SAAC they Per. 4060-4. **'TRADE UNION RIGHTS' DAY**

Three Gentres Call For September 2

The three Central Trade Union Organisations, AITUC, HMS and UTUC, have called upon the work-ers and trade unions to jointly observe "Trade Union Rights Day" on September 2, 1960. The call for observance of the Day was given in two statements, one jointly by AITUC and UTUC and other by HMS. Following is the text of the statement issued by K. G. Sriwastava and Jatin Chakravarty of AITUC and UTUC:

and UTUC:

and UTUC: The workers and trade unions in our country view with serious concern the mounting attacks by the Go-vernment employers on the trade union and democratic rights of the working people. These disturbing trends have become more pronounced and have reached a peak in the all-out attack launched by the Government vis-a-vis the strike by Central Government employees. employ

employees. A perfectly legal strike, de-clared in strict conformity with the requirements of in-dustrial legislation, was de-clared illegal arbitrarily by Government. The heinous Essential Services Maintenan-ce Ordinance was promulga-ted for this purpose, arming the Government with draco-mian powers. nian powers.

Over 16,000 employees were arrested and detained with a view to crush the strike. There were indiscriminate lathi-charges and in police firings ordered on striking workers at Dohad, seven lost their hured lives and many were injured.

lives and many were injured. The vindictiveness which has been exhibited by Gov-ernment in relation to the trade dispute raised by its employees and the strike that followed, has had no parallel in recent history. About 50,000 employees have been suspen-ded from service, for their participation in strike and thousands of them have been summarily discharged, though ummarily discharged, though summarily discharged, though the Supreme Court has laid down in a number of judge-ments that mere participation in an illegal strike should not be punished with dismissals. A large number of employées have been convicted by the Courts under the draconian

ordinance and many hun-dreds are facing prosecution under all kinds of framed-up huncharges.

harges. The Central Government employees fought for the vindication of principles which vitally affect all sec-tions of the trade union movement. These principles involved the sanctity of tripartite agreements on need-based minimum wages and linking dearness allow-ance to cost of living indi-ces. Should the Government persist in the attitude dis-played by it during the re-cent strike towards these agreements, the trade unions may also be compel-led to revise their attitude towards the present tripar-tite machinery. It was because of this that the workers throughout the The Central Government

It was because of this that the workers throughout the country, by their General Strike on July 14, expressed their solidarity with the Cen-tral Government employees. The recent pronouncements of the Government in the matter of the trade union rights of its employees have gone one step ahead in its anti-labour policies. The re-cognition of trade unions which have the support of the majority of the workers is being withdrawn. Measures are also being contemplated to bring statutory legislation

are also being contemplated to bring statutory legislation to deprive Government em-ployees of their basic trade union rights of organisation

union rights of organisation and action. These attacks on the trade union and democratic rights of the working people have to be unitedly resisted by the entire working class and the trade union movement. We therefore appeal to workers and trade unions, irrespective

of affiliation, to observe FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1960, as "TRADE UNION RIGHTS DAY" throughout the country.

VOL. VIII. NO. 32

Joint processions and meet Joint processions and meet-ings should be organised that day and resolutions condemn-ing attack on trade union rights and preparation for their defence should be pass-ed and sent to the Union La-bour Ministry and the Prime Minister. Minister.

We are glad to announce that this is agreed to by all the three Central trade union organisations, tiz., the AITUC, HMS and UTUC.

HIND MAZDOOR SABHA STATEMENT

D EVEN SEN, MLA, Pre-sident, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, has issued the fol-

lowing statement to the

SUNDAY, AUGUST 7, 1960

COMPADINIST. PARTY WEEKCY

At no period in the history of the trade union movement of India was such a determined assault made by the Gov-ernment on the trade union rights of the working class. More than 15,000 Central Government employees were arrested, and about 50,000 of them have either been sus-pended and dismissed. Strikpended and dismissed. Strik-ers have been arrested, beaten, their quarters broken into and the children and the womenfolk terrorised and thrown out into the streets. Recognition has been with-drawn from unions having the largest representative character. To crown all, a legislation is sought to be in-troduced banning strikes of Central Government em-ployees.

ployees. Nowhere, in any democratic country of the world, does

such a state of affairs exist. At this juncture, in the trade union movement, we cannot sit idle and remain indifferent. We must resist the sinister move of the Go-vernment unitedly and with determination.

25 nP.

determination. On behalf of the Hind Ma-door Sabha, I therefore ap-peal to the working class in India to observe 2nd Septem-ber 1960 as "Trade Union Rights Day" throughout the country.

I am glad to announce that both the AITUC and the UTUC have agreed to this proposal.

On that day meetings and demonstrations should be held jointly throughout the length and breadth of the country, and breadth of the country, resolutions adopted condemn-ing the Government's new offensive and copies sent to the Labour Minister and the Prime Minister, New Delhi.

MYSTERY OF THE MISSING PLANE

HAVE a tragic tale to reveal — Indian deaths I due to an accident in the air. More, the news is being withheld from the relations withheld from the relations of the deceased, despite the clear provisions of the law, despite the claims of ele-mentary decency. Worse, the reasons for the silence seems to be to give the guilty time to cover up the tracks and work up plausible excuses.

On July 11, the States-

man, Calcutta, published the news of one Indian aircraft missing on its way to Bombay from Bahrein. The general strike came and all news about the missing aircraft got crowded out. But the re-lations of the deceased could not rest. not rest.

They contacted PTI Cal-cutta, the civil aviation au-thorities at Dum Dum, and the bosses of the aircraft the bosses of the aircra concerned but drew blank.

At last they went to the leaders of the Aircraft Em-ployees Trade Union with the hope that they at least would help.

The Trade Union leaders could not bring the dead back to life but they dug out the facts. Here they are:—

-The aircraft involved in the accident is V. T.-DGS of the Kalinga Airlines.

It crashed into the Arabian Sea on July 10 while on way to Bombay from Bahrein.

-During this fatal flight there were 14 persons on board including three of the crew, whose names are known but for obvious reasons I am not giving them right here.

-The reason for the acci-ent was that the engine dent caught fire.

The law demands that soon after such a crash the names of the passengers and the crew should be and the crew should be given wide publicity so that the relatives and friends of the victims get duly in-formed. In this case the news is being kept back even from the parents of the

The first and foremost question that arises is why are the officials of the Directorate General of Civil Aviation, New Delhi, keeping back the news from the relatives of the deceased and the press of the country?

The Kalinga airways goes wherever there is trouble and easy money to make, over the Nefa to drop food and not Nefa to drop food and not only food. It is influential enough to get Army assign-ments to help them with air drops on our borders.

drops on our borders. The key-men of the Kalinga are foreign adventurers whose notoriety and black deeds have been reported by the Union leaders of the Civil Aviation Employees to the proper authorities but nothing is ever done. They have some very powerful links inside the top bureaucracy and so they manage to keep going, playing with Indian lives, pilling up big money, and do-ing the dirty jobs assigned to them by their real masters, the alien enemies of India. Government must be made to act, this time at least.

NEXT WEEK

To mark the 13th Anniversary of Inde-pendence New Age will carry special articles on the Third Five-Year Plan.



A section of the huge protest demonstration in Calcutta on July 29. Photo: Sambhu Banerice.

THE contradiction of the Indian situation came up on top on the very opening day of the Monsoon Session of Parliament. The opposition did succeed in communicating, in various ways, the temper and the concern of Indian public opinion about the Union Government's mishandling, to use a polite parliamentary phrase, of the Assam situa-tion and the Central Government employees' case. On the other hand, the Prime Minister's announcement on the results of his negotiations with the Naga leaders won welcome sup-port from all sections of . the House and also the press.

After seven years of armed conflict, untold miseries suf-fered by the Nagas and a dark scar on India's own face, a settlement has been reached with the representa-tive leaders of Naga people and their various tribes which concedes in essence all their concedes in essence all their main demands which they could show as just and in their specific interests and which could be reconciled with the unity and integrity of the Indian Union. Both sides are satisfied and that is a real achievement and the only hope for restoring peace, anity and normaley in the remote, troubled and unsettled Naga areas.

Nagas have been their own state, will have an elected The legislature and a Cabinet form of government, and e governor of Assam uld be designated as the would be designated as the governor of the Nagaland as well. The Nagas will thus enjoy the same status as the rest of the Indian oble

ring the interim period, the governor would adminis-ter their territory with the help of a representative ad-visory council of the Naga leaders themselves.

The Government has given a new shape and form to its "policy to give maximum autonomy to the Nagas in their internal affairs" and in such a manner as to be acceptable to the Naga leaders. The Nagas have been vociferonsly insistent on fo proof safeguards to live their life, in their own way, in their homeland. The Prime Minister's categorical decla-ration gave them the needed marantee. "We have not the slightest desire to interfere in the tribal customs and usages of the Nagas or in in the their distinctive way of life.' This has been embodied in the details of the agreement that has been negotiated between the two sides.

The Union Government has rightly reserved to itself the right to maintain law and order in the interim period, while the Nagas get really in-tegrated with the Indian on. An over-all safeguard available at all times, to the Union Government is the provision that "the governor will have general responsibi-lity for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expended for the purposes fo which they are approved b the Central Government. by We have no doubt that the responsible Naga leaders will function in a manner that the governor never gets the

PAGE TWO

chance to act on his own either in the name of proper use of the huge funds that will be made available from New Delhi for the develop-ment of the Nagaland or the maintenance of law and order which is not the concern of the Nagas alone but of the whole country. We also hope that the governor in turn will not misuse the safeguard so as to reduce Naga autonomy to a farce. The 16th State of the In-

The 16th State of the in-dian Union has come into be-ing, the new Nagaland. We welcome the Nagaland and fervently hope that our Naga brothers there, will be able to live and work in peace, build their own future and develop their region in a develop their region in a manner so as to bring new strength to India. The Indian Communists will continue to support all their just right and generous financial aid from New Delhi for the speedy development of their area to the level of the rest, inside common motherland.

AMONG OUR NEIGHBOURS

A LL newspaper readers can recall the din over the Mustang incident, the scare stories about the "concentration" of Chinese troops on Nepal borders, and even their "penetration" inside, all neally designed to pressurise the Nepal Government on one hand and supply new ammunition to the anti-China munition to the anti-crima lobby within our country to start firing against Nehru Government's "inaction". In the world of today, those who seek to sow ill-

will among nations can triumph no more. Where their patron and fuehrer Ike is proving ersatz, their seribes whatever brand of poison they use in their pens, cannot succeed.

The Mustang incident has been settled; the Chinese have withdrawn to the demi-litarised limit after dealing with the Tibetan rebels, and everything is back to normal. However, inside the Nepa-lese Parliament, the Gorkha Parishad, a Nepalese counterpart of the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party, rolled into one, tried its hardest to bait the Government. Nepal's Government. Nepal's Prime Minister, however, refused to be lured. He emphasised that the relations bet-ween Nepal and China "are normal" and repudiated the suggestions that China "had any design" against Nepal and added, "indications on the other hand are that China wants Nepal's friendship and does not want to create any horder dispute."

told the House of Representatives that there was no necessity for Nepal to make "warlike preparations" be-cause of the Mustang incident

He announced that "China committed to honour was Nepal's sovereignty and terri-torial integrity." Nepal's China-baiters are

left high and dry

INSIDE OUR COUNTRY

BUT not those within our country. If they can use Mustang no more, nor the



Nepal Government, they seize upon the Indian officials' team that had gone to and back from Peking come (charged with the assignment to study and discuss out the factual and historical material concerning the border problem). They are piling up story after story that the talks in Peking were useless and wasteful and that it and wasteful and that it MECHANISED Chinese officials' team in turn comes to our country during FARMS August. However much the colu-

mnists of the Indian press may be briefed by the reac-tionaries inside the Exter-nal Affairs Ministry itself itself (for, they alone could tell or manufacture the tale of what transpired at Peking and forecast about what is expected at Delhi), and however fat they may become out of the U.S. pro-paganda agency funds, they are in no position to suppress the good news about the China-Burma border

Truth gets out soon enough among the people these days and provocateurs and slanderers have to seek ever new pastures and we have some of them left in our country.

Newspaper readers will recall that when these provocateurs could get no more Ladakh incidents to shriek about, they doled out stories of the Indian officials on the U. P. border leaking confidential reports to the Chinese and all that. The matter was raised in the U. P. Vidhan Sabha, flaming editorials written, and banner headlines provided to the stories.

The real truth was kept back as long as was possible But it could not be completely nletely suppressed. U. P.'s Chief Min-ister told the Vidhan Sabha that charges of espionage levelled by a member of the House against an officer of the Indian Information Department had been found 'baseless." (Times of India, August 2).

Indian reaction would not give up its dirty game on its own. They have already open-ed out inside the India Parliament with the demand for taking the Indo-Pak defence pact into consideration and they have filed enough interpellations and notices etc., to keep their anti-Chinese fire adequately stoked up.

There is need for continuing vigilance and prompt action by all organs of sane Indian opinion that seeks a just and peaceful solution of all outstanding problems with China. Reactionary pressure is being constantly exercised and all along the line. The latest example is the

refusal to extend the visa of Mr. Kao Liang, the chief cor-respondent of the New China News Agency and refusal of the same to his substitute. the same to his substitute. This is a very summary and unfriendly way of asking the leading Chinese News Agency to shut up its office in our country and go back home. This is the way to block the main channel of Indian news reaching the Chinese neonlo reaching the Chinese people through their own press. How can it ever help the restora-tion and strengthening of neighbourliness and mutual understanding? This is something worse than the rude pinpricks at the Chinese. It is

NEW AGE



reginst the tradition of our country and a very unworthy act on the part of the Indian Government and whoever was actually responsible for this undignified and unfriend-ly diktat, it must go and soon, for it brings no credit to anybody when we talk of and stand by **Panch Sheel**.

THE Congress Ministers certainly know that the targets of the Third Plan can never be fulfilled without giving land to the man be-hind the plough. Our readers know that their main reliance is on stepping up technical aids to the big holders, thro-ugh the community develop-ment project. But this is not all. They have seen from their own experience during the Second Plan that increased food production by the upper strata in our villages only means the surplus going into the hoards and the food prices keeping shooting up despite increased food production and even this greater food pro-duction with the help of this strata is unable to take the country very much nearer the national food target.

They have, therefore, thought out a grand new measure and that is to start, on the model of Suratgarh, six huge State-owned mechanised farms, during the period of the Third Plan, under which a sum of Rs. 10 crores has been allotted for the purpose.

The India Press Agency re-ports that the Union Government has decided to set up another 30.000 acres mechanised farm adjacent to one at Suratgarh with the help of its spare machinery.

The Centre has asked West Bengal to turn the 6.000 acre Government land at Panagarh into a mechanised farm. The U. P. Government has also been asked to look out for a compact area in the Terai districts. The Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Govern-ments have also sent proposals which the Centre has found unsuitable

The Soviet-aided Suratgarh farm has registered a 44 per cent increase in pro-duction in one year. But In-dia is not Suratgarh alone. There are thousands of vil lages and millions of peasant households whose life and labour conditions have not been changed, through an equitable distribution of land and reorganisation of rural economy, along truly coope-rative lines, which alone can lead to increased food pro duction scale.

THE SOVIET MODEL

66 T HE Soviet Union is the best model for the transformation of Indian a g r i c u l ture" (Hindustan Times, August 2)—These are not the words of any Indian Community leader but of In Communist leader. but of India's Minister for Food and Agriculture and leader of the Indian agricultural delegation consisting of State . Agriculture Ministers and top officials currently visiting the Soviet Union.

· Y - 38 + 34

It is good to listen to Dr. Punjab Rao Deshmukh, eat-ing his own earlier words in the company of Rangas, Lal Singhs and the like. about the Soviet collective farm system. It will, however, be infantile to imagine that India's Agriculture Minister is going to press the Nehru Government to speedily pro-mulgate an Indian adaptation of Lenin's historic Decree on Lang from where the Soviet peasant began before he built up the present magnificent high yield producing system of collective and State farms, whose striking results have so deeply impressed him and his Ministerial colleagues.

The real key is contained in the further words of Dr. Deshmukh where be stated: "We were particularly in-terested in Kazakhstan, where new land is being developed extensively". He obviously wants Soviet help for India's State farms.

India's State farms would be on India's fallow lands and will not change nor upset the existing rural set-up in the already populated and culticountryside.

With Soviet help honestly and consistently applied on our own side, India's State farms can and will help to augment India's food production but they cannot materia-lly alter the situation. They may lessen our dependence on the PL 480 American surplus farm produce but the six Indian State farms, even n Soviet-aided, cannot te India self-sufficient and when surplus in food, which is our dire need and which can be done only if the Indian peasants get their just share of the land after its proper distribution as Lenin did for the Soviet peasants in 1917.

Dr. Deshmukh can bring back Soviet aid for our few State farms. He and his Government would need all the pressing and more, which the Indian peasantry and people are capable of, to get land for the Indian tillers, before the Soviet "model" can transform Indian agriculture as pro-claimed "the best" by Dr. Desmukh while on Soviet soil.

NO DIRTY DEAL

THE Indian Press has fairly L widely reported news of an impending dirty deal that the Indian sugar monopolists, through the good offices of the Indian Government, are trying to muscle their way into the U.S. market to re-place the newly-banned Cuban sugar. This will be literally a case of Nehru hitting Castro in the eye. It won't hurt Castro. He and his people can look after themselves. It will place India in the mud in the eyes of all anti-colonial fighters of Asia, Africa and Latin America. All talk of this dirty deal must stop here and now and the Indian Parliament in session must insure it.

-P. C. JOSHI (August 2)

CALCUTTA PROTESTS

🛠 From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

History repeated itself in Calcutta on July 29 when thousands of industrial workers, office employees, students, youth, women and others came out on the streets, con-demning the vindictive policy of the Central Government towards its employees and demanding the unconditional withdrawal of all disciplinary measures against them and immediate repeal of the black Ordinance.

E XACTLY fourteen years The following cases, culled ago, on July 29, 1946, Cal- from local papers, hardly call cutta had observed a magni- for any comment: ficent strike and hartal to ex- (1) The sister of an employee Press its solidarity with the and the wife of another Posts and Telegraph employees. employee of the Chittaranjan The demonstration on Friday Locomotive Works were arrestas organised by the Trade ed on July 21 in connection with Committee, Relations Union which is composed of the repre-been withdrawn! They are now sentatives of the BPTUC, released on bail. UTUC, HMS and a number of A woman employee of the federations and associations of Income-tax Department office employees. was subjected to gruelling inter-

Thousands of people came regation for two days by the om the neighbouring dis- Income-Tax Officer, special from the neighbouring districts of Howrah and the 24- survey circle No. 1, Calcutta. Parganas. Innumerable pos- He also insulted her and fur-ters and banners added colour ther threatened to dismiss her to the four-mile long demon-stration. Masses of people taking. As a result of this orlined the entire route, and at deal, she dropped down uncon-places the demonstrators had scious in the very presence of to march through narrow "lanes" formed by rows of spectators on both sides.

large number of women 27, and next day some of the went in a mass deputation to Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, on July 30, demanding uncon-ditional reinstatement of all victimised employees and immediate steps to put a stop to all kinds of humiliating treatment towards them:

Women of all age groups, from different sections and commu-nities participated in the deputation, which was organised by the West Bengal Mahila Samity and 18 other women's organisations.

Earlier, the women assembled on the Calcutta Maidan, from where they went in a demon-stration to Dr. Roy's residence, shouting the slogans: "Bosses you must know that the emplo yees are not your servants", "Mothers of West Bengal de-mand—there must not be any the incident. retrenchment". etc.

As Dr. Roy was not in his house, the women squatted on the road and Manikuntala Sen, MLA, explained to them the memorandum which was to be submitted to the Chief Minister. Dr. Roy agreed to receive deputation on the first of on leave for a year on grounds August

For several days prior to the mass demonstration and the women's deputation, several public meetings were held in Calcutta and in the districts () Chandra by the Communist Party to pro-test against the Centre's vindi- the Income-Tax Department, is ctive policy. A number of pro- a TB patient. He has been test demonstrations were also leave since May 6 last and strations were also leave since May 6 last, and is some trade unions, now lying in a T.B. hospital near Calcutta. But he too has organised by some trade unions.

A Mass Movement

> It is now evident that the ent in defence of the Central Government employees has already assumed a mass character.

But despite the Government's tall talk about "leniency" the on his return that a notice of attitude of the departmental suspension had been issued heads of Central Government establishments in West Bengal is still one of ruthless retaliais still one of ruthless retaina-tion. Several incidents reveal, the pay of the employees for in a glaring manner, the savage the strike period. Experts are of in a glaring manner, the savage mentality of these officials.

suspension had been issued against him. Preparations have now been completed for deducting * SEE PAGE 14 ed as a matter of fact.

AUGUST 7, 1960

RUTHLESS OFFENSIVE CONTINUES

the strike, five days after it had

people taking. As a result of this ornarrow the officer: She had to be given first aid and sent back to her home. This happened on dailies reported the incident. The Press Information Bu-reau (PIB) promptly came

out with a contradiction. claiming that the woma lost consciousness because her head accidently bumped was coming out of the officer's

chamber!

issued against him!

from service

notice

chamber! Professor Nirmal Bhatta-charya, MLC, Pfesident of the Income-Tax Employees' Asso-ciation, thereufon issued a statement, protesting against the version put out by the PIB and demanding that the West and demanding that the West. Bengal Government institute a public enquiry into the utterly despicable methods adopted by the officer concerned.

He said that he had concrete and definite evidence regarding Sheo Prasad Goala, former-

ly a packer at Entally Post Office, died two years ago. Yet, a suspension notice has been

Railwaymen's Union has been of mental derangement. But as he was an office-bearer of the union and he too has not been spared. He has been suspended

Bhusan Bhow been served with a dismissal

A railway fitter at Sealdah. who has been under the treatment of the Railway's own medical officer since last June, has been suspended. A gang-man, who had gone on leave to his village home in Orissa long before the strike began, found



Women's deputation to B. C. Roy on July 30.

OF J.C.A. RESOLUTION TEXT **F** OLLOWING is the text The morale of the emplo- More than 16,000 employees yees was sought to be under-, were placed under arrest, mined by tendentious propa-ganda. The massive machin-pension and thousands- have

of the resolution adopt-ed by the Joint Council of Action (JCA) of Central Government Employees Unions and Federations at their meeting concluded in New Delhi on July 29, 1960: This meeting of the Joint Council of Action ratifies the decision taken on July 16, rising the legitimate econo-min demands as a deliberate Unions and Federations at decision taken on July 16, 1960 by the members of the Joint Council of Action and representatives of various Central Government employées' unions who were free ant available at Delhi. The Council is satisfied

that the decision was taken according to the best judge-ment and independently of any pressure from any sour The Council wants to make it clear that both the deciison to go on strike and to call it off were taken with the sole object of furthering the interests of the employees. It is unfortunate that a propa-ganda campaign is being car-ried on by interested circles with a view to giving a political colouring to a basically trade union dispute.

The Council places on reand unity displayed by the employees in the face of extreme provocation and wanton repression.

mic, a Class IV employee of Human Dignity Trampled Upon

In their zeal to crush the strike, the Government showed little respect either for the sanctity of the Constitution or the dignity of the individual. 'Mass arrests, indiscriminate lathi-charges, police firings, beatings and assaults, turn-ing out the employees and their families from quarters, calculated disrespect to the womenfolk of the employees, the treatment meted out to the members of the Territo-rial Army—these and other similar acts of intimidation are offences too serious to be justified on the pretext of a national emergency which was neither proclaimed nor exist-

ery of propaganda was mar-shalled against the employees with a view to distorting the rising the legitimate econo-mic demands as a deliberate attempt to upset national economy and subvert civil power.

In spite of these heavy odds, the majority of the Central Government emplo-yees responded to the strike call and remained peaceful and non-violent throughout the strike period. Their the strike period. Then sacrifice, heroism and soli-darity have added a glo-rious chapter to the history of the trade union move-ment of the country. The struggle of the Central Government employees has strengthened the foundations of our democracy.

Homage To

Martyrs

The Council pays its grate-ful homage to those who lost their lives in the course of the strike. The Council hum bly acknowledges its gratitude to the public for its sympathy and support when the extension of either was liable to invite the wrath of the authorities. The Council ex-presses its fraternal thanks to the Central Trade Union Organisations which supported the cause of the Central Government employees and stood by them in the hour of their trial. The Council thanks those individuals who rendered great service in de-fending the interests of the employees.

Th Council has viewed with growing concern, the general attitude Government have adopted towards employees who went on strike. It was expected that in view of the withdrawal of the strike, em-ployees would be allowed to resume their duties and normalcy would soon be restored.

been convicted, discharged and dismissed for participa-tion in the strike. Those who Joined duty were often made to undergo great humiliation. The Government have withdrawn recognition of unions with long record of service and representative of vast

majority of employees. But far more reprehensible and harmful to th 0118e 01 the employees and the trade union movement is the proposed banning of all strikes Government employe these measures run cou by Governme run counter to the assurances given both by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. These measures, if persisted in, will inevitably lead to the creation of an atm osphere of an_ tagonism and bitterness and will affect the efficiency of the services.

The JCA urges upon the Government to take back all employees, including those convicted by the Government in connection with the strike. The relaxations so far an-nounced, in the opinion of the JCA, are inadequate. The Council feels that its

principal effort should be directed to obtain:

(1) the release of the employees who are in custody;

(2) the withdrawal of prosecution for participation or other association with the strike

(3) the dropping of departmental proceedings against the employees who went on strike:

(4) the remission of sentences on employees convicted for offences in connection with the strike

(5) the reinstatement of the employees under suspension or dismissed from service;

(6) the quashing of the proceedings under the Army Act against employees who iembers of were members torial Army; the Terri-

(7) restoration of recognition withdrawn from Unions, Federations and Associations.

THE RIGHT PATH



S IXTEEN thousand arrested during the five days of the Central Government employees strike

and fifty thousand dismissed or suspended from service after its withdrawal is an outrage against all decency and unworthy of a Government that claims

to be democratic. The way the Union Government is carrying out its post-strike policy of inhuman and unjust victimi-sation has stirred and shaken serious public opinion and the honest press and neutral personalities. Their solemn words of warning have compelled the Govern-ment to talk softer but the harsh realities have not changed. Reports from all over confirm the worst fears, that the Government policy in practice remains-one of victimising the strikers by every crooked means and terrorising the mass of employees and workers

and terrorising the mass of employees and workers by every brutish means. Our news pages will help our readers to get a glimmer of what is really going on. Arrests are yet going on. Convictions are summary. Even those lying long ill and in bed are being suspended for playing a leading part in the strike. Those back at their desks are being humiliated in shameful medieval ways, even women employees are not spared. Typical of the barbarism let loose are the victory celebrations being organised by the top officials in their clubs, with drinks and dances thrown in. This is the way a Government acts in fascist or semi-fascist countries. This cannot be allowed to become the state of affairs under Indian democracy. It needs all the strength of healthy public opinion to make the Central Government see sense and act with understanding, sympathy and justice. The strike is over; all must be allowed to resume work, and with self-respect intact. This is just what

work, and with sen-respect intact. This is just what is not happening. The strike is over and the jail-gates must open wide. Again this is exactly what is not be-ing done. But there is no other way to restore normal ing done. But there is no other way to restore normal relations between the Government and the employees if India is to remain a proud democracy, if the Third Plan is to be honestly implemented in practice. Any curtailment of the right to strike constitutes

a gross violation of the fundamental rights, any witha gross violation of the fundamental rights, any with drawal of recognition from the trade unions and em-ployees' federations constitutes a repudiation of the right of association, both solemnly guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. We appeal to all Indian democrats to see that the issue is no more the rightness of the last strike but whether following it the Indian Government can be allowed to play with the fundamental rights of Indian citizens and tamper with the Cons-

titution of the country. Finance Minister Morarji's latest statement in the Lok Sabha on the Pay Commission's recommendations makes matters worse. Further study is required for a final assessment but its negative features are obvious.

The official policy as announced by the Finance Minister cuts across the Labour Minister's solemn public assurances, on the very eve of the strike that the Government undertook to neutralise up to 50 per cent/of price rise above 10 points and the rest to be settled through arbitration. Dearness allowance was and remains the key issue. The Prime Minister had announced that the Go-

vernment accepted the Pay Commission recommen-dations as an award but its recommendations of four half holiday in a month and raising the age of retire-ment to 58 have been ignored.

Some concessions have also been announced but some concessions have also been announced but the Government has kept the key in its own hands. Trade union circles are asserting that such a set up will only breed disputes every time. Such a state of affairs cannot last and must not be

allowed to last on any account and in all conscience The Central Government and its bureaucrats must

not be allowed to behave as if they are the victors in the war against their employees. The Central Go vernment employees are no bond-slaves of a medieval Badshah. They are self-respecting citizens of Indian democracy. Their rights must be respected and their

grievances redressed. The one is the civilised democratic way, in India's best tradition and the other the barbarous authorita 'rian way in the style of fascism. Every public figure and political party has to make the choice and speak up in time, for the good

and righteous cause.

The Parliamentary discussion must become really effective popular intervention. The three national trade-union centres, AITUC,

HMS, and UTUC are going all out to rally the workers of the country, on September 2, for their trade union rights.

The Indian people will not fail the Indian working class in the common just cause.

From MASOOD ALI KHAN IMPERIALISTS WARNED AGAIN

on their noble mission.

The Soviet people have been

deeply moved by the plight of the Congolese people, their suffering and determination

tinuing in town and country, factories and farms, to pro-test against imperialist ag-gression and on Saturday at

the call of the Afro-Asian So-

Day

part and

clared:

darity Committee, "Congo ay" was widely observed.

A big meeting was held in Moscow's House of Friend-ship in which diplomatic representatives of the U.A. R., Ghana, Guinea also took

part and supported the cause of the Congolese peo-

ples. The Ambassador of Guinea, Dr. Seidu Konte de-

of progress headed by the

Soviet Union make new en-

slavement of free peoples

impossible and effectively

impossible and enecuvely help the liberation of de-pendent countries."

People here have been

ocked at the attempts on

"Today the forces

A big meeting was held in

Moscow, August 2. Soviet Union is not g to stand idly by Belgian troons T HE Soviet Union is not going to stand idly by while the Belgian troops with the help and conni-vance of the NATO powers strangle Congolese inde-pendence in its cradle. A suffering and determination to be free against all odds. "Hands Off Congo!" "End Intervention in Congo!" "Af-rica Breaks Chains of Sla-very." "End aggression aga-inst the people of Congo"-newspapers have been full of such headlines for the last two weeks. Meetings are con-tinuing in town and country. second grave warning to this effect was given on Monday by the Soviet Government in a statement which leaves no doubt that the Soviet people are firmly determined to see the conspiracy of Western imperialists in Congo defeated and the newly-gained freedom fully restored_to this young African Republic

Earlier, on July 15, the Soviet Premier had already once warned the West that if it continued its intervention in the Congo, "the Soviet Union may take decisive measures against this action." Now the new Soviet statement connew soviet statement con-firms this resolve in no un-certain words and appeals to the world to render help to the Congolese people strug-gling to preserve their free-dom

. The statement points out that the Soviet Government emphatically condemned the imperialist aggression against the Congolese Republic and it was also condemned by the Security Council which de-manded evacuation of the manded evacuation of the Belgian troops from the ter-ritory of the Congo but till today aggression has not been stopped and forces of inter-ventionist Belgium still remain in the Congo.

statement goes on to say that it has now becom quite clear that the aggres sors are being encouraged by all the colonial powers of the NATO bloc and if aggression continues, the Soviet Government will not hesitate to take decisive measures to rebuff the ag-

gressors. Events of the last few days reveal the barbaric face o colonialism, the statement declares. "Now, when every-one sees attempts to deprive the people of Congo of their endence and efforts to tear the Republic apart, her eco disorganise her econom to break the will of the colese people with the help of unger it is the duty of every which holds dear the ideals of national freedom and independence of the peoples to help the Congo Recally also.'

Help Rushed

That these are not just empty words and the Soviet Government and people are determined to stand by their promises of help to the who light colonial slavery and oppression has been once again proved by prompt action taken to send the much-needed help to the Congo. 10,000 tons of food was despatched in record time by sea and air and the Soviet Ilyu-shin-18 planes are taking part in transporting UN forces and other needed cargo to Congo. Another Soviet ship is leav-

ing with 100 trucks, their spare parts and a fully equip-ped workshop with a group of

NEW AGE

hit by famine. Or at the vil-lainy of the radio operators at the Leopoldville Airport who deliberately silenced who deliberately silenced their radio transmitters when landed and took Soviet planes off and nearly caused an aircrash on the aerodrome. Recently an article under

Recently an article under a three-column headline "Barbarians Live in the West" in Pravda declared that what is going on in Congo is a war of Belgian, American and other North Atlantic "democrats" to en-slave Black Congo, using the Blue Flag of the United Nations as a cover. Can this Nations as a cover. Can this be called civilisation? the paper asks and says: "No, real barbarians in our time live in the West, not in huts but in luxurious places built on the blood and bones of millions of Asian, African and Latin American peo-

Events of the last few days a school for the have people of Africa Even African States are going through this . school: they sent their under United Nations to help the Congolese. Republic and no one in Africa suspected that these armies will be used to suppress the independence of Congo and protect white monopolists and colonisers. But scales fall from the eyes of people. The barbarians of the West themselves unwittingly help in that great polarisation of forces which is going on today in all coun-tries of the world. This process of separation of masses from imperialism and capita-lism will decide in the end the fate of the world and her de-

velopment. The world today has such the part of American repre-sentatives of the Shell and Belgian officials who refused real forces which are capable sentatives of the sheat and real lottes which are capable Belgian officials who refused of bridling imperialist rob-to supply petrol for the Soviet bers and thieves and this will planes and sabotage their be done without fail, the ar-work of bringing food to areas ticle concludes.

court hearings continu-

orders have deprived them

of their jobs. Coming to railway em-ployees, about 400 prose-cutions have been launch-

ed in Madras City alone

the Perambur workshops and the ICF. Besides them,

150 workers in Madurai, 44 in Shoranur, 20 in Calicut, 12 in Palni and 16 in Tiro-

chi junction and others

totalling nearly 300 are

facing prosecutions. In-cluded are also those al-

Apart from all this, 250

persons have been placed under suspension.

These measures have only

roused the anger of the Central Government em-

ployees and they are try-

of all employees. Other trade unions in the State

to fight for the rights and to defend the cases launched against them with the full support

These comprise a number of workers

suspension

a large

. al.,

ously. Meanwhile,

***** REPRISALS IN SOUTH

By Wire From R. GANESAN

Madras, August 1. charged under Section 5 of public statements the Ordinance, the em-program and by the ployees are being dragged While public statements are being made by the Premier and the Union Ministers that those who Ministers that those who participated in the Central employees remment strike would be conisderately dealt with, in actual practice the authorities are displaying the most vengeful attitude.

The following is an in-dication of official vindic-tiveness in the Postal, Telegraph, Telephone services and the Income-Tax Department's Medical Sto-res and. the Accountant General's office of Andhra region at Madras. Arrested number 1,666; convicted 394. Dismissed 283. Suspen-394. Disi ded 2.565.

ready sentenced 31 in Shoranur, 12 in Palni and one in Calicut according to reports so far to hand. There are besides 513, whose services have been terminated. The above list is still not complete. It re-fers to the Madras Circle which includes Tamilnad and Kerala. Further details of victimisation are still coming in.

The vast number of employees facing prosecution has made the statement of considerate treatment even more farcical. In the case of those charged under Section 4 of the Ordinance an undertaking in writing Thas ben demanded and taken from the accused and taken from the accused and the cases put off, leaving the employees at the mer-t cy of their superior offi-cers. In the case of those has ben demanded and

are also coming forward to help them. Collection of relief fund

AUGUST 7. 1980

On instructions from the Secretariat of the Na-tional Council of our Party we undertook an on-the-spot study of the situation in Assam State and left Delhi on July 20, 1960, reaching Gauhati on July 21, 1960. We immediately met Phani Bora and Gauri Shankar Bhattacharya and got a preliminary report of the situation in Assam.

tation

Course Of

the accumulated

tion.

Events

N EXT morning we saw the Deputy Commissioner and then visited the Cotton Old Hindu Hostel, the scene of the July 4 firing on students. We n left for Goreshwar in

then left for concerning we North Kamroop. On July 23 morning we visited the Refugee Camps in Gauhati asd then proceeded to Shillong, where we met the Governor, visited the Refusee Camp (of Bengalis). niet some Assamese men of public importance and saw

the Finance Minister. On July 24 we left Shillong for Gaubati and then took a car for a tour of the affected areas in Assam Valley along with Phani Bora. On our way to Nowgong we visited Jalla Kutty and Shat Gaon villa-ges—scenes of large scale arson and devastation. At Nowgong we visited the camps, went round the town where large scale aroon had taken place and met Purna Chandra Sharma, Congress member of Raiva Sabha.

Con July 25 morning we met Dev Kant Barua, ex M.P. and tation was whipped up. Dev Kant Barua, ex M.P. and prominent Congress leader of Nowgong. We also saw Min-Moinul Haq Choudhury. We then proceeded to Gola-ghat in Sibsagar District on the way visiting villages and bazaars that were gutted. At Golaghat we visited the Sub-hash Colony where some houses had been burnt and a Bengali young man murdered. The same July 25 night we reached Jorhat where we met ur comrades and discus with them the position ob-taining in the district. On July 26 we visited the camps in Jorhat town and then left for Mariani. From there we took the train for Lumding reaching there the same evening. Here we visited the camps f the Bengali refugees and workers belong

ing to Assamese community (who are a minority here). On July 27 morning we reached Silchar (Cachar diswe trict). Here we met D. N. Tiwari, a Congress M. P. and had discussions with our comincluding Acuma Biresh Misra aher Bhattacharya. Biresh Miss had joined us at Lumdir itself. We then went round the seven Bengali refugee camps. In the night we met the Language Victims Relief

and Security Committee. On July 28 morning we met the Municipal Chairman and some other prominent Con-gressmen along with Achinta Bhattacharva and Biresh Misra. We then went to see the District C sioner and met the Commis-e two Assamese youngmen in the hosnital who were stabbed. Thus, though our tour was brief, it was quite widerang-ing and exhaustive.

The crux of the situation as we found it is that a strong feeling has gripped the Assam valley that they are denied opportunities in their own homeland. It is in these circumstances that reactionary forces forced the language issue to this extreme of fratricidal strife.

AUGUST 7, 1960

Chief

Organisers

have done great good in calming the students. The letter has come to light only now after the damage was done. had taken shelter. When the Demonstrations, fiery spee-ches and rising frenzy—this was the first fortnight of enraged mob reached his house, he asked them to dis-perse. When they refused, he June Stray assaults had comfired and one Assamese in the menced. Bengali opinion was also getting tense. Then trouble arose at Mamob of over 700 was killed. We saw the devastated vil-lages. At Jalla Kutty where riani in Sibsagar district and our Party has good influence Lumding in Nowgong district —places where the Bengalis were in a majority. An Assait was outsiders who came and burnt the Bengali house including that of our Bengali comrade here who ran a pharmacy. A rice mill and mese film that was selected for an international competition was objected to at these places. Assamese students lot of property and paddy stock were gutted completely. In Raha we found that defaced Bengali sign borads

places.



It should be admitted that the pride of place must go to the anti-Chaliha group of Congress led by the ex-Minis-ter Sharma which had cal-culated that the language

issue was the only issue on which the present coalition of forces behind Chaliha could crack and the Ministry would topple down. They are, therefore, the chief organisers and instigators of the strife The the PSP asd RCPI played second fiddle and actively organised the chauvinist agi-

In this situation the Assam Press took up the chauvinist Assamese position and the West Bengal Press and "Young

India" of Shillong took up the other extreme position and the battle started. Chief Minister Chaliha told the Budget Session of the Assembly that the Govern-Assembly that the ment would decide when the minorities demanded the in. troduction of Assamese as the

The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC) then adopted a resolution that Assamese should be accepted as official language but it should first be introduced only in the Assam Valley and later in other districts when they were prepared for it. The were prepared for it. Chief Minister then de that a Bill would be introduced in coming session of

the Assembly. This set the others in motion. The Cachar people and the Hill Tribes saw in it their ultimate subordination to As-

Then Conferences started in hill areas as well as Ca-char. The Shillong demonschar. The Shillong demons-tration on May 21 where anti-Assamese slogans were raised and when some hooliganism was resorted to sparked off explosive. From June 9 to 13 the students demonstrated all over the Assam Valley protesting aga-inst the Shillong demonstra-

It has to be keenly noted here that the leadership of this agitation deliberately and with evident ulterior motives suppressed the letter of apology that was sent

to Assamese students by the organisers of Shillong demonstration. The publica tion of this letter would

and even looted a Bengali shop. The students were beaten by some Bengalis who stopped the train which was carrying them. After June 17 another round

of demonstrations started all over the Assam Valley. As-saults became more frequent.

On July 4 at Gauhati a couple of urchins began shouting near the students hostel that Bengali railwaymen were killing the Assa-mese. The students and some others rushed to the railway colony where a clash was avoided only by some people

intervening. A group then set fire to the 'Trade Union House' where offices of various trade unions were situated This was at about 10.30 in the morning. Meanwhile the Congress, the PSP and the CPI leaders were jointly addressing a gather-ing of students persuading them to keep the peace.

Just then the armed no. lice entered the Cotton Old Hindu Hostel and fired at students, killing one and injuring four. This was most

P. K. VASUDEVAN NAIR, M.P.

and

RAJ BAHADUR GAUR, M.P.

houses were burnt. We shocking report here that Bengali people were called to police station for protection and meanwhile their houses were set on fire. Police was withdrawn from Raha on on July 6, when acute trouble was brewing. We were told that a prominent local Assathat a pron mese Uma Kant Mehdi even telephoned to the District Commissioner of police but no response came. These were the days when virtually the administration had collaps

At Jalla Kutty we found that the local people gave shelter to the Bengalisactually these were familie who had ben residing in the who had ben restang in the villages for 80 to 100 years now. The Bengali Chairman of Panchayat was now a refugee. His family had been living there for over

80 years. On our way from Nowgong Bongali houses we found Bengali houses burnt down. These were deliberate and discriminate acts. Even a single Bengali house in a crowd of others was wellspotted and burnt or damag-

holocaust was that houses and property were burnt down and looted—the idea appeared to be to make it imposs for those people to live.

has astounded us What was the remarkable uniformity of the pattern of burning and looting all over the Assam valley as if done under instructions.

It was evident from what we saw and heard that no administration existed in the Assam valley in those days of hooliganism. The Assam Government com-pletely failed to tackle the question in time and take firm measures against the miscreants. With regard to the political

parties as we have already stated a section of Congress, the PSP and the RCPI were in the madness. Our Party was completely taken by surprise and could not, being small, much influence the course of events. Our District Committees and Local Units moved on their own. Every district committee leaflets and conducted. issued some

propaganda. At present the assaults have stopped and there is no active campaign, but the question of refugee rehabilitation is

Refugee

Demands

The refugee demands as they told us are: -Punishment of miscre-

ants; —State responsibility for

rehabilitation; —Compensation for loss of property; —Treatment of injured;

—Tracing out the missing; —Provision of shelter;

-Amity with local people; -Government measures for

security. We found that Prime Minis-ter Nehru's slogan of rehabilitation in three weeks is being used to hurry up things in an ugly manne

We were told that refugees are threatened with stoppage of rations if they do not go back. The Government have declared that they would provide every family with Rs. 50, a week's ration, a loan of Rs. 1,000 on personal surety and another loan of Rs. 1,000 against property.

Only in some villages in Kamroop, where Gaurishankar Bhattacharya had gone, the villagers have come forward to help the displaced Bengalis and assure safety. Anyway the refugees are not sure of security and, therefore, hesitate to go back.

We represented this matter to the Governor and suggested to him that he should convene a Peace Conference of all parties and issue a joint appeal for peace. We also told him that all parties should jointly campaign for order and amity. Only this would give some courage to the up-rooted families. He seemed to agree with us and noted down

ť

own our suggestions. But when we told the same thing to the Finance Minister he brushed it aside saying that Congress and Panchayats would do the job. This callous and arro-gant attitude will only complicate the problem and it would not be solved.

Another complicating fac-tor in rehabilitation, is that we found that local Assamese population is not generally repentant and regretful. Only some sections are sorry for all that happened. Here again a dozen cases of rape. How-ever, it is difficult to know all that happened. Here again the exact number of such it is necessary that all par-

PAGE FIVE

provocative and absolutely unwarranted. The students were enraged. On July 5 the were enraged. On July 5 the dead body of this student was taken, all the way to Sibsagar passing through the entire Brahmaputra (Assam) Valley, stopping at all centres and making fiery machines. The atmosphere

speeches. , The atmosphere was charged with frenzy. In Nowgong proper when a meeting of the Peace Committee was convened it soon converted into an Action Committee. Then started the orgy

of arson and loot. The same evening at Gore-shwar houses were set on fire. Here we learnt that Assamese miscreants even used guns and killed some Bengalis. A blind old woman was burnt alive as she could not escape. Even on July 22 we found

that the Bengali treak to Alipur Doar in North Bengal was continuing. There were some Bengalis still left in the villages but they were afraid to live. They had no shelter, no food (rations were stopped on July 19) and, above all, deeply anxious for security.

Nowgong caught fire on July 6. One whole kamar patty of 2,100 Bengali houses was burnt down. A Bengali was killed. The orgy spread to

In Nowgong town another incident happened. In the well built house of one Shanti Mitra, a rich Bengali gentleman, some Bengail

NEW AGE

ed. We found that the entire Behara Bazaar was gutted. In Sibsagar District the

damage was next in acuteness only to Nowgong. Her some Bengali officials of plan tations were also killed. Th intensity of madness an Here frenzy could be gauged from facts that a Bengali gentle man whose family was in Assam for over 150 years and who was Vice-President of the Assam Sahitya Sabha was murdered in South Kamroop District.

The only isolated heartening scenes in this mad frenzy were the following:

I The South Kamroop Fatasil colony where about 1,000 Bengalis lived, was valiantly defended and protected by our comrades and our Kisans when outside hooligans attacked them. In North Kamroop

Ramgija where 40.000 Bengalis were living, our comrade Kamini Sharma stood and defended them. The Assamese rowdies wanted even to kill him. However.

 peace prevailed in the area.
 In Jalla Kutty village a Muslim, Danish Mahal-dar, saved 400 Bengalis and brought out his gun against outside rowdies.
In Jorhat Sub-Division of

Sibsagar in two villages Naka Chari and Niamati the villagers themselves organis-ed night long vigil and protected the Bengalis.

From all available information and data the estimate can be made that about 10,000 houses have been burnt down in this orgy displacing about 50,000 people out of whom about 30,000 might have left the villages and taken to camps. The number of killed would be about 50. We were told of about half

cases—nevertheless they are ties move to rouse the cons-not many. The feature of this cience of the Assamese.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN ORISSA

T HE Utkal State Council of the Communist Party of the communist Party Secretariat had functioned, of India met for three days in Berhampur (Ganjam) from July 5 to 7. Besides resolutions on food, land reform, third Five Year Plan and other resolutions, the two main items on the agenda were: (1) The political resolution. (2) the review report on Party organisation. The Council also ratified the resolution of the Executive to hold two State Conferences. one in October only to elect delegates to the Party Congress and the regular Conference in April 1961.

The resolution on the poli-ical situation which was tical was thoroughly discussed in the last State Executive Committee (April 1960) was again discussed by the Executive this time, prior to the Council

The organisational review report discussed the two main organisational slogans issued in December 1959, six months after the State conference: llective Functioning of the ple for mobilizing the secretariat" and "Func- winning their demands. State Secretariat" and "Functioning of the District Cen-res." In the review report last tical resolution adopted by the er it was underlined December it was underlined that after the State confer-

but the functioning was characterized as departmental

so the December 1959 meeting of the State Council advanced the slogan of collecadvanced the slogan of conce-tive functioning of the State Secretariat and enjoined on the Secretariat to work towards this objective in the next six months, i.e., by June 1960. In the State Council meeting this time it was found that the Secretariat had not moved in the direction of collective functioning. So the slogan was reiterated

It was found that, except for Ganjam District, no Di trict, no District Centre had functioned though Puri had formally begun to do so. The present State Council meeting stated that the analysis and directives of the December 1959 Council meeting still held good and hence the Disrict centres should function immediately. Two essential conditions in

this connection were: (a) Minimum organisational me-thods; (b) Going to the peonobilizing them for Follows the text of the poli-

July 1960 meeting of the Utkal State Council of the CPI:

State Council Resolution

ised the present coalition ministry as "an opportunist reactionary alliance".

the merger of the Congress relief to the Kendu leaf and Ganatantra Parishad had owners and, above all, the. already cropped up. So the present land reforms bill. already cropped up. So the resolution had said:

Evil Effects Of Alliance

"The people have begun to realise the evil effects of this alliance. The Congress leader-ship instead of trying to re-move the cause of this discontent and being conscious of its own weakness as well as the growing influence of the Ganatantra Parishad has laid stress on the full merger of the latter with the Congress in one organisation with a view also been able recently to advance its own narrow interests and to save its orga-nisation from dismember-

"But it is worth noting that a section of the Congress, having come to realise that this alliance is constantly undermining the fundamental ideal of the Congress, is now voicing its discontent. On the other hand, as a result of the frowth the reactionary forces in India, the decline in the influence of the Congress and the emergence of Swatantra Party the Gana-tantra Parishad has mustered enough courage to try to maintain its own individual

entity. "Whether the merger of these two parties is effected or not, there is no denying the fact that the basic proble of the masses can never be solved either way."

The facts of the situation which the Party had then noted have become all the more glaring now.

This opportunist reactionary

PAGE SIX

T HE resolution adopted the in a direction which is all the last session of the Utkal more reactionary. This is State Council of the Communication clearly evident from the following: levy of more taxes following: levy of more taxes sed the present coalition ninistry as "an opportunist eactionary alliance". At that time the question of budget, abandoning the policy of State trading in foodgrains,

> 2. Along with the growth of 2. Along with the growth of this reactionary alliance the Swatantra Party is also rais-ing its head. This Party re-presents the monopoly capi-talists as well as the moribund and decadent feudal elements and works to safeguard their interacts. In Orissa some and works to safeguard then interests. In Orissa some feudal land owners, a few erstwhile Congressmen and people who uphold the above interests and subscribe to their views have joined the Swatantra Party.

The Swatantra Party has to me ne organisation with a view also been able recently to b advance its own narrow hterests and to save its orga-isation from dismember-ent. "But it is worth noting that section of the Congress, section of the Congress, section of the Congress, already begun between the two two.

3. As a consequence of the 3. As a consequence of this rightist reaction the proclaimed policies and programme of the Congress are also undergoing some metamorphosis. It has gone to such an ex-tent that the Congress has even gone back on some of its ideals and proclamations. More facilities for the feuda princes and the present land reforms bill are glaring examples of this.

Still Unreal

4. But, however, despera tely they may try, the merger of the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad has not Ganatantra Parishau has not yet become a reality. On the other hand sharp opposition to this proposed merger has

since been evident inside both the parties. The Ganatantra Parishad is determined to re-sist the growing pressure of the Congress for merger and meintain its own senarate maintain its own separate entity.

As long as the growth of right reaction continues and as long as the Congress as well as the democratic movements remain weak and, especially as long as the Ganatantra Parishad remains hopeful of forming a Government on its own after the coming general elections this merger is not going to be possible.

5. Owing to the inherent situation the weakness in the situation, the Ganatantra Parishad is

the Ganatantra Parishad is able to garner more of the benefits and advantages, even though it is in a minority in the coalition ministry. Especially it sees to it that the feudal princes are consided as much as are enriched as much as possible. At the same time it lays all the blame for the anti-people policies of the coalition Ministry at the door of the Congress.

Ganatantra Gains

Instead of resisting and voicing its protest the Con-gress is yielding more and more to the Parishad, even going to the extent of sacri-ficing its own principles. As such, the Ganatantra Parisuch, the Ganatantra Pari-shad is putting all the blame on the Congress and at the same time doing its best to widen the base of its and such. widen the base of its own organisation.

6. Such activities on the part of the State Congress leader-ship have resulted in open opposition inside the Congress party itself. A group inside the Congress is insisting on breaking up the coalition if the Ganatantra Parishad reto merge with the Con-

gress. Open dissensions inside the Open dissensions inside the Congress have already begun. This group is opposed to the present leadership as well as its policies. Even though this group is more or less a faction inside the Congress still its inside the Congress still its opposition is based to some extent on political differences.

7. This political difference finds expression in the desire of the group to wipe out the Ganatantra Parishad as an organisation in the usual organisation in the usual bourgeois way, to strengthen the Congress organisation by establishing industries in all the districts of the State, to oppose the land reforms bill of the Coalition Ministry inside Coalition Ministry inside State Legislative and to g about certain amendthe bring about certain ments in the bill favourable o the peasantry.

Further, failing to achieve the proposed merger of the Ganatantra Parishad with the Congress and in view of the fact that the Congress is gradually becoming weaker and the Ganatantra Parishad. and the Ganatanita Falisher is widening its base as a rival to the Congress, this group demands the immediate dis-solution of the coalition Ministry and the chalking out of a programme to fight out the Parishad. This is another manifestation of this poli-

tical differences. inside the Congress orga-nisation itself. And so we

find today that persons inside the Congress who do not belong to the feudal class are openly setting up factions and organising once emerging against the open opposition again feudal leadership o leadership of

State Congress. Not only the established capitalists of Orissa but also capitalists of Orissa but also some of the followers of Mahatab's group who belong to the class of peasants have also joined this opposition. But it cannot be said that

this faction has crystalised itself in a fulfledged progressive group or that there are no reactionary and opportunist elements inside it.

8. The State Congress leadership, however, is deter-mined to save the coalition by all means. It is even prepared to do all in its power to appease the feudal princes to that end.

In the coming general elections the Congress may not be returned as the single majo-rity party. Hence, there is every likelihood of the Congress Parishad coalition minis_ try being formed again-such is their line of propaganda which they have openly With this possibility in view they are now thinking of dividing the entire State into spheres of influence between the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad and jointly fighting the Commu-nists and the other democratic forces in the coming general elections. They also do 1

They also do not make a secret of this fact. Thus, this dangerous reaction is organising itself to achieve its desired end.

9. In this situation, therefore, it is the prime duty of every democrat and demo-cratic party to defeat this reactionary alliance and reactionary alliance and safeguard the interests of the people of Utkal.

Communist Party has The moved forward in this direc-tion, in discharging its duties towards the people. But it cannot alone cope with this gigantic task.

PSP Attitude

Unfortunately, the Praja Socialist Party which calls itself leftist does not regard this reactionary alliance as menace. It is vehemently opposed to uniting with the Communists in this campaign. All their policies and programmes are formulated on

basis of anti-Communism. They go even to the extent of joining hands with the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad solely in order to defeat the Communists and that, too, without any qualms of conscience. Their relation-ship with the Ganatantra Parishad is far from anta-gonistic, it may even be called friendly. They cherish tender feelings for the Parishad. In such circumstances it is very Parishad is far from anta-gonistic, it may even be called friendly. They cherish tender feelings for the Parishad. In such circumstances it is very unlikely that they would ever come into the united move-

ment. Therefore, it is necessary to carry on an ideological and practical struggle against their policies. Yet, on some definite occasions and cam-must come from the Commudefinite occasions and cam-paigns we must give a call for united that the clash of class interests is also at work at the root of this open opposi-tion that is growing up inside the Congress orga-nication itself. And so we

In the meanwhile, our

Party has been able to mobilise the masses through various meetings, confer-ences and rallies. We had a big rally on a State-wide scale at Bhubaneswar on March 30 last. As a conse quence of all these actions we have been able to exert some influence on the minds

of the people. A feeling of distrust and disgust for the coalition Ministry is growing among them. The real nature of the coalition is gradually being unmasked. But its scope and extent is still very narrow. The realisation of the character has not gone very deep into ven those in the peripeople, even those in the peri-phery of our Party. Even though certain sec-

tions of the people of the ex-Princely State areas have become disillusioned about the Ganatantra Parishad, we still have not been able to take advantage of it and enlighten to take le about the real nature of the Parishad. In spite of our many decisions we have not been able to send any of our workers to these

areas. Therefore, in these circumstances, it is our para-mount duty to defeat the antipeople policies of the Con-gress-Parishad coalition Min-istry. We should establish political contacts with those parties, groups and individuals who agree with us in opposing these anti-people policies (though not all but a few) and safeguard the interests of the people and those who want to defeat and change the poli-

cies. But at this stage it is futile to hope to achieve any sort of organisational unity with these forces. We should also not entertain any such hopes. But we should see to it that these parties, groups and individuals though sticking to their respective positions are activised in such a manner that there is simultaneous mobilisation and supporting action with regard to certain

problems. Then gradually we should combine these partial actions and carry them forward towards a State-wide cam-

paign. For this it is also neces-For this it is also neces-sary to establish political contacts with the demo-cratic forces inside the Congress. Even though we may disagree in regard to certain national problems, yet we should try our best to unite with them on cer-tain local matters. tain local matters.

Some opposition can also be discerned inside the ranks of the Ganatantra Parishad. We

and it is not our object to surrender before any party or

must come from the Commu-nist Party. During the course of initiation, preparation and progress of the movement also we should strive to achieve unity with the other

* SEE PAGE 14 AUGUST 7, 1960 THIRD PLAN DRAFT

The Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan postu-lates "the fullest possible utilisation of the man-power resources and substantial expansion of employment oppor-tunities" as one of the major objectives of the Third Five Year Plan. How far this laudable objective is realisable considering the nature and size of the Third Plan? What are, concretely speaking, the schemes and policies through which this objective is sought to be realised? As one looks which this obje into the pages of the Draft Outline for convincing answers one is very sadly disappointed.

REALISTIC and rigorous appraisal of the employment policies pursued and implemented during the First and Second Five Year Plans and their net contribution towards olving the problems of unemployment and under-employ- during the Third Plan period is ment which was long overdue estimated at 15 millions of ployment and under-employhas not been forthcoming from the pundits of the Planning Commission. The inevitable sequence of this is that the Draft Outline of the Third Plan offers only vague and general ments and promises which hardly carry conviction with the reader. The question conviction which is perturbing and haunts where do we stand on the eve of the Third Plan in relation to this vital problem and what is the perspective for the years to come.

It is no exaggeration to say that the authors of the Third indications the Third Plan will *Plan have taken a facile view* provide 10.5 million new jobs whatever data are available in-of the problem and have not outside agriculture and as many dicate an aggravation of the problem of unemployment and the most in the recent pas have drawn attention to of the problem and have not whole truth. In fact, the grain agriculture. vity and enormity of the pro-blem have been underrated

During Second Plan

The Second Five Year Plan had stated that the task to be faced in the coming years in the field of creation of employment opportunities was three-fold: First, the existing unemployed

eve of the Second Plan-had to e provided for.

Secondly, it was necessary to provide for the fresh entrants to the labour force as a result of population increase which was estimated at 10 million for the Second Plan period. Thus if unployment had to be substantially wiped off by the end of tially wiped off by the end of the Second Plan, additional em-inistry of Labour and the Plan-

agricultural and household occupations in urban and rural areas, which is the basic and special characteristic of underleveloped countries like India. In household enterprises in India lack of adequate productive employment to the working of the household members nanifested itself not as total or open unemployment but disguised unemployment. As a result of institutional and technological changes, however, there was a tendency for the hitherto under-employed per sons to be pushed out into the open market · as totally unem- Trends In ployed persons seeking en nnlov ent. This would be an addi- Urban Areas aggravating the

problem of open unemployment This, in a nutshell, was the ońt stupendous problem and the interrupted and steady de-Second Five Year Plan was to deterioration in the urban unbe the first organised effort towards its solution.

Considering the outcome of the Second Five Year Plan, we find that of the 15.3 milns which had to be provid- during the years 1953, '54, '55, which means

AUGUST 7, 1960

increase of urban unemployment based on Employment Exchange data

and under-estimated. Worsening Of Situation

to have talked about tackling the problem of unemployment squarely by 1976. What is clearly forgotten is that by that time, the problem would have assumed still bigger dimensions. It is reported that according to the Second Plan, additional em-ployment had to be provided for at least 15.3 million persons. Lastly, it was necessary to reduce under-employment in reduce basebold ocployment opportunities

> task can be left for the statistical skill and ingenuity of the model-builders of the Commission. This is as regards the present

position and open unemployment as seen in aggregates. A glance at the trends of rural and urban unemployment provide further confirmation of the gravity of the situation.

ed for, employment opportu-nities have been created for only 8 million leaving a back-

The number of new entrants whom about a third may be in urban areas. Thus again, if un-employment is to be substantell us that according to present are wast and enormous.

urban unemployment increa by 32%, a trend which by and large is said to have persisted in subsequent years.

This shows that as a consequence of the natural increases in urban population combined with uncontrolled and presumably large-scale migration from the urban areas, unemployment in urban sector is increasing at an alarming rate.

log of unemployment to the tune of 7.3 millions for the Third Plan. Unemployment

According to the employment data collected in the 9th round of the National Sample Survey, May to August 1955, the inciwas dence of unemployment proportionately almost ten times

steady worsening of the phenon of under-employment".

~ bu

MAHESH PRASAD

There is on all accounts, however, no evidence of any trend of increase of expansion of non-farm occupations nor good showing of rural indigenous crafts or industries during the past few years. This has been the running theme of almost all the eva luation studies of the Community Development pro-gramme by the PEO or other munity Develop igencies

The Second Five Year Plan d pointed out that "the creating of employment opportunities should not be approached mainly in over-all terms" and "the pro-blem needs to be broken up in terms of sector, regions and constraints. Transport in the classes"

Evaluating the trends in the tally wiped off by the end of the Third Plan, additional em-ployment has to be provided for at least 22.3 million persons. The authors of the Draft Outline ment line in urban areas alone the wise for instance, two of our cations of holding the employ-ment line in urban areas alone



carried over to the next Plan

by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan! The massive investment implication of this stupendous

future trends of

It has been reported that since 1051-52 there has been an un-

inder-employment. The Seventh Evaluation Re-

create employment oppor- port of the Programme Evalua-tunities for only 14 million tion Organisation (PEO) releas-persons leaving a backlog of ed to the press only recently has ment as percenta persons leaving a backlog of ed to the press only recently has over 8 millions which will be come out with the shocking reered by the Report, chronic co-perennial unemployment is twice as large in magnitude as the extra-seasonal unemploy-ment of cultivators and agricul-tural labourers and three time

First, the existing unemployed in the urban and rural areas— estimated at 5.3 million on the Addressing the Central Com-the number of persons working According to the NSS report mittee on Unemployment some ...less than 8 hours per week was time back, Sri Nanda is reported nearly 21 million; they may nearly 21 million; they may perhaps be considered as totally unemployed. The number of bours per week or less than 29 ment in registered factories hours per week or less than 4 available from the Indian Labhours per day was as large as nearly 45 millions."

In respect of the rural areas, to the restricted prospects ed by large-scale or factory in-dustries which have expanded t They have drawn attention to the fact that assuming an annual innillions in the working force, factory employment as percentage of work-ing force remained steady velation that in the blocks cov- at 2.03 per cent between 1850 and 1955. Though it is said to have increased to 2.23 in 1957, there is little doubt that the increase was by and large of a temporary nature.

Sectorwise Situation

Similarly, the opportunities or ment in large-scale or factory industry as indicated by statistics relating to factory employin registered factories our Gazette, are also said to be not very promising. It is pointed of developing

industries-are not reported to be very bright.

A big spurt in trading activity contributing significantly to in-creased employment is in the final analysis itself a consequence of fast increasing employment and, therefore, incomes which bring about widening and deepening of the internal market. The very fac-tors which have so far inhibited the widening of employment opportunities, also seriously res rict the scope and possibilitie of trading activity and its capacity to absorb a sizeable proportion of the working population.

Employment in transport sector is itself subject to certain country is yet in the transitional stage and bullock transport accounts for considerable proportion of our transport activity The number of persons employed per unit of transport service is larger in bullock transport as ompared to mechanical transport. Thus as mechanical transport displaces bullock transport. the possibilities of increased employment opportunities in trans-port sector do not appear to be very significant.

The picture is far more disturbing when one has a close look at the performance or prospects of traditional industries. According to the latest PEO Report. unemployment is three.times or so larger among artisans than the underemployment among cultivators or agricultural labourers in the blocks covered by the eva-luation report. In fact, the report quite categorically states that there are no prospects of rural unemployment being alleviated by movement of marginal or seriously underemployed peasants from lands to craft.

the country for quite some time the movement has continued uninterrupted in the reverse direction, i.e. from crafts facing ruination to land, indicating continuing trends of overpressure in agriculture. It is quite clear that the traditional industries sector, instead



Similarly, the advance results of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry show a worsening of the unemployment situation. It is said that between 1951-56, there was a fall in self-employment and a rise in the number of persons offering themselves for wage employment in the rural areas.

It is also reported that during wage rate did this period not show any improvement and that per-capita income of agri-cultural labour showed a drop of over 10%.

Some of our leading econ mists are reported to be of the view that on the basis of the present rates of growth of popu-lation and under very favour-able assumptions of a more than proportionate increase in the employment situation. non-farm occupations in the The estimates of the rate of rural areas, "those dependent on agriculture will increase within a decade in terms of absolute unmistakably show that numbers by at least 10% inevitably

out that in the eight States each expanding opportu of which had more than one lakh persons employed in factories in 1956, five showed increase in the average daily number of workers employed in 1957 over that in 1956 and among these were included all the four States with the largest numbers viz. Bombay, West numbers viz. Bombay, West Bengal, Madras and Uttar Pradesh.

However, during the first half of 1958 the trend was reversed so that in seven out of the eight, the average daily number of workers employed was less than in 1957, including in the four at the top. This decline was so pronounced that in four out pronouncea that in jour out of the eight, including Bom-bay and West Bengal, the number employed was less than even in 1956.

Similarly, the prospects of increased employment in other sectors of the economy - in trade, transport and traditional — .in

under-employed rural popula tion in non-agricultural employment has in all probability been shrinking both in its presen importance and future prospects The uninterrupted stream of migration to the towns from rural areas is itself a formidable ice of the serious unemployment pressures at work in the rural sector.

In Depressed Areas .

As stated earlier, the Second Five-Year Plan had emphasised the regional and class distribution of employment opportunities with due regard to the relatively acute problem of unemployment and under-employment in depressed regions and among under-privileged classes of the country.

Judging from all direct and * SEE PAGE 10

HEART-WARMING RECEPTIONS ALL OVER THE STATE

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The incessant rains have stopped for the moment and a bright sun is shining on the Jatha when it begins its march on the sixth day. Today is July 4 and the Kerala Karshaka Jatha to Trivandrum is to enter Kozhikode District this afternoon.

T HE last big meeting of Cannanore District was held at Tellicherry last even-ing and people were reminded of the huge rallies of the elec-tion campaign days. All traffic came to a standstill when the demonstration marched through the town and there was not an inch of vacant came to a standstill when the demonstration marched through the town and there was not an inch of vacant space in the meeting place. At Mahe, the French posses-sion of the Kerala coast the leaders of Kozhikode District are ready to take over the Jatha from their Cannacounterparts.

The Jatha has already covered over a hundred 'miles. A. K. Gopalan's feet are all swollen, the toes cut and bleeding. Most of the others are in the same condition and quite some of them have severe cold and fever. Bu anxiety is But their only anxiety is to continue the march. The first question they ask the Kozhikode leaders is: When do we

Jatha's Deputy Captain H. Kanaran and the Cannanore leaders are busy aking up the balance-sheet of Cannanore District. When they finish they announce that Rs. 2,000 have been collected in the form of conjected in the form of purses and currency and coins garlands, 3,000 copies each of a pamphlet on the Agrarian Relations Bill by E. M. S. Namboodiripad and On the Nadapuram book of songs have been

It is a difficult moment-

embled to welcome the Jatha into Kozhikode District. The march so far has been through the traditional base of the Kisan Sabha: now the

The pilot jeep has reached Kannookara, the home place At Mahe, the French posses of the Omchiyam martyrs. sion of the Kerala coast People crowd round the jeep which is still awaiting de jure and look for AK.G. inside. transfer to India to India. Some Congress leaders, it seems, have been going around saying that A.K.G. will not walk but will travel in the jeep.

The people are happy that he is not in the jeep, they knew in their heart that he would be walking. Now they will be able to tell the slanderers a few things. But they are anxious at the same time. "Will his health allow him to walk all the way?" The answer comes from an old kisan who has his faith in his God. "A.K.G. nis faith in his God. "A.R.G. will walk to Trivandrum. God will protect him for us." The Jatha arrives just then, they see A.K.G. walk-ing in front and one can see their eyes lighting up. Many of them join the Jatha and it is still bigger

when it moves on.

On the Nadapuram Road, there is another reception and as the Jatha gets ready to move on, an eighty-year-

the Jatha's parting with the Cannanore comrades who A.K.G. carried by two com-have accompanied it these six days. There is a huge crowd puts her hand on A.K.G. and centre of the timber industry. tears run down her sunken checks. It is difficult for others, too, to keep back tears from their eyes. The reception at Badagara

Jatha is entering areas con- stands out for the participasidered weak for the Sabha. tion of its bid and cigar But we are to find out that workers who have also been whether the Kisan Sabha is builders of the Kisan Sabha eak or not, in their own villages

Next day, the Jatha covers the distance from Badagara to Quilandi and it is a series of receptions, of decorated homes and villages and of people who not only want to see the Jatha but march with it at least for some distance. it at least for some distance. The Jatha is approaching Kozhikode town and the comrades are telling us of what awaits us—a huge workers' mobilisation in sup-port of the Kisan Jatha.

The Jatha has its midday rest in Elathur. The host is introduced, he is the father of Vasu who hoisted the Red flag over the Kozhikode Huzur office in 1940. He was so brutally beaten by the police that for six years he was con-fined to his bed till he died in 1946.

The Jatha is in Kozhikode The Jatha is in Kozhikode town and what a colourful reception it has been given —young girls with lighted lamps, fireworks and to add to everything the participa-tion of the organised work-ing class of Kozhikode town, with the women workers in the lead.

The town has seen many demonstrations before but nothing like the present Jatha accompanied by thousands of workers and others. It is as if the Jatha is marching through two solid walls of human beings—so dense is the crowd lining the route.

Fearing rains, the reception meeting has been arranged in the Town Hall. But the hall is too small and crowd so big that all approaches to the hall are filled and no traffic can move on the roads leading

centre of the timber industry. Workers have taken an hour's leave in the morning promis ing to work an extra hour in the evening. The Kallai port witnesses a

historic event when the work-ers receive the Kisan Jatha with slogans like Worker-Peasant Unity Zindabad. The Jatha walks with the workers

Part of a crowd awaiting the arrival of the jatha.

GLORIOUS MARCH OF KERALA KISAN JATHA

is served. A.K.G. speaks to them for a few minutes and the Jatha is on its way again.

By midday the Jatha reaches Cheruyannoor where a number of factories are situated. Here the workers' request for leave has been rejected by the factory-owners. Leave or no leave, they have decided to parti-cipate in the reception and in numers he workers' **MUSLIM PEASANTS WELCOME** We stand on the bridge nnumerable small processions of workers are pour-ing into the main crowd waiting to welcome the Jatha. Specially colourful are the women workers from the Mammila Coffee works who have come in their own procession. A purse of Rs. 401 is present-

to the union office where tea there is such a big gathering waiting here. Vans and cars flying flags have come from surrounding areas like Tirur-and Kottakkal, slogan-shouting people are hanging on to the buses which are arriving.

These have been the five greatest days for the Kisan We stand on the bridge and look back—it is a grand District only for two days-July 9 and 10—and it is only an edge of the District that it sight that meets our eyes in the twilight that is descend-ing. We can see the front of the Jatha clearly, then flags touches. But we hear inspirand banners, thousands of them, the end is nowhere in sight. The Jatha has begun well in Moplahnad, the ing reports of the work of village and block kisan jathas that have been campaigning in the district the last few Muslim peasant is declaring days.



A kisan leader garlanding A. K. Gopalan.

his determination to fight for the Agrarian Relations Bill. The Jatha is in Murayur

having tea when a Muslim peasant approaches A.K.G. He complains about the land-lord's attempts to evict him from the land he has been occupying for 18 years. The vegetables in his compound have been destroyed. He has complained to the police with no result. He wants A.K.G. to his take up his case with the Ministry, Another Muslim peasant comes forward to complain that he has been

evicted with police help. The reception at Pukkottur will stand out in our minds. It is quiet compared to the other colourful receptions. There is a simple garlanding ceremony. It must be the atmosphere of the place that is working into our minds. This is the place which saw the worst British repression during the Moplah ollior

Muslim League centre. It is a huge audience and the majority of them are Muslims. At Malappuram, the procession which welcomes us has marched 22 miles. The maidan is packed for the meeting. This is the last big reception in Kozhikode District.

In the evening of the 11th, the Jatha is crossing the bridge over the Bharatapuzha which in the old days separat-ed British Malabar from Cochin State. On the other side is Cheruthiruthi where Vallathol's Kerala Kalaman-dalam is situated. The crowd from Trichur District to welcome the Jatha is waiting here

In the evening of the 12th the Jatha enters Trichur Town and the reception here has been one of the brightest spots of the Jatha's march.

RIOT OF COLOURS

Pattirakkal marks the town limit and here all the local jathas that have been successfully campaigning in the villages and blocks have assembled. The Jatha arrives, girls receive them with the traditional lamps, the band strikes up and over the din of the fireworks can be heard the slogans rising from the throats of thousands.

The town; specially the Thekkinkad Maidan, is a riot of colours and it is difficult to estimate the crowd that has assembled

Leaving Trichur next morn-ing, the Jatha goes through

The leaders are busy in the

camp counting up the collec-tions in Kozhikode District.

They have come to Rs. 1,789.99. The Jatha has mar-

the District in five days and the Kozhikode con rades are saying when they hand over

the Jatha to Palghat District:

movement. The Jatha is in Palghat

is no less.

Christian

trolling the traffic.

LEARN

throw the Co

Kottayam town there are thouasnds accompanying it. I have seen the Thirunak Maidan at the time of

the "liberation struggle" and I had thought bigger rallies than those could never be held. At the time of the elec-tion campaign I had to change my mind, I did see bigger rallies. But then I had thought nothing bigger was possible. I am changing my mind again today.

But more than the size of the audience that im-presses is the confidence that is reflected on the faces. of the peasants and agricul-tural workers who come

ed to the Jatha and then the whole meeting accom-panies it to the Feroke Bridge, The Jatha is now entering Moplahnad where 39 years ago the Muslim peasants rose in revolt against landlordism. Those inhabiting this area are

the sons and daughters of the thousands who fell before thousands who fel British bullets then.

AMONG THE MOPLAHS How will they receive the Jatha? This question in all the minds is relevant because after they were suppressed with brutal measures then every effort has been made to see that they don't rise again —the Muslim League serving as the main instrument and

with its religious obscurautism keeping the Muslim peasants away from the democratic movement. Rcbellion. It is evening when the There is a reception meet-Jatha reaches Chernkavu. It ing at Makkaraparambu, a

has been accompanied by a big procession from Ramanat-tukara. And another big pro-cession led by the Kondotti Reception Committee joins it here. And it is this huge crowd that marches into Kottappadi Bazar. All the estimates of the organisers have gone wrong-



strong Christian centres and the enthusiasm of the people

children from the poorer families are lining the route, and in the ten miles the Jatha marches before mid-day, there are ten recep-tions, each place competing with the other to make its welcome better.

The Jatha now enters the industrial area of the District and the workers-toddy-tap-pers, tile workers and others -again take the lead in wel-coming the Kisan Jatha. In Chalakudi where the Kisan

Sabha had its beginning in Cochin State, a number of processions from surrounding areas have arrived and the police have difficulties in con-Ankamali was a storm-centre of the "liberation

struggle". The reception meet-ing here is at midday. But what we see here shows that whatever be their political affiliations the peasants are for the Agrarian Relations Bill. CATHOLIC KISANS

This is perhaps the first time that the provisions of the Bill are being explained to the Catholic peasants the "liberation struggle" had begun the day after the Bill was adopted by the Assembly and in the emotion-charged atmosphere of those days no explana-tory campaign of the Bill had been possible. There is no mistaking the response m even, those who were the struggle to over-ow the Communist Ministry which framed the Bill. From here on the Jatha will be passing through the Catho-lic centres. Muvattupuzha re-ceives the Jatha with a demonstration that shakes the town, from there to Kuthat-tukulam seven reception meetings have been organised on the way and in Kuthattu-kulam itself a huge rally is

held with a large number of women conspicuous in the front rows. On July 17 the Jatha enters Kottayam District. The recep-tions here have belied the hopes of the moneybags that the Catholic peasants would

keep away. Here are the Catholic peasants themselves organising the receptions and by the time the Jatha reaches

crowding into the maidan People who would have dis-rupted such a meeting a few months ago have come to listen, they are perhaps not vet won over but they are certainly in a receptive mood. Those who since the dismissal of the Commumod. Those who since the dismissal of the Commu-nist-led Government have for a year been afraid of the State's future regain their confidence as they see what is virtually a sea of human beings in front of them.

ATTEMPT AT DISTURBANCE

The first attempt to create disturbances in the Jatha takes place in Chengannoor. A dog with a black ribbon round its neck is kept in the middle of the road and it is made to walk across the road by some people who throw it pieces of meat from both sides. Decorating the building from which people are throw-ing the meat to the dog is a signboard telling us that the Indo-American Club is situat-ed there. Somebody asks: with all the dollars at their disposal could they hire only a dog to do this dirty work?

The reception in Chengannoor is truly big and that infuriates these ele-ments still further. As agriganno cultural workers are going back from the meeting they are assaulted near the bus depot and five of them have to be admitted in the hospi-tal with serious injuries.

Between them, Manath Pad-manabhan and the Catholic church claim to own Changanassery and Tiruvalla. But when the Kisan Jatha arrives here they cannot prevent the huge receptions which are accorded by the peasants and agricultural workers who are lemonstrating in their thousands.

The Jatha then marches, through Quilon District with memorable receptions at Adoor, Kottarakkara, Pandalam. Punaloor, etc



Addressing a meeting in Kozhikode District.

This whole area of Cen-tral Travancore had seen the worst attacks on the harijans and agricultural workers during and after the mid-term elections. A.K.G. then had toured the area and going with him I had then found the people terrorised and not knowing what to do. But today in all the receptions that are being held people are coming walking ten and twelve miles and shouting slogans miles and shouting slogans daring the vested interests. longer holds them in its

grip. On July 22, the Jatha enters Trivandrum District with a reception at Kilimanoor. There is a festival atmosphere with all the houses decorated, flags and banderoles across the roads, and receptions at

every furlong's distance. In Trivandrum city at last, with over four hundred miles covered. Twentyfive thousand peasants have arrived from parts of the District to participate in the demonstration and by evening four and five deep crowds are lining the route from Museum Junction to Pazhavangadi Maidan. People have already occupied all the vantage points on tree tops and roofs. A. K. Gopalan and the uni-

formed volunteers who have marched from Kasargode are in the forefront. Just behind are the Opposition MLAs and Communist MPs who received the Jatha at Kesavadasapu-ram with E. M. S. Namboodi-ripad in the lead. Then come in serried ranks the twentyfive thousand peasants and vorkers and others

At Palayam, the procession stops. In pindrop silence A.K.G. moves forward and places a wreath at the Martyrs' Memorial. And then he himself is covered with flowers and garlands.

At 7 p.m. A.K.G. and the leaders are on the dais. An hour later the last Red Flag of the procession is just entering the maidan

The venue of the meeting is Pazhavangadi Maidan but the maidan is packed long before the scheduled time and They march with their the crowd has overflown to heads erect again, terror no vast areas all around the maidan. I can hear various estimates of the audience— all between one lakh and two

BEGINNING OF MOVEMENT

A. K. Gopalan, Vishnu Bharateeyan, who accom-panied the Jatha all through in the pilot jeep, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, M. N. Govindan Nair, Pandalam P. R. Madhavan Pillai, and others speak at the meeting. C. H. Kanaran introduces the volunteers of the Jatha and the rally concludes with the Kisan Dance of KPAC artistes, Leela and Beatrice. The historic Jatha has

come to an end. But it is only another milestone in the Kerala people's march for-ward. And not only of the Kerala people. As M. N. Kerala people. As M. Govindan Nair told the Tri-vandrum rally this is the vandrum rally this is the beginning of a great movement which will envelop the whole of the country in the near future.



Across the river in a ferry boat.

STARVATION DEATHS REPORTED IN TRIPURA

* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The local papers recently splashed the news of air-uning of rice at Rima-Sarma, a tribal-dominant inaccesdropping of rice at Rima-Sarma, a tri sible area, in the division of Amarpur.

taken by the Administration to prevent mass starvation deaths among the landless tribal deaths among the landless tribal programme, both as regards the zumias (shifting cultivators) displaced persons (DPs) as and refugees of the newly set well as the tribal landless up colonies of that area. This ar the zum crop had been exof rats, all over the hilly areas. Territory. The relief measures adopted so are quite inadequate compared with the crisis. As a result starvation deaths have been reported from Damchhera, Kanchanpur, Kamalpur, Belonia and a number of other places. The orice of rice has gone up, at anything between Rs. 30 to Rs. 35.

How is it that Rima-Sarma How is it that Rima-Sarma Forty per cent of the DPs The autocratic Administration which according to the Govern-have a monthly income of less of the Chief Commissioner re-ment's own estimate has enough than Rs. 50. After all these ad- sorted to brutal repressive meament's own estimate has enough land to rehabilitate no less than ten thousand refugee families and a similar number of land- ed that the Rehabilitation De- into jails as a result of which less tribal zumias, now has to partment of the Territory was- Biswambar Namadas, one of the THIRD PLAN AND UNEMPLOYMENT~

safe to conclude that whatever

created are by and large con-

ent, and

ment and under-employmen

the traditional depressed re-

telligence or imagination

from giving any relief to them, hit the already under-privileged

sections of society the hardest

The picture becomes complete

when we add to this the grow-

loved from year to year.

The Draft Outline of the

Third Five-Year Plan appears

neither to have seriously reck-

oned with the gravity of the

employment problem nor has it

undertaken an appraisal of the

causes of the grave shortfall in this field during the Second

mistic note as regards employ-ment prospects, which charac-

pears to have been conside

sion's earlier

city to develop "r

PAGE TEN

terised the Planning Commis-

toned down to make the

in palatable to the public.

This complacency becomes still-more marked when one

finds references in the Draft

Outline to the possibility of achieving self-sustained

growth (defined as the capa-

its own resources) within ten

statements ap-

In fact. the clearly pessi-

ing volume of the educated

Self.Sustained

Growth

gions of the country.

develop

* FROM PAGE 7

T HIS step has at last been feed its people, with imported food-grains? It is due to the total failure of the rehabilitation zumias. These two sections of les of that area. This function T_{area} for the people form about 70 per damaged by invasion cent of the population of the

According to Government figures there are no less than three and a half lakhs of DPs in Tripura, the majority of whom are agriculturists. An economic are agriculturists. An economic survey carried out by the Ad-ministration reveals that these DPs have only such land as can maintain them for two or three **Content** months a vear.

cent of the DPs missions, strangely enough the sures. The satyagrahis were at-Central Government has decid- tacked at midnight and clamped

three months. This decision was This decision was very nuch resented by the DPs of Tripura. Full ten thousand of them submitted a mass peti-tion to the Ministry of Rehaurging that the be not closed be-Department be fore economic rehabilitation had been completed. After waiting for six months, the DPs under the leadership of the United Refugee Committee resorted to a mass hunger strike. Big mass - actions, including hartals, demonstrations and mass defiance of laws followed in support of the demands of the Satyagrahis.

The autocratic Administration

while in police custody.

While the DPs continue their While the DPs continue then struggle in the colonies, the poverty-striken kisans are put-ting up a back to the wall fight against widespread evictions. A land reforms Bill has just emer-red from the Select Committee ged from the Select Comm of the Parliament. As this Bill envisages confering of certain rights to the Bargadars (sharecroppers) and other under-ryots, the vested interests have State Congress started evicting them before the Bole Bill is adopted.

The Administration offers no protection to the under-ryot against this attack. A number of kisans have been killed at Khowai, Kamalpur and other places, while defending their right to their

The Administration itself has me one of the worst agencies for eviction. Thousands of tribal and refugee peasants re claimed Government 'land in expectation of settlement and were living on it for the last 10 or 12 years. Many of them now been asked to quit. In

This

to be closed down within two or satyagrahis, died in hospital Agartala, 12 families of the poo toiling people who were living on a plot of Government land for the last 40 years have recently been evicted with the help of the police. The land-lords, big joteders and money-lenders, who have started hundreds of cases of litigation against the poor tenants. At places they face the united opposition conte

Role

The leadership of the State Congress was busy right through this period in distributing contracts and jobs of the Tripura their own Territorial Council to followers. Though the powers and functions of the Territorial drastically Council have been curtailed both by the Central Government as well as by the Administration, the Congress leadership was happy under the system and thus reduce the Council into one of the Departments of the Administration.

The refugee Satyagraha big shock them. No less than 80 per cent of these DPs had voted for the Congress during the last elections. Therefore, they could not remain mere passive onlookers. They rus ed to New Delhi, accompanied by the Chief Commissioner. What transpired at the Conference held at the residence of Pandit Pant nobody knows. But after returning from Delhi, the Congress leaders mission trumpeted that the had been successful, the Ministry has agreed to retain the Rehabilitation Department till the rehabilitation of the DPs in Tripura was completed.

ripura was completed. But their bluff was called very easily, when the DPs. found that the Congress leadership was more inte-rested in carrying on a cam-paign of hate against the tribal people than in the rehabilitation of the DPs. Completely isolated as they are from the tribal people of Tripura, these Congress leaders, in all their speaches and writ-ings, tell the DPs that their rehabilitation has failed, not because of the colossal bung-ling of the Administration, but because of the resistance from the tribal people.

The Territorial Council has not been consulted in the framing of the draft Year Plan; the Agartala Mu tion in the rehabilitation of the ruption, wastage and nepotism, detected, are never

The Congress Government he Draft Outline. Which failed to solve any of What is most urgently re- the existing problems of Tripura, created new problems, by its failure to give protection to the minorities in Assam. Ben-It is perilous not to realise that galis have started entering Tripura as new refugees.

and mass Hartals, meetings demonstrations are taking place throughout Tripura expressing which its stupendous problems demnation of the failure of the State and Central Governments.

AUGUST 7. 1960

INDONESIAN SITUATION

We give below extracts from an important state-ment by the Political Bureau of the Central Com-mittee of the Communist Party of Indonesia issued on July 8, 1960. July 9, 1960 marks the first anniversary of the establishment of the Kerdja Cabinet, ('Kerdja'

employers did.

Canital

tion

Bureaucratic

Cabinet' is the name given to the present Cabinet)

A FTER one year of the led by certain cliques who, in Rerdja Cabinet, food and addition to not being compe-clothing have not become tent to run them, are adoptclothing have not become cheaper and easier to obtain, but have, on the contrary, become more expensive and more difficult to obtain, and they are now quite beyond the neans of the vast majority of the people. This situation first and foremost demonstrates the inability of the Minister of Trade, Arifin Harahap, to organise the distribution of the basic everyday essentials of the people.

The second disappointment of the people, and one completely destroyed all hope fidence they had ever and cor had in the ability of the Minister of Finance to carry out the programme of providing food and clothing, came when the Government raised a number of taxes and tariffs and introduced a number new taxes by means of the Emergency Act; that is by means of a Government Re-gulation in place of an Act of Porliament.

The solution of the prob-Ime solution of the problem lem of providing food and clothing to the people cannot be separated from the solu-tion of economic problems in general, the problem of overming the continual crisi that has Indonesia in its grip. The Sixth National Congress of the CPI held

aber last year pointed e basic reasons why September last reasons why to the basic reasons why conditions in our country continue to be gloomy.

Basic Reasons

They are: (1) Indonesia is still tied to the capitalist international division of labour with the result that development conomic development is leld back; (2) the survivals f feudalism (landlord sysof fendali tem) still hold sway with the result that it is not possible for the productive forces in the countryside to be released; (3) the State sector of the economy is weak with the result that the Government is powerient is powerless to control the ec eitnation.

In the past few months, the question of the policy towards the former Dutch colonialist enterprises that are now the property of the Government has been engaging the attention of the workers.

As is known, the enterprises Illusions About were first taken over by the workers as part of the strug-gle for the liberation of West Irian, and then over to the Government hoping that two hings would be done: (1) nterprises would serve the interests of the people; and (2) improvements would be made in the living condi-

As things have turned out, these hopes have not been fulfilled because in actual fact

put into practice, is, the principles of "patriotic management, increasing pro duction, stamping out corrup-

The situation

tion and sabotage, guarante ing the conditions of the democracy and improvements workers". Usually it is only one of these principles that the managers of these enterprises are in favour of: "increase production" which for the workers means "work hard," while the other principles are considered necessary to the purpo enriching themselves

Yes, indeed many have been the bitter experiences that the workers and pea-sants have suffered as a follow-up of their attitude sants have suffered as a follow-up of their attitude of patriotism. But besides this, the political lessons they have learnt are ex-tremely useful parallelit ely useful, namely, they learnt that State ownership of the means of production and distribution es not automatically bring benefit to the people, a that it can only be beneficial to the people if it is accom-panied by broad democratic rights and an advanced tical nower.

Imperialism

In this connection, we see evidence that some ministers are harbouring dangerous illusions about the imperialists (the foreign monopoly capitalists) willing to assist Indonesia in

AUGUST 7, 1960

of the workers.

the Second Plan and the contiindirect evidence one finds that nuing pathetic obsession (or self-delusion) of the Planning the regional problem has remained by and large untouched Commission with facile intersince all the major recommen-dations of the Second Plan for of the take-off has led some of our senior ecor special priority to them in the mists to redefine the concept of projects in the public the 'take-off' or 'crossing the threshold' in more meaningful sector and for other measures and schemes, designed to proe their ranid development

It has been rightly pointed out have largely remained on paper. On all indications it appears that country like ours where unemoloyn jmited new employment oppor-unities or potential are being shortage of capital..., the signi-ficant matter is that we create entrated in regions which are relatively at a higher level of terms of finance as well as physical capital, calculated to main problems have continued to acquire menacing dimensions in It does not require much inrealise that the failures in the sphere of generating adequate ployment opportunities, far

The rate of growth of increasingly productive employment opportunities is, therefore, the most sound criterion to deter-mine the progress of an ecotowards self-sustained nomy growth. Judging by this crite-rion, the prospect of a selfconomy in India is generating hardly in sight. The frustration and discontent prevailing in the country as a result of the worsening of the employment situa-tion has provided very fruitful soil for the propaganda of the against the whole Rightist for strategy of planned economic development. Amidst the prevailing confusion of issues it is necessary to expose the true causes of failures and to reiterate the right road of advance.

The Only Way Out

Let the ardent campaigners of As man-power is dispersed increasingly productive employ-ment opportunities to rise suffi-ciently fast, what is crucial is both the pace and pattern of economic development. Far from slowing down, what is ary is the pushing ahead its own resources) within ten -necessary is the pushing ahead of the tempo of economic deve-It is important to note that lopment. This is one of the ine-

employment terms.

"in an underdeveloped nt is high and labour productivity is low because of a hrough a high degree of initial effort certain basic conditions in tain a high level of employment and a reasonably high level of manpower overpressure in labour productivity." (Emphasis agriculture massive resources added.) (Economic Weekly, Special No. June 1960. The Concept and Size of the Third Vear Plan - Prof. A. K. Das Gupta.)

the grave shortfalls in the vitable and decisive compulsions small-scale industry cannot be sphere of employment during in an under-developed country realised under conditions of unin an under-developed country realised under conditions of unwhich it can ignore at its own controlled private enterprise and capitalist growth which ine peril. The pace and tempo of devevitably causes the ruin and lopment depend upon the extent

of success achieved in ousting dominant vested interests from key positions, in socialising the process and pattern of development and then by releasing and nobilising material and human that small enterprises can be resources for capital accumulation.

Economic development in the present context can no more be an anarchic, spontaneous long-drawn out process based on reckless exploitation of the masses as it was in the case of the early industrialising capita-list countries of the West. In an economy characterised by exlow productivity and tremely in and effort are necessary to be directed on a planned basis towards a programme of rapid industrialisation. This in turn requires a concentration of limited physical and financial capital resources on building a sound base of heavy and basic producer goods industries to promote industrial development at a very rapid and accelerated

sed employment opportunities lies during the transitional tries.

manpower has to be sought withir what is required is that land, the scarce resource, should be fully economised upon and exploited by man-power utilisa-

As man-power is dispersed tions.

NEW AGE

elimination of small-scale enterprises. It is only under conditions of planned economy where the supply of capital and raw materials and the demand for their products are guarante expected to flourish. in turn is possible when the nerve-strigs of the economy in relation to pro-duction, sale, consumption and resource-allocation are all under central control and nt underly.

The root cause of the failure to create productive employment at a rate commensurate with the needs and requirements of the country lies in the refusal of the Congress Government to whole-heartedly implement this strategy.

In fact, under the powerful pressure of dominant vested in-terests which have fattened during the period of the two Plans there has been a definite industries, the scope of increa-sed employment opportunities the Third Plan itself the ten-lies during the transitional denov of departure for the tenperiod, firstly in broadening the ciples and policies proclaimed adopted, but no urgency is base of employment in agricul- earlier is clearly evident, as can felt for holding early elections; base of employment in agricul-ture via land reforms and coope-rative farming and, secondly, in encouragement to labour-inten-sive and cooperative based of the public sector at a much small-scale and cottage indus-faster rate than that of the sector or from the scut-tries and cottage indus-faster rate than that of the scut-tries and cottage indus-faster rate than that of the scut-ed for helping the administraprivate sector or from the scu:- ed for helping the Since for a considerable tling of the whole programme period the employment for rural of land reforms and land redisof land reforms and land redis- DPs, though public opinion tribution. The necessity and strongly favours it. Cases of corthe rural economy itself, significance of basic structural and institutional changes for though rapid economic growth has been tackled. by and large soft-pedalled in the Draft Outline.

quired is a nation-wide discus-sion on the implications of the proposed Third Five Year Plan. the social, and economic stability of India and the future of vidual peasant farming but its democratic intitutions de-through the introduction of co- pend very largely on the on the operative production institu- urgency and determination with the anger of the people and con-Similarly the promotion of of employment are tackled.

direction and not subject to The above, in a nutshell, was the broad strategy of planned ing the Second Five Year Plan

News from brother parties

ing a worse attitude towards the workers than the foreign

The domination of these cliques has brought into being bureaucratic capital-ists who in addition to in addition to suppressing the workers are also suppressing the national eoisie and there is already proof that they are becoming a channel through which the imperialists are continuing with their policy exploitation and extor-

wild he verv different indeed if the principles urged by the CPI were of "patriotic

duction share", "joint enter-prises", and "joint venture". In the opinion of the CPI,

financing for economic cons-truction must be sought in the first place at home, in keeping with what the Political Manifesto states about the need to mobilise all funds and forces for the implementation of the plan of economic construction.

The basic mistake which The basic inistate winds has been made, as a result of which the security question has got bogged down is that some officials responsible for some officials response of the security are waging a fight on two fronts, that is they are fighting against the co volutionary rebels and at the same time are also waging a fight against the people and the Communists.

In fact, some of these officials in charge of security are devoting far too much energy and thought, not to smash-ing the counterrevolutionary gangs but to holding back the revolutionary and democratic novement, and in particular, to suppressing the progressive movement led by the Commu-

The two-faced policy in security affairs, namely all the talk about "no compromise with the rebels" and yet in practice precisely carrying out a policy of of compro

nesia to set up a new world bloc, based-not on continental location but on 'ideology', together with the Yugoslav revisionists is a development which we regard as being the thing destroying the results of the Bandung Conference and they will involve Indonesia in efforts to intensify the cold war.

With Indonesia agreeing to, even if not taking the initiative in, the convening of a Little Summit Meeting, a proposal that was still-born, shows very clearly that there is a desire to destroy the Bandung Spirit.

Most **Bitter Pill**

The Little Summit Meeting or in other words the Summit Meeting of the neutral countries together with Yugoslavia which essentially is not a neutral country can be direct-ed towards the formation of a new political bloc unfriendly to the Socialist countries, something that is in conflict with the Bandung Conference in which Socialist countries (China and the Vietnam Democratic Republic) took part together with the other what the people had hoped

All this is not in keeping with, is very much in con-flict with what President Sukarno wants and with the growth of the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian onle. It is the responsibility of every revolutionary, to put a stop to this way of implementing the cabinet's three-point programme, to the steering-wheel so as to bring things into con-formity and in line with the Political Manifesto and with the development of the reolutionary movement of an people

In contrast with some of his minister assistants who are not whole-heartedly helping him or who are sabotaging the implementation of the cabinet's three-point programme net's unterpoint is made by we see the efforts made by President Sukarno to pave the way for the imp of the programme of his cabi-

net. This is apparent from the attitude towards President's attitude towards the establishment of the Gotong Royong Parliament putting aside all those who obstacles to the progressive development of Indonesian people.

countries of Asia and Africa. The attitude adopted by The most bitter thing of all President Sukarno in this for the Indonesian people is matter gives hope that condi-



to the purpose of

being honestly

construction.

amnesty and with the purpose of strengthening and legalising the anti-Communist anti-left, anti-revolu tionary and anti-democratic forces, is arousing more and more anxiety among the people and there is no perspective now as to when security will be restored. In our opinion, if Indonesia really wants to oppose conomic imperialism, then hat must be developed is investments whether open or concealed, but a broadening of ou normal trade relations and mutual economic assistance with countries who well understand and have feelings of goodwill towards the desire of the Indonesian people for the economic construction of their country-

economic affairs, the actions taken by some minis-ters have created the impression that they are not opp g imperialism, as is stated in e cabinet's programme, but that they are more and more clearly needing imperialism. Indonesia, which has offi-

cially stated that it is struggling for Socialism, is not more and more firmly pursuactiv ing an independent and policy against colonialism an ce, but in economi affairs is leaning more and more towards the capitalist countries.

Indonesia's foreign trade with the East is still below 10 per cent of the total and there pracing all the emphasis upon "assistance" from abroad in the form of foreign capital invested in the guise of "pro-

the deviation being made in the policy for the liberation of West Irian. The fact that the uestion of West Irian was not placed on the agenda of the U.N. Assembly, the Casey-Subandrio joint statement hinding Indonesia not to utilise force while at the same time respecting Australia's re-cognition of Dutch sovereignty in West Irian, the consent given in response to Dillon's request that U.S. arms should not be used in facing the Dutch whereas such a thing does not apply in the case of the Netherlands, all take the Indonesian people farther and farther away from West Irian and are helping to save the American imperialists from confrontation with colonial problems such as this question West Trian.

Not What Sukarno Wants

All these facts compel us, whether we like it or not, to come to the conclusion that the foreign policy Indonesia is pursuing at the present time is both as regards its economic as well as its po tical aspects, one more of needing imperialism than of opposing it. This is in com plete contradiction with the programme of the Kerdja Cabinet and with the Political Manifesto of the Re-public of Indonesia. In brief, we can draw the

conclusion that the imple-mentation of the Kerdja Cabinet's three-point pro-gramme during the past year has not at all been

tions will not continue to deteriorate, that there will be changes in policy as indispensable condition the changes in economic and social affairs.

Without a ranid change in policy, it will be impossible to prevent economic and social conditions from worsening and the growth of bureauratic capitalism and compradorism will become inten-sified. And if this happens, then the changes in policy that the people and President Sukarno want will meet with serious obstacles.



EDITOR : P. C. Joshi Printed by D. P. Sinha at the EW AGE PRINTING PRESS, ndewallan Estate. M. M Jha oad New Delhi, and publish y him from 7|4, Asaf All Boad New Delhi

> Phone: 25794 Telegra

MARXBADI SUBSCRIPTION RATES

INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and ly Rs. 3-0-0. Quarte

FOREIGN : Yearly Rs. 16-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0. All cheques and drafts to be ade payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

PAGE ELEVEN.

WORSENING PUNJAB SITUATION CALLS FOR URGENT ACTION

Two months are over since the Akali agitation on the question of "Punjabi Suba" began and if what is happening is any indication, the situation in the State has been only made more critical in these two months..

THE Akalis claim that the movement was imposed upon them. A "Punjabi Suba" vention had been held in Amritsar on May 22. Though the resolution passed by the Convention was couched in very general terms and had a proper linguistic garb-appealing to the Governmen "not to delay any more the formation of a Punjabi-speaking State,"—the leaders in their speeches made it quite explicit that the "Suba" they were demanding was something for the Sikhs, Tara Singh characterised the Suba agitation as a "holy war".

The Convention only decided on a demonstration to be held in Delhi on June 12. No programme of struggle been announced when, othei had been announced when, on May 25, Master Tara Singh was detained under the Preventive Detention Act. Section 144 was enforced in Am-ritsar and arrests of leading Akalis began. A jatha which was to tour the State and proceed to Delhi was arrest-ed on May 29. The movement began thus and daily small jathas have been offering satvagraha since then

The demonstration in Delhi planned for June 12 was banned by the Delhi administra tion under pressure from the Punjab Government. Lathis, tear-gas and all the other repressive measures were brou-ght into action. The Press reported one killed and many

The police attack on the procession in Delhi helped the Akali leaders to work up their campaign and bring to the forefront the question of protection of Gurdwaras. The imposition of the Delhi ban and repression only led to the intensification of the Akali agitation in Punjab. According to even Gov-

ernment reports, more than 10.000 Akalis volunteers have been arrested till now under various sections and there is no doubt that more volunteers are enlisting themselves as participants in the agitation. In fact the Akalis today are getting more sympathy and support from the Sikh peasan. than they had been getting so far. The controversy on lan-

guage and the linguistic reorganisation of the State has en an old one in the Puniab

tagged on to the Punjab where the Hindus constitute about 92 per cent of the po-pulation, have been demanding separation from the pre-State and reconstitution in a new State, the Punjabi Hindus under the influence of the communal leadership of the Jan Sangh have all alon been opposing the demand for redrawing the boundaries of the State on a linguistic basis as well as according a proper status to the Punjabi langustatus to the Punjabi langu-age, which is the mother-tongue of all the Punjabi people—Hindus and Sikhs alike

The Punjab Congress lea dership in order to placate the Hindu communal forces has from the very beginning opposed the formation of a linguistic State of the Pun-

jabi-speaking people and on the question of language it has all along refused to take

a principled stand and has mising with one or the other communal element, depending on the situation. The consequence of this

unprincipled opportunist po-licy has been that whenever a communal agitation was launched in the State by either the Sikh or the Hindu communal leadership, the Punjab Congress stood pa-ralysed unable to fight communalism. And to make up for this bankruptcy of the Congress organisation, the Government always sought to meet, these agitations to meet these agitations with administrative mea-sures, with the result of further complicating the troubled situation in the State.

The Akalis right from the very beginning had raised the question of linguistic reorganisation from the point of view of Sikh communal doview of Sikh comm mination, though recently efforts were made to give a democratic linguistic mask to this blatant communal ap

The Communist Party is the

The Congress has its eve now on the next general elec-tions. The Congress leader-ship has realised that after the bitterly fought anti-betterment levy agitation of the peasantry and the present peasantry and the Akali agitation, the the present the Congress has no prospect of getting support from the Sikh peasants. So now all efforts are being made to enlist the co-operation of Hindu commu-

nalism to help the Congress win the 1962 polls. The Congress in the State needs this support desperate-ly. The policies pursued by the State Government have led to the ideological liquidation of the Congress. The re-cent session of the Congress Legislature Party convened in Chandigarh to discuss the new language formula evol-ved by Chief Minister Kairon showed this up more than ever before.

The party was divided, with a few exceptions, on the basis of Hindus and Sikhs-this was the division even among Kairon's colleagues in the Cabinet, the Sikh members favouring the new formula, the Hindu members firmly opposing it. Their stand went only to strengthen communalism in the State; secularism and

time since independence that such wide powers have by a been assumed Government.

The promulgation of the Ordinano e belied all the tall claims of Kairon. As the Times of India commented editorially.

"For weeks the Punjab Go-vernment has been telling the people that the Akali agitation is in its last gasp.... The Government's own actions belie its claims"

On the repressive measures of the Government, the ediit promulgated an ordinance making it impossible for news-papers to discuss the pros and cons of the issue on which the Akali agitation is centred except on pain of severe penal-ties. And now it has issued another ordinance providing for severe penalties against those who are evading arrest and also those who have been giving them shelter or giving them help in other ways. What is worse, it is planning to amend the Criminal Procedure Code to make defiance of a ban on public meetings

a non-bailable offence. "If the agitation has ceased to evoke any mass res-ponse," the editorial added,

"This is probably the first stand in relation to Punjab, told all and sundry that he had not even seen the for-mula. While Nehru was said to be in its favour, Home Minister Pant was content to leave it to the decision of the Congress Legislature Party in the State. From the stand of the various leaders of the High Command it was clear that the High Command was out to appease Hindu munalism.

When the Congress Legisdigarh on July 25, its decision was a foregone conclusion. torial said. "A few days ago Kairon was not even present in the meeting-the excuse

was an asthma attack. The Press reported that the meeting was more or less divided between the Sikh and Hindu members and since the Hindu mem-bers had a majority the new formula was put into cold

storage. PCC President Darbara PCC P Singh who Singh who had earlier veered round to the stand that a solution to the language question should be found im mediately again changed his stand and said putting forward any solution now would be incoportune.

Thus has the situation been ade grave in the State. Repressive measures of the Government, the unprincipled stand of the Congress on the questions of contro-versy, non-implementation of the Regional Formula, Punjabi and Hindi not being jabl and hind not being given their proper status in their regions, Congress refu-sal to take a stand on prin-ciple on the question of lini-guistic reorganisation of the State—all this has played, straight into the hands of the straight into the Akali communalists.

same And it has at the same time encouraged the Hindu communal forces to become very active and stand in the way of any solution of the questions.

Putting forward the "unity formula" and then consigning it to cold storage because of opposition from Hindu com-munal forces has enabled their Sikh counterparts to campaign among the Sikh masses that a Congress party which denies even the littleadvance that was made in the Kairon formula cannot be expected to give the Punjabi. language its proper status which regional languages in other parts of the country enjoy. This campaign is en-abling them to draw the Sikh peasantry into the agitation.

Such a situation in a border State can be allowed to continue only at peril to the nation. Democratic for-ces, including those in the Congress, have to intervene, and intervene boldly and in time, if this dangerous drift is to be stopped. A democratic solution of the

problem is possible and the Communist Party has put for-ward such a solution. But be-yond putting it forward, the Party has also not been ableto do much to run a campaign and appeal to the democratic consciousness of the people

One handicap before nocratic movement which der has prevented any intervention is the effective blanket order under Section 144 all over the State. Only Congress leaders and Government offi-★ SEE PAGE 15

AUGUST 7, 1960

Report On GDR THE REMARKABLE RECOVERY

What strikes one after a brief stay and a short trip round the GDR (German Democratic Republic) the remarkable economic recovery that the country has made.

this August 18.

First. though

I started from scratch tre of Stalinstadt on the Po-after the end of the last lish border which will celewar-the worst destruction wrought by the war in Germany was caused in its eastern part, the present GDR, for the hardest battles on German soil were fought there; the country was almost razed to the ground. Not all the destruction was result of legitimate fighting. For even ond World War before the Second World War was over the Americans had started preparing for the Third as part of which game they wantonly bombed Leip-aig and Dresden in the last the zig and Dresden in the days of the war.

Despite Handicaps

The second handicap with which the GDR started was the fact that the main industrial centres of Germanythe source of her industrial mowess and might—were prowess and might—were situated in the West, in the Ruhr, while the East was its agrarian appendage. Centres of machine building industry were there in the East too but -iron and the basic material were located almost entirely in the West (Fifty per cent of the machine building industry was in GDR territory but only 1.7 per cent of iron ore was to be found there). In this respect also it was a start from scratch for the s to be found there).

the GDR. A third relevant fact to remember in this connection is that while the Americans re-verting to the old strategy of building Germany as a "hulagainst Bo wark started pumping capital into the three Western-occupied zones soon after the war, the eastern part of Germany o such sources and had to pay its full quota of war reparations, so that ultimately of the two German States, only the GDR finally cleared itself of this obligation.

Moreover, the fact that present West Germany constitutes a much bigger part of Germany with 55 million peo-ple as compared to the GDR with only 17 million, should also be kept in mind.

Even without these re-tarding factors and handicaps the economic recovery in the GDR would have been something remarkable. When one keeps these fac-tors in mind it becomes

even more so. It also explains the still remaining gap in certain res-pects between the economic levels in the two parts of Ger-many, although it is already a fact recognised on all hands that the GDR turned the corner a few years ago overcom-ing the initial difficulties reing the initial diminutes re-sulting from the above men-tioned factors and is now rapidly on the way to catch up and surpass West Ger-many in all respects and as a whole in the matter of liv-

ing standards of its people. The people in the GDR are already living well, even according to the average West European standards. I had the opportunity of visiting a num-ber of families in their homes Berlin, in Leipzig, in leburg, in Rostock, in the brand new metallurgical cen-

AUGUST 7. 1960

they appear in the shops! Creches and kindergartens Berlin. Besides these, foreign trouwhere children are given excellent care for nominal pes are giving guest perfor-mances as the Italian Napayment are plenty. Like all over the Socialist world, children constitute the very tional Opera was when I was there. All these performances are crowded every evening with lots of people from West privileged section of popu-lation in the GDR. I visited a kindergarten at the Agfa film factory in Wolfen. It houses one thousand child-Berlin, too. There are many of then There are many of them but there are still not eno-ugh of them. Too many people have to wait too long to be able to see one of these performances for which they hanker so much. The love of music is somehouses one thousand child-ren from a few weeks old to 15 year-old. It is one of the experiences which I shall always cherish. The way the children rush and jump into your laps, bring out their toys and start playing with you is something sim-ply exhilarating. The love of music is some-thing to be seen to be believed and grasped. So

explains why the Congress to be On the one hand Kairon

The results of the two measures are there for all to see. The effect of the Ordinance on the movement has been that more arrests have been made and this has further aroused the anger of the Sikh masses

Of all people Congress leaders from their own ex-perience should know that repression cannot suppress movement, it can only he defeated ideologically Now jathas of 500 are courting arrest and volunteers from faraway villages are ioining them.

Though there was little advance made in the new formula—making Punjabi the medium of instruction only in the primary classes marking this advance—even that was opposed by not only Hindu communal forces but also by Kairon's own Hindu

colleagues. The support for his formula which Kairon claimed from the Congress High Command was nowhere to be seen. In fact, Congress President Sanjeeva Reddy who has been taking a rabid communal

Congress Policies Feed Communal Fires = HARKISHEN SINGH SURJEET =

democracy were given the only Party in the State which had taken its stand on demogo-by. This compromise with comcratic principles of linguistic reorganisation of the State. munalism which has paraly-sed the Congress in the State

In the absence of a prin cipled solution. Punjab has, since the days of partition. remained a hotbed of com munal agitation on both the questions of language and linguistic reorganisation of the State

The Akalis at times start-ed agitations and the Con-gress compromised with them and took them into the Congress fold for narrow ends of winning elections etc. At other times, the Congress has tried to placate Hindu communalism to get its support. Space does not permit go-ing into the entire black re-cord of the Punjab Congress, supported by the High Com-In bare outlines the contro-versy is this: whereas the nobbing with communalism. Hindustani - speaking areas But the glaring instance of recent times is enough to show its unprincipledness Just before the General Elections, the Congress struthe General ck a deal with the Akalis on the basis of the Regional Formula and, with Sikh commu-nal support won the elec-

tions But as soon as the elections were over and the Hindu communal forces began their agitation, the Congress began to go back on the Regional Formula. The language provisions of the formula have not been implemented to this day while by a resolution of the Vidhan Sabha in the first week of April the Regional Committees were reduced to the status of ordinary committees of the legisla ture.

has not been able to hold any meetings. The Press even reported that when some Conexplaining gressmen 'began to Kairon what great things they had done to fight com-munalism, the Chief Minister told them he knew what they had done and asked them to

keep quiet. The Congress claims that the Akali movement is fizzl-ing out. Chief Minister Kairon after visiting the six important districts Amritsar, Sangrur, J ant districts of Ludhiana. Patiala. Bhatinda and Ferozepore, claimed on June 27 that the Government had correctly and properly handled the Punjabi Suba agitation.

The Tribune reported, the Chief Minister "was convinced that there was nothing

much left in the agitation. "He conceded that the token arrests-desultory and un-organised-offered by the the Akalis might continue for e time. But he added, the agitation had ceased to cau any anxiety and threat to the law and order situation. "There is nothing to be wor-ried, about he remarked."

Then in very picturesque language "the Chief Minister pared the current arrests of Akalis to drops of water trickling down a hillock after shower of rains."

Within twenty days of this brave talk, on July 19, Kairon had to issue the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, Reporting it, the Press said,



came forward with his draco-nian Ordinance to suppress the agitation, on the other he the language question—the "unity formula" as he named it—for which he claimed the support of the Congress High Command

lish border which will cele-brate its tenth anniversary on

still short housing is very cheap—some fifty to sixty marks for a two-roomed flat with bathroom and kitchen for one family And this compares very we with housing on the other side, in West Germany and West Berlin, where the rent for a similar flat would be about double or more the

same amount. Secondly, the furniture, the crockery and other acquisi-tions one finds in these flats are something simply astonishing. For instance visiting a flat in Stalinstadt we cal-culated the cost of the furniture in the sitting room alone and it came to 7000 marks. There was a television and a radio set besides was a family where only the husband was working, and they had three children. and

In another family—in Berlin—where both mem-bers are working, the hus-band as a driver and the wife in a hair-dresser's shop and between them earning in over 1200 marks a month, with one child to bring up, I felt the problem for them was how to spend the mo-

And that is a genuine problem, for cars and refrigera-tors are in short supply and, one has to wait in a queue for six months at leas them. Interesting fact to no facilities are available, most transactions are made in

ney they earned.

cash.

Food is on the whole plenty and cheap. There is a notice able shortage only of fruits and sometimes vegetables. There is plenty of butter and hardly any margarine is used

in cooking. In clothing and footwear, particularly for women, while a lot of improvement has taken plade and is steadily taking place, there is a con-siderable amount of impasiderable amount of impa-tience over the still slow pace which cannot keep up with the latest. No place or occa-sion where people gather is without a fashion parade—I

winout a lasmon parade-i found it on in the Agricultural Exhibition in Markleeberg near Leipzig, in the Neues Deutschland Press Festival in Berlin's Stalinallee and also alongside the horse races at the Hoppegarten, near Berlin —the latest styles are demonstrated; but the complaint is that those dresses are out of stock even before



In Stalinstadt, a town of 23,000 there are six kinder-gartens with 800 children and creches housing 500. and creches housing 500. While parents pay 35 pfennigs

While parents pay 35 pfennigs per child the State spends 2.49 marks on every child. Medical facilities are excel-lent and covered by social in-surance towards which the worker pays ten per cent of his salary. All medical care, indoor and outdoor, at all stages, from the simplest to the most serious, is free. I visited the hospital in Senf-tenberg an industrial town in tenberg, an industrial town in Cottbus region with number of huge highly automated factories making brickets of brown coal. The range of latest, and uptodate medical equipment was simply amaz-

The scene in the countryside is similar. Visiting a village near Halle which has been fully cooperativised for a number of years, I fou cooperative farmers living in newly-built four-room-ed double-storey cottages, some having installed central heating on their own, besides other facilities like television and radio. Out of the 720 households in the village 250 have T. V. sets and 38 own cars.

Here too like elsewhere, alore too me ensembles, man does not live by bread alore. Opera houses and thea-tres in the Democratic Sector très in the Democratic Sector of Berlin and in other cities of the GDR are full to capa-city. They are many and the fare they provide is of the highest order—particularly the Berliner Ensemble (Bre-cht's Theatre), the Komische Opera and the Staatsoper in

love of nature. Nobody wants to stay in town at the week-end. They go out to their little huts in the suburbs or at least take a boat trip in the beautiful lakes that surround Berlin and spend the day in the quiet woods there.

there. Holidaying either in the mountains or at the Baltic coast is something easily ac-cessible and greatly sought after. I was at Warnemunde near Rostock, where a brand new ship-yard which never existed before in this part of Germany has been built build-ing now ships of upto 10,000 ton capacity. From Warne-

munde eastwards to Ahlbeck by car touching the sea at several points I found every-where the beaches crowded with holiday makers.

-ZIAUL HAQ

Life is good and becomes ever more beautiful. And when one thinks that only fifteen years ago everything was destroyed and people had nothing even to eat! So many had been killed and maimed, orphaned and widowed! The ars are very much there in ness and in the hearts of the people. But they have seen what peaceful labour and labour in peace brings and they cherish it. (To be continued)

TAMILNAD RESOLUTION

* FROM BACK PAGE

tion. In Madras, for example, when the Government has come forward with its belated decision to make Tamil as the medium of instruction in the arts subjects only in the BA degree courses in the State from 1963, and has made the Government College, Coimbatore a pilot college to carry out this mea-sure, the Vice-Chancellor and others strongly entrenched in the educational institutions have come out in open oppo-sition to even this model measure:

The Government has been compromising and steadily yielding ground to these rea-ctionary forces. This is seen in the State Education Minis-ter's statements. Instead of firmly sticking

Instead of nrmiy streng to the position taken up by the Government that the pilot college scheme is only a preparation for the effec-tive carrying out of the Go-vernment Order for replacing English by Tamil from 1963, he makes statements that the results of the pilot college scheme will be as-sessed before fully imple-menting the order. He retreats before the criticism that the standard of English has fallen by making the

study of English compulsory even from the 5th class. The continuation of this state of affairs would retard democratic development

ernment takes in this direc-tion. In Madras, for example, of the people are unable to when the Government has intelligently participate in the controversies ove problems of economic development

In these conditions, the Secretariat of the Tamilnad Council of the Communist Party is firmly of opinion that the danger today is not of suppression of Tamil by Hindi but of the continued retardation of Tamil language coming into its own as a result of the perpetuation of English as the medium of instruction in the universities. The Secretariat of the TNPC of the CPI while it

demands the mo of the President's order in the manner stated above to allay lurking apprehen-sions among the non-Hindi sions among the non-lineal, speaking people, is firmly, of the opinion that the basic and immediate task of all democratic parties and or-ganisations is to mobilise the forces of the people in order to smash the opposi-tion of reactionary vested, interests in the educational individual to the replace institutions to the replacement of English by Tamil as the medium of instruc-tion in the universities.

The CPI will be prepared to join forces with all parties and organisations in this task and it appeals to them all to unite their forces for rapidly achieving this democratic

PAGE THIRTEEN

PUBLIC SECTOR CONCERNS DOING WELL

T HE barrage of criticism which the leaders of private industry and the Swatantra Party have kept up against the enterpri-Public Sector ses, and the occasional lapses which the executives of these enterprises indulge in, have given the impression that nothing worthwhile has been achieved by ever State undertakings and whatever of progress in industry the country has witnessed during the last decade has ben mainly the handiwork of the nrivate sector

A detached study of facts will, however, show this impression as being shallow and superficial. for, in spite of what the detractors might say and the sceptics might echo, the progress which some enterprises have ade has been really gratifving.

MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY

Take the Hindustan Machine Tools at Bangalore. for example: in a period of four years it has been able to build enough resources to meet the entire cost of nearly Rs. 2.87 crores of its programme to double its capacity. It will thus be putting up another plant of its own size without a single naya paisa being contributed by the Govern. ment. And this, too, within a period of two years, instead of seven taken for

* FROM PAGE 8

the charges

in the Service Conduct Rules

on the employees, and they are

• The Central Govern-

ment's Regional Directo-rate of Food, Calcutta, with-

drew the recognition of the

Employees' Association on

July 28. without even going

through the formality of issu-

The Association's office was

incident of the nature in

Suspension orders on ten

troller's Office. Calcutta, have

been withdrawn. But, five of them have been packed off to

Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and

the rest have been transferred

also locked up. This is the first

employees of the Coal Con-

ing a "show-cause"

West Bengal.

completion of the original factory. The plant now produces 90 types of mahine tools and sells about machines annually prices below the cost of imported varieties.

CHITT'T A BRANNAN

Chittaranian Locomotive Works is another example of the determined efforts which a state undertaking has been making to pro-vide the country with all its requirements of steam omotives. On April 16 this year it delivered 1000th locomotive, and thus provided a new example of a very successful industrial undertaking. Its existing production of 250 locomotives per year has made the country self-sufficient, both in respect of needs of additional traffic as well as of replacement of wornout engines. A few years back, when there was no Chittaranian. the country had to import locomotives costing Rs. 5 lakhs or m each. Now the cost of an indigenously produced loco-motive—designed and ma-nufactured entirely by Indians-is some Rs. 50.000

Two other lines of production which have already received wide notice are those of co-axial trunk cables, produced at the Hindustan Cables Factory, Rupnarainpur (West Be gal), and precision instru-ments, manufactured at the National Instrument Factory, Calcutta. The first, described as the "culm tion of a process started six years ago" will take

the country "near to the goal of self-suffificiency goal of seit-summeries communication equi The manufacture of th cables will also give fillip to copper and steel industries. The Rupnarainpur factory produced cables of all types worth Rs. 115 lakhs during 1959-60

In terms of length its production was 691 liner miles last year, which met about 70 per cent of the requirements of the P & T requirements of the P & T Department, besides a part of the needs of the railways and other organisa-tions.

NATIONAL TNATER NTER BUTTA

The National Instru-ments Factory was origi-nally started as the Mathematical Instruments Office, when "it was no more than a small repair and service depot for the instruments used by the Survey of India, with a staff complement of only seven workers". Today it has two large factory units with a staff strength of with a staff strength of nearly 1,150 and its fixed assets are valued at Rs 58.58 lakhs. It earned profit of Rs. 2.48 lakhs lag year, after setting apart Rs. 3.93 lakhs for depre-ciation. For 1959-60 the the surplus is expected to be about Rs. 8.63 lakhs. Prices of 13 items out of 30 imder duction at the mass production at the factory have been reduced without any lowering of standards of quality. It is now producing relatively complicated instruments such as theodolites, com-

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

passes thermometers, bi noculars, pressure and vacuum gauges, drafting machines, pantographs, ferro-printing frames, profile projectors and other gical instrur These three are but typical of an entire range of nublic sector undertak. which have been making an unique contribution towards lessening the country's dependence on foreign suppliers. Obviously, their achievements are a slap in the face of the propagandists of the private whom all publ prises are a waste and cess-

pool of corruption. MAN BRECHINNED

THE MACHINE

While taking pride in these attainments, how-ever, it is essential that their biggest contributory factor, the man behind the their machine, is not forgotten. And yet, it is he whose labour is neither mentioned in official nor lauded in the national press. In fact, he is not even paid a living wage due to him according to a formula agreed to by the Labour Minister. And when forced by circumstance he is obliged to resort steps like strikes, most draconian masures are adopted to suppress him. Surely, it is nothing short of an irony that the workers of the very same Chittaranjan works whose

achievements have made it possible for the Railway

August 2.

out of the sixteen districts of the State show that, till now. 713 persons have been set free erent courts as the could not produce any evidence against them: Cases against 263 others also have been

These facts clearly prove that in a most

ORISSA

* FROM PAGE 6

programme of action

terdependent, but they are interrelated and both of them are very vital for our movement. It would be an error to mechanically view an "unity" and "independent action" as two separate things. While sparing no efforts to achieve unity we should not lag behind in undertaking any indepen-dent action to fight for the demands of the people. For this it is now absolutely

areas and immediately begin work there in right earnest. We will always try to draw more people from other parment Offices except the Rail-ways, and 431 of the emplo-kisan organisation.

Board to cut out all imports of steam locomotives hould have been forced to go on strike their grievances.

Public sector enterprises are a national asset in which all sections of our people have a stake. No son of the soil will, therefore, grudge giving his best for their successful working. provided he is enabled-to do so through means to keep his own and his children's body and soul toge-ther. If that were done. If that were done, the existing attainments of public enterprises will be but an infinitesimal part of what the worker can achieve through the sweat of his brow.

Not all detractors of pub. lic sector undertakings, however, come from the private sector. Obviously. there are some in the Go. ent circles as well to whom private undertakings have a greater fascination Else, why should fertilisers —a field in which the Sin-dri project has been a roaring success-be now in creasingly thrown open for private investments, and that too, in financial collaboration with foreign firms? The latest in this series is the decision to hand over to the private sector a Rs. 20 crore fertiliser project at Itarsi which had been earmarked so far for the public sector.

Comment is unnecessary. -RSSEN

* FROM PAGE 12

dials are being allowed to hold meetings.

This handicap has to be removed and the Communist Party and the other demo-cratic elements have to move immediately, or else the situa. go out of hand. tion will a big mean set-back to the democratic movement Democrats inside the State and outside in the country can ill-afford sit back and allow this to

The question of language and linguistic reorganisation of the State cannot be byed any more. That is experience of the last thir-Guestion remains unsolved, so forg will initiative remain in hands of communal for tes, so long will unity in this border State remain disrupted and the democratic move-ment divided. Democratic forces, those in the Congress forces, those in the Congress included, have to rally to make a principled solution, possible and fight against Sikh and Hindu communalism and Congress compromises with it

August 1.

AUGUST 7-1960

This was all the more re-sented, as under the rule of statement in Paris-that there Nations inspection teams in yould be no more espionage June 1956, they unilaterally declared the annulment of paragraph 13(d) of the Agflights over Soviet the Christian Democratic the magazine writes. "It seems Party, vast expanses of Italian soil were already occu-pled by the U. S. armed fornow that Mr Khrushchov has nent which prohibited greement which prohibited been right" in not accepting the U. S. President's word, the U. S. President's word, and "that the only result"rials or reinforcements. ces, and Italy's annual military outlay had reached to 674,000 million lire by 1960, an increase of 60,000 million of the U-2 flasco-"was that And the present "election" meant to "elect" 239 mem-bers to the "Lower House" the operations were shifted from Asia to Europe.' over the 1958 figure. The exploitation of the working class was growing daily. Bet-ween 1953-1958, while the and 58 members to the "Unper House", to form the Fifth Lower House and the First The magazine informs its readers that the American labour productivity of the Upper House of the puppet workers increased by 39 per "National Assembly", was the cent, their wages registered a latest act of U. S. machina-mere 8 per cent rise. The tions in South Korea, through Central Intelligence Agency Chief, Allen Dulles's appea-rance in London and Bonn, almost simultaneously with

to places far off from Calcutta, just because the authorities consider them to be "active union elements".

notice.

But even these acts of reprisal would appear to be rather human compared to the brutalities perpetrated on the emho are mi nbers of the Territorial Army (TA).

In Calcutta Sub-Area, 733 employees mostly of the P. & T. PAGE FOURTEEN

tion in two camps under the the opinion that there is no custody of military authorities, provision for such deductions Of them, 692 are under "open" arrest and 41 under "clos unless charge-sheets are served arrest.

Department are now in deten-

given an opportunity to reply to **Concentration**

Camps

The conditions in which these employees have been forced to live would remind one of fascist concentration camps. Most of them have been put on "fatigue duty", such as double march, digging of trenches, etc. One employee became unconscious as a result of excessive physical labour for days on end. But the authorities were so callous that they did not deem it necessary to arrange for proper me-dical treatment.

The food supplied to the employees is absolutely inadequate for heavy manual work. Moreover, they are forced their food in an open field where dogs freely roam about. In one camp, 42 employees have been put together in a room. which is barely 42x10 cubits in size.

The General Manager and Deputy General Manager, Calcutta Telephones, were reliably reported to have visited the camps and asked the mili-tary authorities to take

detained employees. The purpose of all these bru-talities is to "teach a lesson" to

"stern" measures against the

the employees and to extort statements from them about those employees who had "instigated" the strike

Interviews, which had been totally banned, are now allowed-but only after habeas corpus petitions were filed by some employees. Tremendous pressure is, however, being put on these employees to withdraw their netitions

About 600 of the employees detained in the camps have ap-plied for their release from the Territorial Army in protest against their call-up and arrest when there was no emergency arising out of internal or external danger. But they have been told that they will not be permitted to resign. The employees are being called individually and asked to withdraw the resignation letters.

A spokesman of the Calcutta Citizens' Committee stated on July 27 that the information received by the Committee till the evening of July 25 showed that 1.116 employees were still under suspension, 2,350 had been erned with dismissal notices different Central Governways, and 431 of the emplo-

NEW AGE

BRUTALITIES AGAINST EMPLOYEES yees arrested had been released on bail.

West Bengal's Police Minister said on July 28 that about 2.000 persons had been arrested during the strike. Of them, 81 were still in ail

drawn.

rere still in all. The arrests were made in Reports received from seven indiscriminate manner.

parties, groups and individuals on the basis of a progressive

These two tacks ana mat

necessary to pay more atten-tion to the ex-Princely State

Along with this we will have to intensify our independent propaganda and agitation-that will be our main task. We will have to translate action the resolutions we have adopted regarding fallow lands, water cess, rent reduction and organise movements accordingly. In a few days Land Re-

forms Act will be implemented. It is up to us to educate and enlighten the people about the real objects, functions and effects of this Act. We will have to take stock of the problems that will surely arise when the Act is implemented and chalk out our programm of action accordingly. have to take the lid off the reactionary aspects of the Act and simultaneously fight for the just rights of the peasantry. In this task we will have ties to our meetings and to seek the cooperation of the parties, and individuals inter-ested in the matter.

AUGUST 7 1980

rejecting "the Soviet bid to ndemn the United States' the Soviet delegate should reject "the offer of an impar-tial investigation". Swallow-ing lock, stock and barrel, "the U. S. view which is back-

for

very strange indeed.

(I) HE Indian Express (July

28) while giving edito-rially a "well done" certificate

The Tribune (July 29), tak-

ing the Soviet veto of the U.S. resolution as a "plain

admission" of her charges

not standing "any impartial international scrutiny", in its editorial goes on to deliver a

long sermon on the Soviet stand on Cuba and Congo,

forgetting conveniently that

it is precisely this firm stand

stayed the hands of the ag-gressors in these two instan-

ces, just as it was the case

However, not all the Indian Press has fared so hopelessly.

The Free Press Journal's

some pointed questions in this connection, which could hard-

of anyone writing on this in-cident without bias.

have escaped the attention

Why was the Soviet Union

right in vetoing the U.S. suggestion? Because—says

PUNJAB

of July 28, raises

lier with

Iraq.

Soviet Union which has

on the Soviet,

Suez. or with

to the Security Council

ed by British testimony" as a) "After the Soviet IInion the true version of the inci-dent, it naturally finds the revealed it, ten days after the machine was downed, the U.S. other phoney story, about "the Soviet trawler Vega." Air Force authorities structed the events to show", their "incontrovertible evidished out by the U.S. delegate. Lodge, as a "revelation." dences"

> b) "The U. S. military authorities included the possi-bility of "engine troubles", presumably to indicate that the crippled aircraft might have wanted to "ditch" and that the shooting was an unnecessary outrage'

c) If the U.S. delegate Lodge's "contention that the plane was an innocent vic-tim", because it was "not shot down at 1503 hours on July 1 as revealed by the Soviet authorities, but 19 minu-tes later," is "quite likely", odd is that this which gave its "fix" to base at 1503 hours did not report its plight during the next 19 minutes when it was allegedly pressed by the Soviet fighter shepherded to a convenien

d) The British testimony is equally odd because judging from the aftermath of the incident it would appear that the British Government knew nothing at all about the "course X-ray" missions of the **RB-47**"

) As for the "Vega" story, the Free Press Journal edito-rial asks: "why....did the United States keep quiet about the Vega incident all this while?"... "Not only is the comparison far fetched". concludes "but it is mischie vious in that it seeks obliquely to establish the U. S.'s right

to spy on the Soviet Union.' votes and captured 140 seats. More facts about the intentions of the American intelliand the Italian Socialists led gence service to go ahead by Nenni had won 84 seats. with esplonage flights over IInion-and hence Soviet The open collusion betwee more facts proving the corthe Christian Democratic rectness of the Soviet posiparty and the fascists, -resulting in the rise of fascist influence, evoked the just intion, in the Security Council were reported recently in the British magazine, the Eastern World. dignation of the Italian Deople, who had been the victims of fascism.



The RB-47 incident and its discussion in the U. N. Security Council, attracted world-wide attention last week, eliciting copious comments in the Indian press, as well, some of them being, to say the least,

> the editorial—"making over the RB-47 case to such a commission might have recommission might have re-sulted in a snarled skein of charges and counter-char ges for a prolonged period." Why? Because: "the man-ner in which the U. S. case was built up pointed to-wards such a possibility" And this "manner" was:

> > recon

what seems most machine shepherded to a convenient spot and shot down."

it.

After recalling Eisenhower's

the disappearance of the RB-47", was to see that "....spy flights, presiden-tial orders or not, would now be carried out from West European bases.

Describing Allen Dulles as "the only man in America who is above congressional or any other control whatso ever", the magazine poses the question ".....If the outside world has to deal with an organisation which may, on its own responsibility, trigger off a global catastrophe, then the connection between Mr. Dulles and the U-2's and the RB-47's begins to interest us very much indeed."

Such are the harsh facts connected with the RB-47 incident and its Security Coun-cil discussion. And where do the Indian upholders of the U. S. case, stand, in the light of these facts?

IN ITALY PEOPLE'S VICTORY

HE overthrow of the T Italian Government of Signor Tambroni by the great anti-fascist demonstrations and strikes of the past few weeks, was characterised as the first instance in ten years of a reaction. ary Government being deposed directly and immediately through broad po-pular action, at a recently held meeting of the Italian Communist Party's Central Committee

An over 20.000 strong rally celebrated this victory in Rome on July 21.

The Tambroni Government had come into existence last March only, after more than a month-long Cabinet crisis. In forming the Government, mbroni's Christian Democratic Party had to take the support of the Neo-Fascist Party. That the position of the Government, nevertheless. could not be very stable, can be seen from the fact that in the mosaic of 596-member Italian Parliament, besides a plethora of bourgeois parties of various hues, there was a strong Left existing. In the 1958 elections the Communists had polled some 6.7 million

was no better. While the feu- in that country. dal exploitation is still rampant in Italy and the unem ployed population in the countryside runs into several s, between a million 1954-1959 about a farmers had moved into the cities-a sign of further aggravation in the situation

At the beginning of July, the decision of the Neo-fascist Party to hold its conference in Genoa, tou-ched off nation-wide antifascist demonstrations throughout Italy. The demons-trations demanded the outlawing of the Neo-fascist Party in accordance with the Italian Constitution, and the resignation of the Tambroni Government. Ele-ven killed and nearly a thousand wounded by the Government's sanguinary suppression, led only to a higher upsurge in the peo-

Four bourgeois parties-the Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Party and the Re publican Party-came out with an announcement that the new Government would be formed by the Christian De-mocratic Party alone, while the other three parties would support it. The new Prime Minister-designate Amintore Fanfani, is reported to be in search of a Cabinet.

Meanwhile, the scale of the mass movement in Italy, which is bound to have a say in Italian politics, may b judged from the fact that in the first half of this year alone, more than six million people took part in strikes.

SOUTH KOREA **ELECTION FARCE**

• N July 27, was the seventh anniversary of the signing of the Korean Armistice. On July 29, an election farce was staged in South Korea.

The Armistice anniversary was a bitter reminder of the U. S. record of violation of the terms of the agreement, in the last seven years in which the U. S. have frantically gone on strengthening their military forces in South Korea, converting it into a launching base for fresh aggressions.

They have illegally introduced atomic weapons and set up missile bases in South Korea, expanded the puppet armed forces and also organiged them into atomic unit Outrageously driving out of South Korea, the Neutra

JINTERNATIONAL EVENTS

situation in the countryside the agency of their lackeys

An "atmosphere" for these elections was created by arresting 4.631 South Korean people from July 25 to the dawn of July 26 alone. The U. S. Embassy had also sent "observation teams' to various parts of South Korea to directly observe the elections.

From such "elections" the Democratic Party is reported have emerged with twohave emerged with two-thirds of the seats in its pocket.

Meanwhile, reports of riots. demonstrations and their sanguinary suppression, are pouring in from various parts of the country. The last April uprising which resulted in the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee regime continues to remain a pointer for the com-ing events in South Korea.

The withdrawal of the U.S. forces from S. Korea, and the holding of general elections throughout the country, after consultations between and South Korea, as envisaged in the Armistice, can alone bring peace to this part of the world.

CEYLON GOVERNMENT

HE Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Ceylonese Communist Party adopted a resolution on July 23, congratulating Mrs. Bandaranaike on her appointment as the new Ceylonese Prime Minister, and assuring her of the whole-hearted cooperation of the Communist Party for the implementation or the policies of late Prime Minister

The resolution stated that the "people's victory is all the more creditable in view of the concerted campaign for the United National Party by reactionary interests".

It pointed out that "despite the fact that all the reactionary forces polarised around the UNP, its defeat was made possible by the no-contest agreement between the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Ceylonese Communist Party".

Referring to the tasks that the new Government and people had to face in imple enting late Banda ranaike's progressive poli-cies, the resolution stated that "the unity built up in the struggle to defeat the UNP should be consolidated and extended", and such unity was all the more necessary to prevent the UNP and its foreign and local allies from sabotaging, the people's victory.

The Cevionese Communist Party "will devote all its energies to see that these aims are fulfilled", the resolution concluded.

-RAZA ALI

PAGE FIFTEEN

\$

P.M.'s ASSURANCES MUST BE HONOURED replaces English as the me-dium of instruction in the University courses. The fact that English is available as a medium of the March 1989, the Tamilnad conference stiles "

The Secretariat of the Tamilnad Provincial Council of the Communist Party of India meeting in Madras on July 26, adopted a resolution on the cur-rent language controversy. The following is the text of the resolution:

N 1958-59 a bitter con-

troversy was raging in the country over the ques-tion of the Union language. Prime Minister Nehru made a speech on September 4, 1959 in the course of the debate in Parliament on debate in Parliament on the report of the Parliamentary Committee on Official Language, which was welcomed throughout the country and by all sections of the people as a speech with a right approach. In that speech, the Prime Min-ister gave two categorical assurances viz:

1. That after 1965, when Hindi becomes the official language of the Indian Union inder Article 363 of the Cons-titution, English would con-tinure as an additional lantinue as an additional lan-guage and this position would not be changed without the consent of the non-Hindi speaking people; and 2. That in regard to the Union Services, steps would be taken to see that disadvanta-mea would not accure to the

ges would not accrue to the non-Hindi speaking people and that Hindi would not be made a qualification for such

After this speech and de-bate, the President of India made his Order on the Report of the Parliamentary Com-mittee on Official Language. The President's Order directs action for evolving terminology in the field of science and technology in all the Indian languages, using the terms in international use with the minimum change and to coordinate the work in this field. The President has directed

The President has directed that in the local offices of the Central Government, the Central Government should keep in view the need for providing facilities to the local public by making available to them forms and departmental literature for their use in the regional language in as a large measure as possible.

In regard to categories of posts in local offices of the Central Government of which the incumbents are not ordi-narily liable to transfer outnarily hade to transfer out-side the region, the Presi-dent's order accepts in prin-ciple the suggestion that the staff structure should be re-viewed and decentralised on a regional basis and the recruitment methods and qualifica-tions have to be reviewed suitably. The Order has directed

The Order has directed that arrangements should be made for translation of Parliamenary legislation into Hindi as well as into region. into

al languages. In respect of the language of the High Courts, the Order: directs the undertaking in due course of legislation to provide for the use optionally of Hindi and other official languages of States for pur-poses of judgements, decrees and orders.

These directives are in the right direction and are therefore welcome. However, it is regrettable

that the Order, while it makes a casual reference to the important speech of the Prime Minister of Sep-tember 4, 1959 as indicat-ing broadly the approach of the Government to the official language question', does not mention specifieally the two assurances given by the Prime Minister and express the President's determination to carry them out. Similarly, while the Order summarises the recommenda-tions of the Parliamentary

1965. Committee that "after when Hindi becomes the offi-Union. chai language of the Union, English should continue as the subsidiary language", there is no specific directive that legislation should be

examinations for recruitment to all-India services will be to all-India services will be of no use to the non-Hindi speaking students who have undergone their University courses with their regional language as the medium of instruction. For, they will be able to effectively take part in any examination only in the language in which they have undergone their Univer-sity courses and not in either Hindi or English. Hindi or English.

For example, the Madras Government have already passed a G. O. directing that Tamil should be the medium of instruction and examination in all arts subjects of the B. A. degree course from the year 1963. What serious disadvantages these graduates will have to face if they have to answer their papers either to answer their papers either in English or Hindt and not in Tamil can be easily ima-gined. As such this directive will be a handicap and work to the serious disadvantage of not only the Tamil but also of the people. non-Hindi speaking

It is pertinent to recall that the resolutions of the

C. P.'s Tamilnad Secretariat Statement On Language Issue

undertaken for this purpose under clause (3) of Article 363. Secretariat of

Furnaniana.

The the Tamilnad Council of the CPI, however, feels that in the conditions prevailing in the country, such legislation will have to be undertaken.

ave to be undertaken. What is, however, most disquieting is the directive in regard to the medium of examinations for recruit-ment to All-India services and the higher Central Services. The President's order directs that action may be taken for the intro-duction of Hindi as an al-ternative medium of such. ternative medium of such ternative menum of sich examinations after some time. The order further states categorically that "the introduction of various regional languages as al-ternative media is likely to lead to serious difficulties" and on this ground it does and on this ground it does not agree even to the ap-pointment of an expert committe to examine the feasibility of the introduc-tion of regional languages as alternative media.

as alternative means. This directive throws over-board the specific assurance given by the Prime Minister that steps would be taken to see that non-Hindi speaking. people do not suffer any dis-advantage in the matter of Union Public Services.

While it is true that no dis while it is true that no dis-advantage would immediately devolve on the non-Hindi speaking candidates this po-sition will change to the dis-advantage of these candidates after the regional language Congress Working Committee and of the Central Committee of the CPI as also the All-Parties Committee constitut-Parties Committee constitut-ed by the Madras Government have all recommended that the regional languages should be available as a medium of examinations for recruit-ment to the All-India services.

ices. The Secretariat of the Tamilnad Council of the CPI, therefore, demands the amendment of the Presi-dent's order to provide for the regional languages as alternative media for era-minations for recruitment to all-India services.

DMK Movement Disruptive

The Secretarlat further de-mands that the Central Gov-ernment must declare their intention to bring in legisla-tion in Parliament under Clause (3) of Article 363, providing for the continued use of English after 1965, for the purposes of the Union. This is purposes of the Onion. This is necessary to set at rest any doubt due to the absence of a positive directive to this effect in the President's order.

As already stated, the demands are in complete accord with the recommendations of the All-Parties Committee of Madras as well as of the Go-vernment of Madras. In view of this, and also because these demands correspond with the interest of the entire non-Hindi speaking people, the

Secretariat of the Tamilnad Council of the CPI is con-vinced that united mobilisa-tion by all parties of Tamilnad as well as the support by that State Government will compel acceptance of these de-mands, particularly in view of the assurances by the Prime Minister.

The Secretariat feels that the movement proposed to be launched by the DMK against the President's against the President's order, by taking up a gene-ral stand against the Hindi language itself, will only disrupt the unity that is possible of achievement on the specific issue of modifi-cation of the President's order in accordance with the Prime Minister's assu-rances, and hence we feel that such a movement is not in the interest of the not in the interest of the Tamil people. We hope that the DMK will give due consideration to this aspect of the question.

The Secretariat is firmly of opinion that this question of State language need not have aroused bitter controversy but for the policy pursued by the Government since inde-pendence, for it failed to take effective steps to realise the aspirations of the people for enshrining their own region-

WARRAN AND AND A STREET AND A ST

www.www.s

al languages as the language of administration in their States. In Madras, for exam-ple, despite the declaration by the State Government and by the State Government and legislature that Tamil is the State language, English con-tinues for all practical pur-poses as the State language, barring speeches in the legis-

lature In this background, with In this background, with the memory of suppression of their languages by the alien rulers, apprehensions that their regional languages may be suppressed by Hindi as it was previously suppressed by English, continues to lurk in the minds of the non-Hindi speaking peoples.

speaking peoples. The Secretariat of the Taminad Council of the CPI is firmly convinced that no radical improvement in the direction of replacing English or the Indrawa of adminis as the language of adminis-tration can be brought about so long as English remains as the medium of instruction in the University courses. The fact that Tamil is already the medium of instruction up to the High School course does not alter the position. This only has created diffi-culties for the students in the University courses who are suddenly forced to learn their subjects in an alien language. This is so because, in the ultimate analysis, the lan-guage of administration, of the courts and legislature is inseparably connected with the medium of instruction and examination in the Uni-versity courses. Even before independence, University courses who 878

and the second second

of Indian Uni-4 H

medium of instruction at different stages of educa-tion up to and inclusive of the degree course should, as far as directistances per-mit, be the mother-tongue of the students".

Liby

After independence, in 1948, a committee of the Vice-Chancellors of the Indian Universities, had recommend-Universities, had recommend-ed that Universities should, within a period of five years from 1948, adopt the lan-guage of the State, Province or region as the medium of instruction and examination and that after the period of five years from 1948 English should cease to be the medium of instruction and examina-tion. tion

tion. The University Education Commission in 1049, had viewed this problem in the only correct perspective and stated

"Both from the point of view of education and of general welfare of a democratic community, it is es-sential that their study should be through the ins-trumentality of their re-gional language. Education in the regional language will not only be necessary. for their Provincial activities, it will enable them to en-rich their literature and rich their literature and develop their culture. Edu-cated naturally in the re-gional language, they ought to achieve higher stand-ards of learning and of thought, and should be able to give a powerful atimulius to research and extension of the boundaries of know-ledge Equipped with the re-quisite knowledge of the federal language, the Pro-vincial students will have no difficulty in joining institu-tions of an all-India cha-racter, and the Provincial scholars in understanding to teach them".

Had these categorical and unambiguous recommenda-tions been implemented and English ceased to be the me-dium of instruction in the uni of instruction in the University by 1953, Tamil and other regional languages would have other regional languages would have in fact become the language of administra-tion in all spheres in the States. People would have then seen that, in these con-ditions nothing could sup ditions, nothing could sup-press Tamil. The whole ques-tios of the language of the Union and inter-State com-Union and inter-State com-munication would have been yiewed as a question of prac-tical need in a multilingual country and all the bitter controversies would never have arisen.

THE REAL

Unfortunately not only were these recommendations of the highest educational authori-ties which fully corresponded with democratic optimion, not with democratic opinion, not implemented, but twelve years after independence a bitter controversy has once again arisen over the question of replacement of English by the regional language as the media of instruction at the University level—a contro-versy that was supposed to have been settled long ago. There is even bitter oppost-tion from reactionary vested

tion from reactionary vested interests in the educational institutions even to the tardy and halting steps that Gov-