Article 14, Article 19 or Article 31.

#### Anti-National Activity

*Anti-national activity* has been defined by the clause 31(D) - which disclaims, questions, threatens disrupts or intended to threaten or disrupt the sovereignty and integrity of India, intended "to overthrow by force" the government established by law, "create internal disturbance or the disruption of public services". And "anti-national association" means (I) which has for its object any anti-national activity, (II) which encourages or aids persons to undertake or engage in any anti-national activity (III) the members whereof undertake or engage in any anti-national activity.

#### Wiping out Sec 226

Citizens have been divested of the right to move the court because of the wiping out of the provision of Sec. 226 by a new Article 226 (4) which abridge the power of the Hight Court by holding that "it shall not consider the constitutional validity of any central law."

The 42nd Amendment has also incorporated the People's Representation Act and the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Ordinance of 8th December '75 (subsequently an Act) in the Ninth Schedule to take them away from judicial review.

#### The Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act

The Press Act was passed after independence in 1951 but was withdrawn in 1957 as a

sequel to the comment of the Press Commission appointed by the Government.

The old law was revived with almost all the expression in the old law and in fact went far beyond them. Section 3 (1) provides for action by the public authority for publication which (i) are likely to excite disaffection "towards the government established by the law" and "thereby cause public disorder" (ii) "incite any person to interfere with the production, supply or distribution of food or other essential commodities or with essential service."

(iii) "cause fear or alarm to the public or to any section of the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against public tranquility.

#### Objectionable Matters

are matters which B(I) "Are defamatory of the President of India, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister or any other member of the Council of Ministers of the Union, the Speaker of the Parliament or the Governor of a state."

In explanatory note, it has been held that in considering whether any matter is objectionable the effects of the words, signs or visible representations and not the intention of the publisher or the editor of the news-sheets or paper shall be taken into account.

B(II) "Are grossly indecent or are scurrilous or obscene or intended for blackmail."

Sec. 4 of the Act says, officers of the Central Government, not below the rank of a Deputy Secretary in the Central Government and a District Magistrate in the State shall be the competent authority for the purpose of this Act. The Act provides security to be demanded on the first offence and second security

on the second offence or the forfeiture of an objectionable matter, its detention in the transit, and closing down and forfeiture of the press on the discretion of the competent authority any time.

#### Amendment to Code of Criminal Procedure

"The provision for anticipatory bail is sought to be scrapped through a Bill to amend the code of criminal procedure now before the Rajya Sabha. The provision, introduced in 1973, has not been found to have achieved the purpose it was intended to"

—The Hindu, August 26, '76

## ON THE MARCH

### Expenditure on Police

"Justifying the increase in expenditure for his Ministry from Rs 3 to 4 crores in the past to Rs 160 crores now, the Home Minister, Brahmananda Reddy said, this was because of the raising of several organisations like C.R.P. and the .B.S.F.— "We push in a lot of money to the states to assist them to modernise the police force".

—The Times of India, April 3, '76

"India will have a national Police Computer Grid by 1980, the closest parallel to which exists only in the United States. Work on this ambitious Rs 8 crore project has already been started."

—Financial Express June 9, 1976

Sundarbans— "The Sundarbans will soon have a special police force to be known as the 'Delta police'. The Inspector General of Police, Mr, Ranjit Gupta said that this would fulfil a long-standing requirement of the area where 'a lot of things are probably happening and about which we are not adequately aware'.

—Statesman June 19, '76

"The Police force in Jangalmahal—an extensive forest area near Durgapur will be reinforced and some mobile groups added to it, a state government spokesman said today."

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## BALANCE SHEET

## Promise (1)

Reduction  
of prices Display of  
Stock position

".....behind all tall claims, it is being admitted that all is not rosy with the economy..... Between the end of March and the end of November, the official wholesale price index registered an increase of over 11 p.c. At retail level, the increase has been sharper. The innumerable threats issued by the Central and State Ministers to use Emergency powers against profiteer hardly had any salutary effect on the price situation. The increase has been sharpest in a wide range of essential items, particularly, edible oils, sugar and gur, pulses and cotton. The fundamental reason for the increase in prices of these commodities is the inadequate production. In the last 15 years, for instance, the production of edible oils increased by 126 p.c., of pulses by minus 0.51 p.c. and of cotton by 1.17 p.c.....the answer lie (in tackling the problem) in state trading and the public distribution system in

these sensitive commodities...(but) for reasons best known to it, the Government is not extending state trading and public distribution system to other commodities susceptible to price rise..... It is relying

The demand boom which should have come in the wake of the big increase in agricultural production was nowhere in sight. The question is: where has the additional agricultural income gone?..... The

Prices ( in Rupees )		
Commodities	January 1976	January 1977
Boiled rice (fine)	2.40 per k.g.	3.00 per k.g.
(coarse)	2.20 "	2.60 "
Mustard (ex-factory)	5.00 "	11.60 "
Coconut Oil	12.00 "	20.00 "
Groundnut Oil		
(double refined)	9.50 "	13.00 "
Musurdal (Pulses)	2.40 "	3.20/3.30 "
Moong	2.50 "	2.80/3.00 "
Potatoes (Nainital)	00.50 "	00.90 "
Brinjals	00.60 "	1.00 "
Tomatoes	00.50 "	1.20 "
Pumpkin	00.50 "	1.20 "
Egg (Pair)	00.80 "	1.10 "
Mutton	12.00 "	13.00 "
Fish (Chital, Rohu, Katal)	12.00 "	14.00 "
Mrigal (small), Pona small varieties	7.00 "	9.00 "

—Frontier—February 5, '77

only on imports and threats.....

".....Another disquieting feature which showed itself this year is the shrinking of the domestic market. In spite of the bumper crop the consumer demand remained weak.

reason for this is the distortion in income distribution. The mass of people in our country have none or very little purchasing power. Unless this is corrected, the domestic market will remain very small notwithstanding our

60 crores of people.

.....According to most conservative standards 45 p.c. of the people live below the poverty line. Unemployment is rampant. The number of registered job-seeker has now touched the 10 million mark".

—Kewal Varma, Delhi Bureau Chief of the Business Standard—Sunday, Dec. 26, 1976.

Inflation.... is not so much a monetary as a social phenomenon and its nemesis has to be sought at a fundamental level, that is, in changes reflected in the socio-economic structure."

—K. S. Krishna Swamy, Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India, in his presidential address to 59th Annual Conference, of the Indian Economic Association, held at Mysore, June '76.

Where the Government  
Enhanced Prices

The Government has announced today, the increase in the prices of coal by Rs 17.50 per metric tonne. The Government

has also declared the enhancement of price of steel by Rs. 80 per metric tonne.

—A.B. Patrika, 11.7.75

Central Commerce Minister, Sri D. P. Chattopadhyay, has announced in New Delhi, Today, that prices of controlled cloth will be increased by 80 paise. —Yugantar, 19.7.75

According to a recent estimate of the Coal consumer Association of India, because of the enhancement of coal price by Rs. 20.00 per tonne, the cost of production of other goods will increase. For example, price of steel, per tonne will increase by Rs. 40, paper by Rs. 60, soda ash by Rs. 20, castic soda by 30, cement by Rs. 8, jute products by Rs. 11, bricks (per thousand) by Rs. 5.

—Economic Times, 14.7.75

Postal and telecommunication charges are on the increase. The enhanced rate will come into effect from March. The new registration fee will, henceforth, be Rs. 2 in place of Rs. 125 ordi-

Unemployment  
(Registered with  
Employment Exchanges)

1968	3.00 million
1971	4.1 "
1974	8.4 "
1975	9.3 "
1976	10.00 "

Loss of Employment due  
to Lock-out/Closure etc

1975 (1st Half)	14%
" (2nd " )	65%
1976 (1st half)	57%
" July	96%

Up to June '76, 6.96 lakhs workers laid off, retrenched 0.23 lakhs, retrenched "due to closure" 1.05 lakh (Dr. A. N. Agna, Labour Secretary Govt. of India's figures)

Landless Labourers  
(All India)

1961	24.81 million
1971	49.55 million
West Bengal	
1961	17.20 lakhs
1971	32.72 lakhs

## Profits of the Capitalists

(Pre-tax Profit) (P.C.)	Year	Amount
36.8%	1973-74	Rs. 785 crores
43.3%	1974-75	Rs. 1069 crores

## Company Dividends to the Capitalists

1970-72 (average)	Rs. 36 crores
1973	Rs. 51 crores
1974	Rs. 70 crores
1975	Rs. 100 crores

(Estimate of Economic Times)

## Assets of 20 top monopoly houses

Year	Total Assets (Rs. crores)
1972-73	3516
1975-76	4966

41.2% increase.

—Economic Times, 14.2.77.

## Price of Commodities (wholesale)

1973-74	23.1%
1974-75	22.1%
1975-76	
(in the first three quarters)	11.6%
(food grains—)	12.8%

—Economic & Political Weekly Dec. 18 '76

## ON THE

## Poverty of the People

In 1960-61, 38.03 P.C. of rural households with average monthly income of Rs. 18.00 (on 1960-61 price level) were below the poverty line.

—They were landless and poor cultivators.

In 1964-65 this P.C. rose to 44.57 & in 1967-68 it rose to 53.02%. According to Ojha's estimate taking Rs. 40 as per capita minimum monthly expenditure, 289 million people i.e. 70% of rural population lived below Poverty line in 1967-68.

70 P.C. of West Bengal's population can spend less than 80 paise per day of which bottom 20% can spend only 44 paise per day.

—Economic & Political Weekly Dec. 18 '76

Surrender of Insurance  
policies

"A large number of life insurance policies are being surrendered in the Calcutta Division of the LIC beginning from June this year.. 50 p.c. of the policies surrendered were motivated by economic hardship of poor and middle strata of society"—Business Standard June 6, '76.

## Defence Production

"The total volume of defence production by the end of the current financial year would be to the tune of Rs. 600 crores. Mr. V. G. Dgil, Minister of state for Defence Production, said in Calcutta."

—A. B. Patrika, March 2, '76.

# OF EMERGENCY

ary telegram for first eight words will cost Rs. 2 and after that for every word, 25 paise in place of 10 paise. The quota of free call for telephone has been brought down to 1000 from 1200. After that telephone charge will be 30 paise in place of 20 paise. Money order fee upto Rs. 20 will be 25 paise for every Rs. 10 and after that for every Rs. 20 it will be 50 paise.

—A.B. Patrika 26.2.76

The prices of cloth controlled by the Government will be enhanced by 35 percent by a decision taken by the Government. Besides, the Central Commerce Minister Sri D. P. Chattopadhyay, announced further liberalisation in bank credit to textile industry.

—Economic Times, 12.1.77

Important drugs, will cost higher by 20 to 80 p.c. in Calcutta. A spokesman of All India Drug Manufacturers Association has said that one of the reasons for price increase has been the last budget. He also informed that in

every case of increase in prices, Centre's approval has been obtained.

—Statesman 3.1.76

### Promise (2)

#### Better cloth for more people

"...In the mill sector the controlled cloth scheme is being improved so that dhoties, saris and cloth will be of better quality and are sold through a larger number of outlets in rural and urban areas." —Prime Minister's speech in radio broadcast on July, 1, 1975.

#### Performance

D. P. Chattopadhyaya, Central Commerce Minister announced exemption of sickmills of National Textile Corporation and the mills with good export performance from producing cheap cloth. So instead of increase, the present obligation of the mills, to the tune of 800 million metres has been cut down by 250 million metres i.e. by 31%.—December '75.

"Cotton textile mills have followed up the price

increase in longcloth with a mark-up in the prices of drill, dhoti, higher and medium poplins and fine variety of Cambric."

—The Economic Times. April 27, '76.

"A 35 p.c. rise from January 1, for controlled varieties of cloth is the main feature of a package of short term measures announced to help the ailing textile industry"—Samachar January 11, '77

"The number of closed textile mills has risen to 47 in December '76, from 41 in the previous month, according to informed industry circles. Several other mills are working only partially and it is feared that their conditions will deteriorate further." —Indian Express, January 15, '77.

#### Fall in Consumption

According to an official survey of the Commerce Ministry, Government of India.

"It reveals that per capita cloth consumption declined to 13.31 metres in 1975 from 13.62 metres in 1974 and 14.49 metres in 1973. The same story

holds good for other mass consumption items like soap, toilet goods, tea, cigarettes, household utensils, shoes, cycles, sewing machines, electric fans, transistors and radios"—Kewal Varma in Sunday January 23, '77.

"Normally with so much increase in money supply, there should have been an upsurge in demand but the fact of the matter is that there is hardly any industry which is not loaded with excessive inventory... unless demand picks up, industrial growth and employment can not take place. We seem to be caught up in a vicious circle. It is very necessary that adequate investment takes place... But in the present condition of the capital market and not-too-healthy state of existing industries, it would be too optimistic to expect large investments."

—Dr. Bharat Ram, noted industrialist, in his speech, at the Annual General Meeting of Delhi Cloth Mill.

"There is no surplus production in the country relative to the needs of our people. India is on

the lowest rung in terms of per capita consumption of food items as also industrial goods like steel, cement and coal. Over 250 to 300 million people do not get enough food to eat. Per capita consumption of cloth has fallen over the last few years. And yet we claim an accumulation of stocks.

—Blitz January 29, '77

#### Nutrition Standard

"The Lok Sabha was told on August 6, 1973 that nearly a million children died from malnutrition every year.

A survey by the National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, revealed that 65 p.c. of Indian children in the lower income groups suffered from moderate and 18 p.c. from severe malnutrition. According to the surveys by the Indian Council of Medical Research and the State Nutrition Division, 50 p.c. of the children in 1-6 age group suffer from protein deficiency and malnutrition in Haryana, one of the most prosperous states. Subsequent nutritional improvement can not do to remedy the physical and

(Contd. to column 4)

# MARCH

### Tax per individual

Year	Direct Tax
1950	Rs. 6.4
1974	Rs. 26.2
(4 fold increase)	
Indirect Tax	
1950	Rs. 10.9
1974	Rs. 99.0
(9 fold increase)	

### Land alienation

Year	Number of cultivators (in lakhs)
1961	58.84
1971	30.86

### Share of workers in value of Production

Year	P.C.
1960-61	17.8
1975-76	17.9
1973-74	15.5
1974-75	14.8

### Tax on The People

Year	Direct Tax (in crores)	P.C. of total tax	Indirect Tax (in crores)	P.C. of total tax
1950-51	Rs. 250		Rs. 363	
1974-75	Rs. 1700	25.23	6322	73.68
1975-76	Rs. 2090	28	7470	70.84

### Tax on Commodities up to 1975-76

Commodity	Rs.
Tea, Coffee and Sugar	251 crores
Tobacco including bidis	271 "
Kerosene	176 "
Kerosene & Petrol Products	1,035 "

—[ Explanatory Memorandum on the Budgets of the Central Government ]

### Concentration in Land holding:

Year	P.C. of rural households	P.C. of land holdings in their hand
1961-62	39%	Less than one hectare
	4%	24% arable total of area
1970-71	50%	Less than one hectare
	19%	between 1.0 to 2.0 hectare
	15%	between 2.0 to 4.0 hectare
	4%	31% of the total cultivable area.

[That is to say, 2.8 million Jotedar families have in their possession 50.22 million hectares out of total operational land holdings of 70 million hectares. 10.57 million holdings have 108 million hectares whereas 60 million holdings have only 54 million hectares under their possession.]

### Industrial Production & Profit rate

Year	P.C. of Rate of growth fit after tax as P.C. of networth
(All Industries)	
1951-55	3.3
1961-65	10.8
1966	0.8
1971	4.2
(war year)	
1973	1.5
1975	2.2

—(R.B.I. Bulletin various issues)

(Contd. from column 5)

mental retardation caused to children below six years by under-nourishment, particularly protein deficiency." —The Statesman, 20.1.75

According to Vasanti Pal, President Indian

### POLICE BUDGET

(Contd. from Page 3)

#### Sikkim

"A five year plan is being drawn up for the reorganisation and modernisation of the Sikkim police, according to police Commissioner."

—Times of India June 4, '76.

#### Bihar

"The Bihar government has drawn up a Rs. 110 lakh scheme for development and modernisation of the Bihar police force, the Inspector General of Police said here... reports Samachar.

—Statesman, January 8, '77.

Federation For Mentally Retard - 25% of the total number of 2.6 million mentally retarded have become sodue to malnutrition. The per capita availability of food never reached the required quantum of 470 gramme per day for (Contd. to Page 6)

(Contd. from Page 5)

adequate nutrition standards.

According to Dr. Nitish De, the caloric intake of 61.4 million Indians in the agricultural and unorganised labour sector, is less than the caloric intake of rodents (rats).

Dr. A. Bujevic, a World Health Organisation representative in India says that the population of blind would double in India unless the people can be provided with clearer environment to avoid eye infection and better nutritive diets. Malnutrition remains the main cause for increasing incidence of blindness. There are 9 million blinds in India.

**Promise (3)**

**Agricultural land ceiling  
(4) Redistribution  
of Land  
Land Distribution**

"Less than one-tenth of 4,00,000 acres which were expected to be surplus as a result of the implementation of the ceiling laws revised since 1971-72 has actually been declared surplus so far. According to the latest information compiled by the Union Agriculture Ministry, only 3 lakhs 46 thousand 573 acres have been declared surplus. The state governments have taken possession of 1 lakh 35 thousands 596 acres i.e. less than one-half of the available surplus area.....Benami transactions on a large scale, deliberate delay in filing returns of ownership by landlords, lukewarm attitude of most of the state governments and finally, the intervention of the courts were responsible for the dismal performance."

—Times of India, September 3, '76

**Revising the Ceiling Law**

"The provision for retrospective operation of the land holding position from January 24, 1971, though included in the revised state ceiling laws, has not helped in the detection of benami transfers of land or setting aside such transactions. Even the transactions

# Balance Sheet of Emergency

after the date cannot as per the law, be *ipso facto* invalidated, according to a paper prepared by the All India Congress Committee on various problems faced by the state governments in the implementation of land reforms.

—Times of India, August 26, '76

**Bihar**

Bihar state government observed two years as 'land reform years' but all that it has achieved is the acquisition of 2,000 acres out of a declared surplus of 23,700 acres from 322 cases disposed of so far.

**Andhra**

Till August '75—Only 672 acres distributed.

**Madhya Pradesh**

Till October '75—only 15 acres out of 3517 against estimated availability of 50,000 acres.

**Uttar Pradesh**

Till October '75—8,591 distributed out of 47,359 acquired.

—Blitz, Dec. 20, '75

**Punjab**

Punjab's Revenue Minister, disclosed on 28th June '76 that under the 1972 Act, 14,832 returns had been scrutinised, 1,957 hectares had been declared surplus but physical possession of only 394 hectares had been taken. The fact, however, that needs to be taken note of and which is officially conceded is that landless applicants for surplus land numbered three lakhs.

**Haryana**

Haryana's record in allotting surplus land and in giving actual possession seems to be even more unsatisfactory. Finding the task a difficult one, the state government has simply postponed the June 30, deadline to December 31, 1976.....The government now expects only about 44,000 ordinary acres as surplus. The government announces that it will allot 5 acres per applicant family and expects that nearly 50,000 landless cultivators will have proprietary right over land. "Whether this hope will materialise and in how

many years, remains to be seen."

—Economic & Political Weekly, July 10, 1976.

**Promise (5)****Housing****site in rural areas.****(6) Abolition of bonded labour**

The government has claimed allotment of 65.39 lakhs house sites, but there is no means of checking how many have secured actual possession.... At any rate the AICC document claimed that 2.46 lakh people have constructed houses. The remaining 63 lakhs apparently have no where-withal to put up structure."

—Blitz, June 26, '76

The eviction of the 72,000 residents of the sprawling Janata colony at Mankhurd in north east Bombay is imminent.

—Times of India, April 18, '76.

"As many as 223 unauthorised hutments on the reclaimed land, west of Mahim Causeway (Bombay) were demolished by a squad of municipal workers. The police claimed that it was demolition without tears on Good Friday".

—Times of India, April 17, '76

"Government claims that 47,000 bonded labours have been freed but there is no indication that any alternative jobs have been provided for them according to a survey conducted by Sri Kripasankar, Director, Economic Research Centre Allahabad, among the bonded labour in the backward Bunda District of UP. He was disconcerted to find all of them working with their old masters. Their reply to his query was that if they left, what would they eat?"

—Blitz, June 26, '76

**Promises (7)****Liquidation****of rural indebtedness  
(8) Minimum Wages for agricultural Workers**

Over 54 p.c. of the farming families in the Sundarbans are landless. The average monthly in-

come per family of such landless peasantry is Rs. 127 while the expenditure is Rs. 146 indicating the grim spectacle of perpetual indebtedness among them.

—A.B Patrika, June 21, '76

**Indebtedness of workers on the increase**

"Ninety one p.c. of 1000 textile workers in Ahmedabad, surveyed by a sample survey were found to be neck-deep in debt despite the fact that a mill worker in Ahmedabad earned nearly Rs. 500 per month. The average indebtedness of a worker is as much as Rs. 3,450.

—Times of India, August 25, '76

**Minimum wages to Farm Labours**

Ninety percent of farm labours are not aware of the minimum rate of wages fixed by the state governments, according to a sample survey by the Labour Department of Government of West Bengal. "In the course of the enquiry, it transpired that the cause of... superficial amicable relationship with the employers are many, the most significant being their casual nature of employment"... "Further more, most of them are afraid to raise any protest because of the fear of losing employment".

—Statesman, 20. 3. 76.

**Promise (9)****Confiscation****of Smugglers' properties  
(10) Punishment for tax evasion**

(1) By 8th October '75 ordinance, on Voluntary Disclosure Scheme.

(a) Lower rate of tax of 25% (16% on each block of Rs. 25,000 permissible by the ordinance) at the beginning and 46% highest when the amount involved was Rs. one lakh and more.

(b) The scheme was extended to flat owners, owners of palatial buildings and properties (Before this, in different big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi etc. searches were being made by police and Income Tax Department to unearth illicit properties by

smugglers, Anti-Socials etc.)

(c) Amount disclosed was not to be included in calculating wealth Tax.

(d) Finance Minister assured (in Madras, on 9th October reported in the newspapers) that such disclosures would not be treated as "antece-dence of bad character". "All particulars in every declaration will be treated as confidential and no court or other authority will be entitled to call upon any public servant or the declarer to produce the declaration or give evidence in connection with it."

(2) "Some of the top smugglers, who have managed to get themselves admitted to the prison ward, on health ground in the government-run St George's Hospital [in Bombay] have established links with their agents and even signed papers concerning their properties, it is reliably learnt".

—Patriot May 29, '76.

(3) "The anti-corruption Bureau is investigating a case in which undue facilities were given to a detenu (under MISA for economic offences—smuggling etc) while in Bombay to attend a court hearing...The detenu engaged two rooms in a posh hotel in the Kalachowkie area, one for himself and his wife, the other for the escort party. When a group consisting of the director of the Anti-Corruption Bureau and several senior officers visited him, he was drinking liquor in the company of his wife, while the escort party remained in the other room. The officer in charge of the escort party was found missing.

—Times of India, November 26, '76.

**Promise (11)****More Power for greater production (12) Better irrigation for greater productivity**

(1) In West Bengal, 27% of the gross cultivated area is under irrigation... Agriculture gets less than 1 p.c. electricity used in the state.

(2) Power cuts imposed in many states, especially

(Contd. to Page 7)

# Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

(Contd. from Page 1)

and organisedly they take the decision to reject it. They reject, not from a negative approach but from a positive approach—they are all set for an uprising, when the cry is, "No election—seizure of power". Then and then only election is of no use. Otherwise, people get entangled into election battles time and again. And as people are involved into it, all have to participate in the elections—the non-revolutionaries, even the genuine revolutionaries. Only those who practice sectarian truism, who do not practise genuine revolutionary politics run away from responsibilities—otherwise all without exception have to participate. But as all are to participate, does it mean that they reflect the same outlook? Viewed apparently, we, the Marxist-Leninists are participating, the social democrats, the bourgeoisie as well as the pseudo-socialists, the genuine as well as the pseudo-revolutionaries—all are participating in the election battles. And each of them would claim: "I am right, others are wrong. So, any means I adopt to defeat opponents, is sure to be correct, because I am correct". But if you argue like this then there will be no difference in class-approach between yourself and the bourgeoisie, there will no more be any difference in the outlook even and a deep scientific probe and analysis will reveal that such an approach and outlook are utterly erroneous.

In reality the strategy and tactics of struggle, organisational methods, outlook about elections, tactics of victory and defeat of both the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat are determined on the basis of

level of consciousness of the people and the objective stage of revolutionary struggle in the country. *The sole aim of the bourgeoisie is to by any means grab as many seats as possible in the elections and thus capture governmental power.* And by thus coming to power the bourgeoisie aims and strives to retain their class rule, this very existing system through some nominal reforms and under cover of many high sounding slogans. That is to say, they aim at prolonging the existing system by giving such expressions in such manner as would give them a pseudo-progressive image whereby the people can be confused and befooled at least for sometime. Naturally, their sole objective becomes anyhow to grab maximum numbers of seats in the elections. Apart from this they advance some immediate programmes, some political programmes also. But whatever slogans they may raise, everything boils down to their principal objective of grabbing maximum seats.

**But when the proletariat, from revolutionary objective, are left with no other alternative than to participate in the election battle to be with the masses, they do so on the basis of a definite revolutionary base political line of the proletariat. They also try utmost to win as many seats possible. But never the focal point of their objective can be anyhow to grab maximum seats. Their focal point is to educate the people to fight an election battle on the basis of a mass revolutionary line and following this if they can win maximum seats—so much the better.**

**If we do not win the maximum seats, even not a single seat—no matter. If we can win, say, ten seats—we will do it. But the central focal point can never be to anyhow grab some seats.**

What is that mass line and mass style of activity, which we shall carry to the people through election? We shall go to the people to tell them—when you are to participate in the elections, you must do so on the basis of the revolutionary base political line of the proletariat. And while doing it, guard your bases yourselves. Win as many seats as you can, win the maximum possible seats, win even if you can, all the seats but win you must on this base political line. You are to win only on this base politics—but never confusing it.

If you harp on the so-called logic—whatever is necessary to defeat the enemy should be done—means that on the plea of fighting the enemy, donning the mask of a revolutionary, you too, are adopting the same trick, same tactics, the same means that the bourgeoisie do, but only in the name of revolutionary politics. Do you think you can become a true revolutionary in this way? Does this advance in any way the cause of revolution? No, it does not—it can never. We say that we participate in elections to expose the bourgeois parliamentary politics, but shall not we reduce this object if we follow the very same bourgeois method? To profess something and to be consistent with it in practice—are the two one and the same? There are some who only profess but there are others who practice what they profess. To make the people politically conscious as to the forces who simply profess but do not translate it into practice and of those who

(Contd. to Page 8)

(Contd. from Page 6)

West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra ...continued at the same level in October."

—Financial Express November 8, '76.

"Only 80 villages per year were connected to power grids during the first years of planning and by the end of June 1972 a total of 4,012 villages had felt the impact of the state electricity...The announcement made with great fanfare that 10,000 additional villages would be electrified by December 1973, still remains a promise".

—Economic & Political weekly December 18, '76.

### Promise (13)

#### Increased Employment and Training opportunity

"Within a month of the proclamation of emergency and the decision not have strikes and lockouts, nearly 20,000 have been either retrenched or laid off by

various industrial houses."

—The Indian Express Sept. 5, 1975.

granted to the private sector was designed to boost economic activity for a broad front, both in the

has been disconcertingly halting. The Finance Minister himself has publicly expressed his misgivings and disappointment on this score. A conference convened by the Industry Ministry, last week, review the implementation of industrial licences granted also brought out that the actual execution of Projects was most unsatisfactory and all the steps taken by the Industry Ministry to streamline licensing procedures and relax licensing restrictions had not paid the expected dividends in boosting private investment."

—Economic & Political Weekly January 22, 1977.

### In Summing up

"It is the working class (that)...have made the biggest sacrifices.

They produced a record amount of food, steel, coal and cement and the small men abroad has poured

in crores of rupees in foreign exchange as remittances. All this was the endeavour of the common man and not of avaricious industrialists who have always been pleading for more and more concessions.

To the rich, there have been concessions in income tax, dividend control has been lifted, issue of bonus shares has been liberalised and incentives and rebates given for export promotions. Workers earnings, on the other hand, have been axed by compulsory deposits and restriction on bonus. Strikes have been discouraged and the employers have taken full advantage by declaring lock-outs and retrenchments. Unemployment has mounted and cumulatively the purchasing power of the poor has fallen. Therefore increased production has stock-piled and the prices have started moving up."

—Blitz January 29, 1977.

## Balance Sheet of Emergency

**Unemployment as per figure of the Employment Exchanges**  
**State-wise Break-up Figures (in thousands)**

Name of the State	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Assam	78.9	79.6	105.3	123.2	171.7
Andhra	336.1	307.3	477.5	570.5	605.9
Bihar	419.6	712.9	1141.2	985.9	1032.1
Haryana	99.3	123.7	130.0	206.8	211.9
Kerala	270.0	295.2	311.2	340.0	365.6
M. P.	315.5	404.3	424.1	432.6	469.7
Orissa	185.1	238.4	334.9	338.5	351.1
U. P.	531.7	814.2	841.5	758.7	854.4
West Bengal	868.1	1380.4	1565.7	1609.8	1711.3

Total of 21 States and union territories as on December '78—93 lakhs 26 thousands and 3 hundreds.  
(Annual Report, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.)

**The only fulfilled promise but with no expected result—Promise (14) Liberalisation of Investment Procedure for better investment**

"The step-up in Plan outlay and the many concessions and incentives

public and private sectors. A step-up in investment was the key to the realisation of these expectations. It is precisely in this critical area, however, that the expected breakthrough has remained elusive and the progress

## EDITORIAL

(Contd. from Page 2)

the party is organisationally strong, on the basis of the base political line of the people and peoples' support. We would urge upon the people to pause and ponder—on whom should squarely lie the onus and responsibility of splitting of opposition votes—on SUCI or CPI(M)? People should judge this vital question for themselves.

Even at this late hour we would appeal to all concerned to respond to our just proposals being free from any bias.

In fine we appeal to all to make the SUCI candidates victorious in all those constituencies from where the SUCI candidates are contesting and in other constituencies where the SUCI is not contesting, we appeal to all to make the opposition candidates victorious to ensure the defeat of the Congress.

## RAISE YOUR VOICE

- Government must create a healthy congenial and democratic atmosphere indispensable for a free and fair election.
- Withdraw emergency immediately.
- Release all political prisoners without discrimination.
- Withdraw all political cases and warrant.
- Revoke all restrictions imposed on parties and democratic mass movements.
- Restore freedom of Press.
- All sealed presses must be allowed to reopen.
- Repeal the "Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act" and the 44th Constitution Amendment.
- Restore civil liberty and fundamental rights.
- Ensure equal opportunities for political campaign and criticism to all parties without discrimination.
- Ensure equal opportunities for political propaganda through Samachar Radio and Television to all parties without discrimination.
- The impartial attitude of the police and administration towards all parties must be guaranteed.

## SUCI Workers and Organisers not Released yet

Calcutta, 15th February 1977 :

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary, SUCI demanding immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners including SUCI leaders, workers and organisers and withdrawal of all warrants said in a press statement :

"We are noticing with great concern that despite instruction of the Central Government to the State Governments for releasing all political

prisoners, many SUCI workers and organisers in many states have not still been freed.

"Among those who are still in jails mention may be made of Comrade Rameswar Upadhyaya (Bihar) Dhurjati Das (Orissa)—AIDSO leaders. "We demand immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners including SUCI leaders and workers, withdrawal of all warrants and similar restrictive measures."

### Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

(Contd. from Page 7)

are consistent in practice with what they profess—is our principal task.

.....Who are they who simply talk of unity but in reality under the slogan of unity are doing everything to disrupt unity and who are they who are striving their utmost for unity whether they succeed or not—people are to be shown all these...."

[ Speech delivered at the Delegate Session of the First Conference of the Durgapur Steel Workers' Coordination Committee, held on 18th March, '74 at Durgapur—Translation ours ; P. Era. ]

## EMERGENCY AT A GLANCE

June 1975, 26	: Announcement of Emergency	February 4	: Lok Sabha extends its life by a year.
" 27	: Presidential order suspends seven freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution. Spate of arrests and issue of warrants including comrade Sankar Singh and others of our party.	March 12	: President's rule in Gujrat after causing defection in the ruling Janta Front.
" 29	: MISA amended—first amendment after Emergency.	15	: First budget in Emergency giving more than 100 crores of rupees' concession to the monopolists-capitalists and increasing further the burden of Indirect taxes on common people.
September	: Bonus Ordinance—linking bonus with profit and productivity as against deferred wages, so long accepted and slashing down the rate from 8.33% to 4%.	April 9	: CPI(M) Polit Bureau meets Prime Minister to place a Memorandum affirming their consistent stand against Right-reaction inter alia. Spate of arrest, torture, intimidation of many leading organisers of our party in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Kerala and elsewhere.
October, 8	: Ordinance on voluntary Disclosure Scheme allowing concession to tax evaders.	28	: Supreme Court rules that MISA detention cannot be challenged.
November, 29	: Jotedars' armed attack on the bargadars with firearms when they went to protect share of their crops under the leadership of KKMf in Patharpratima Police Station, 24-Parganas.	May 22	: Swaran Singh Committee recommends amendments of constitutional clause precluding Parliament from the purview of the Court.
December 4	: Comrades Ramjatan Singh and Guhiram Bauri killed by hired hoodlums of the Kashipur Raj Family in Purulia district.	June 17	: MISA amendment for the second time ; 16A(9) bars legal remedy.
8	: Press Ordinance (i) The Press ( Objectionable Matters ) revising the earlier Act of 1951 with far more stringency ; (ii) Parliamentary Proceedings ( Protection and publication ) replacing the earlier Feroze Gandhi Act of 1956 ; (iii) Repealing press Council's Act, 1956.	July 2	: Swaran Singh Committee recommends Eight fundamental duties of citizens.
December 27	: Chasnalla Colliery disaster due to gross negligence to safety measure—killing according to government's figure, 372 lives and the "worst ever mine disaster."	" 6	: Restriction on Dividend ceiling withdrawn.
January 1975, 8	: Presidential order suspends "Seven Freedoms" the right to move Court for enforcement of rights conferred under Article 19 of the Constitution.	August 76	: Ban on Firms' donation to Political Parties withdrawn.
29	: Government monopoly news agency formed to be called "Samachar".	September 76	: Spate of arrest, intimidation in Kerala.
31	: Dismissal of DMK Ministry & President's Rule in Tamil Nadu.	October 14-24	: Comrade Hoshier Singh and 13 other Comrades taken away to police custody as also Comrade Balwant Singh arrested under MISA in Haryana.
		October 29	: Lok Sabha adopts chapter on Fundamental Duties.
		30	: Lok Sabha term extended till March, 1973.
		31	: Law Minister Gokhale declares in Parliament— it is not "desirable in the larger interest to go to the polls now."
		November 11	: Parliament adopts 42nd Constitution Amendment Bill putting 64 laws out of court's scope.
		November 21	: Gauhati Session of AICC. PM sends feeler to Opposition Parties for dialogue.
		January 1977, 13	: New Series of Wholesale Price Index introduced.
		18	: Declaration of Election to the Lok Sabha.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE