

our people, greetings T is the proud privilege of our generation to live in an age: AUGUST 15 CALLS When a great neighbour country

low of late because the Indian Gov ernment has been dragging its feet arhuent has been dragging its feet rather than be vocal and active in African support as befitted its world status, and in tune with their re-volutionary march. India has not yet recognised the Algerian Provisional Government though Pakistan has India was among

the last of the independent Afro-Asian countries to openly express solidarity with Tunisia against French aggression in Bizerta

The Angolan example does not inspire the Government to emulate the same in our Goa. The Indian Gov-ernment is failing to do for Goa what other African countries are doing to aid Angola. The mightlest, craftlest and maddest

imperialist-power, USA, is right away dumping faster-than-sound jets and deadly guided missiles in our neighbouring country but the Prime Minis-ter of our country accepts the Ameri-can "assurances" that they are not meant against India!

meant against india! Even a child knows that there is nothing in common between peace-loving freedom-champion India and warmongering colonialist USA, be-tween the monopolist rulers of USA tween the monopoint rulers of OSA and the Indian people out to build an independent and prosperous national economy, that the self-proclaimed aim of US is to influence for the worse and in their own imperialist interests the national policies of our country and ultimately install a servitor, reactionary Government in pov

takes India and the whole world forward.

The policy of national planning and industrialisation has helped to change the old backward, dependent nature of our economy but the selfish inter ests - and compromising policies of Indian capital have held such sway that the rate of growth has been slo and the working p of their just share. working people feel cheated

Workers' wage rise is resisted, while he profit rise is encouraged. Trade workers wage rise is resisted, while the profit rise is encouraged. Trade Union rights are denied while incen-tives are given to the bosses. The poor and the landless peasants have been denied land and hope of

land distribution under the existing regime is now moonshine. Big land-holders are the main beneficiaries

Inflation and price rise eat up

whatever gains the working people are able to win through their struggles. Taxes, direct and indirect, go on increasing, putting the main burden of development on the shoulders of the

people. The big Indian capitalists have become all-powerful monopoly groups,

under rural development schemes. Unemployment continues to grow

with each Plan.

national unity

along lines demanded by the urgent needs of the people and the true interests of the nation. The failures of the existing national

leadership have emboldened the dark forces of reaction to come out in the open and threaten Indian unity and democracy itself.

The anti-national mischief begun at Kerala has led to the revival of Muslim communalism and strengthening of the Hindu brand all over the cour try. The Sikh communalists have not

lagged behind either. The evil of separatism has already raised its head in Assam Hills and Taminad.

Casteism is being activised everywhere.

Instead of national integration, we Instead of national integration, we are faced with national disintegration. This August 15, more than any other, beckons to all secular, demo-cratic and patriotic parties and the true sons and daughters of our motherland to come and stand together against casteism, commu-nalism and separatism.

Let the memory of our martyrs, the living examples of our fighting self-sacrificing working people drive home the urgent lesson that there can be



The just for US dollar 'aid' of India's capitalist ruling class is responsible for these creeping weaknesses in our foreign policy

On this national day let the pat On this national day let the pat-trictic Indian people proclaim their determination to remove these blemishes and add new strength to our foreign policy. The rest of the peace-loving anti-colonialist world is marching ahead. Let India not lag behind. Moving in step with forces of peace, anti-coloinalism and socia-

who in league with the big landwho in league with the big land-holders, are openly out to create a paradise for private enterprise, grab the public sector, bottle up land re-forms and invite foreign monopolists as northers in India's exploitation

forms and invite foreign monopolists as partners in India's exploitation. On this national day defeating this reactionary offensive and re-orientating the Plan towards spee-dier achievement of economic independence and greater welfare of our people is the common task. The pro-gressive levers of the Third Plan must be seized to guide development

no change for the better without struggle and more struggles, and on the basis of the healthy forces of the

the basis of the healthy forces of the nation coming together. All that we have dreamt of and seek to achieve is realisable here and now. This is the shining lesson of our times. Every opportunity missed, every day lost is a gain of our common enemies. This is the grim warning, writ large on India's walls.

-P. C. JOSHI

IT When space is being conquered by 6 man;

of ours is self-confidently set out construct a classless communist iety and bring the fondest dreams to of man to life:

When socialism is being actually built in several countries, succes fully fully challenging the countries of capitalism in the economic race;

When the scourge of colonialism is when the scorreg of colonalism is being wiped out not only from country after country, but from whole continents, Asia, Africa and Latin America, and nations, known and less known, are emerging into a new inde-pendent_vigorous life;

When big colonial powers once so powerful and irresistible are being forced to retreat before the unprece-dented tide of national liberation;

When imperialist aggressors are being made to realise over and over again, in place after place, that over again, in place after place, that they can no more have their way in the present world where people are out to defend peace, backed by such Governments which have the strength to impose it.

Impose it;
When, in short, the forces of peace, freedom and socialism are stronger than those of war, colonialism and, monopoly capitalism—and this has been proven in practice, times without number, before the naked eyes of all.

The historic battle is on, long cheri-

The historic battle is on, long cheri-shed horizons are visible and within reach. The battle-drums call one and all to join the good fight and help realise the dream of our great. people in our own ancient land. On this Angust 15 it is not only necessary to strengthen the con-fidence of our people on the basis of the proud achievements of the nation after independence; it is also imperative to stress the frustrating failures and grave shortcomings that hold np national progress and create hold np national progress and create new dangers which can be ignored no more.

Our independent foreign policy has won us the esteem of the world. It has been our national contribution to the noble cause of preserving world peace and aiding the just struggle of enslav-ed peoples to win their freedom.

Some undesirable weaknesses have, however, crept in which must be rapidly removed to save our national and defend our national honour interests.

In the fighting, heroic countries of Africa, Indian prestige has fallen 4.1.1

RISING NEW, DECAYING OLD

The Vostok II following so close upon the heels of Vostok I, Major Titov outstripping his comrade-in-arms Major Gagarin in encircling round the earth, is a new historical feat from the land of the Soviets, which only last week broadcast its Programme of building Communism in the U.S.S.R. uplifting the Socialist world tirelessly working for the independence of the hitherto enslaved nations, and for eternal peace in our world.

ideological-political wea-pon that, among other won-derful things, ensures the manufacture of Vostoks and produces pilots like Gagarins and Titovs. Together they have moved peace-loving and forward-looking humanity as no other events have ever done

Even before a serious study of the new Soviet Draft Pro-gramme had been completed in official Indian circles, Vostok II has speeded up the

The officiating President of India in his greatings to USSR Government has expressed his delight at "this marvellous achievement", Titov-manned spaceship.

Prime Minister Nehru's mes-sage of congratulations con-tained the significant sentence "This rapid advance in space travel is giving us new perspectives and teaching us the folly of war on our little

According to the India Press Agency a leading Congress MP expressed his opinion that this "stupendous advance" of the Soviet Union placed Moscow in an "advantageous position in deciding the ques-tion of peace and war".

Every honest politician in New Delhi concedes that Moscow ardently seeks peace and is all out to resist wal moves. The . new under-standing is now widely dawning that Moscow has also the strength to turn the scales.

Another very constructive aspect was stressed by the head of an Asian diplomatic mission in New Delhi when he stated "Major Titov is help-ing to advance the date of the Summit meeting".

Dulles may have been dead but he lived long enough to train and leave behind enough seasoned drummers of brink-manship. However, they now find that their drumming however, loud and sustained fails to rouse the spirits of their own side. Playing histo-rical outmoded tunes, on old broken-down drums, is not the same thing as flying into space and coming back to space and coming back to earth, safe and smiling. The imperialist statesman of the Western camp, the rulers of USA in particular, stand duly deflated before the naked eyes of all who care to look at them carefully and deeply.

U. S. Arms Aid

HE Vostok II for world peace versus super-sonic jets and gided missiles in Dictator Ayub's hands dra-PAGE TWO

THE Programme is the one hand and of the USA on the other. India's rulers. when they look towards the Soviet achievements express a new understand-ing and feel elated, but when they come face to face with the US imperialist moves they get confused and feel dejected! This is a true reflection of the dual nature of the Indian bourgeoisie.

Even the Parliamentary correspondent of the British-owned Statesman, August 8, admitted, "The Lok Sabha's monsoon session started on a hectic note this morning with the Congress and Opposition members expressing deep misgivings on the consequence of US arms aid to Pakistan".

One would have expected that the Prime Minister Nehru would reflect this very sharp-ly in his inimitable words and express Indian national indig-nation in burning words. This, however, did not happen. But something worse did. .

The Parliamentary Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, August 8, reports the Prime Minister as having told the Lok Sabha "while India accepted the assurances of United States Governmen that military aid given to Pakistan would not be allowed to be used against this country, she had to prepare her-self fully to meet any attack or threat to her security".

First, this means we swallow the tale of the rulers of the USA being like the guileless Santa Claus unfortunately hum-hugged by the crying and armsloving Avub of Pakistan! Avub is the creature and not the leader of the USA.

The Prime Minister has given a clean chit to the US plotters but the patriotic Indian people will see the USA more and more as the imperialist provocateur out to fish in the troubled waters of Indo-Pak relations.

Again if we pursue the Prime Minister's logic the conclusion inevitably becomes the same towards which the crafty statesmen of US seek to drive us, that we have to make our difficult choice beeconomic development or cut-ting it and investing on national security.

The Prime Minister also invited the attention of the troubled MPs who had tabled numerous questions to US Under Secretary of State Chester . Bowles's statement.

aggression against India the US would come to India's aid". The Prime Minister added that "they must accept what Mr. Bowles and other members of the US Government had stated".

It is a very sad and bad case not only of nursing illusions about the most devilish imperialism of the day but fail-ing to take note of crying evidence spread out, in a big way all around us, and in our own neighbourhood.

The USA did not pull up Pakistan when the Pak hombers, secured as US military aid, were used to raid the patriotic Pakh-toons inside Afghan na-tional territory. The US did not resist Belgium when the NATO arms user used the NATO arms were used by puppet Tshombe against the lawful Congolese Gov-ernment, The US remained silent when Nato arms wer again used by the French in Bizerta against Tunisia, whose Government was conwhose Government was con-sidered as the one Arab Government most closely aligned with the West. The US also remained neutral when the Tunisian com-plaint against French aggression came up in the rity Council.

Such evidence against the Government of USA, which is arch criminal against peace and freedom, for its own sel-fish imperialist ends, can be multiplied multiplied.

Pandit Nehru did admit that US declarations did not end the dangers which US military aid to Pakistan had posed, "because there were not binding on the other party".

Some simple questions arise. Why they trust the US assurances and not consider them as false? How is the arms-giver not more guilty than the arms-receiver? Why must India's rulers act so blind or naive as to portray the puppet and not the master as the real devil of the game that is being played against our country.

In an answer to another question Frime Minister stated that "India had taken up this matter (military aid) with the US Government a number of times, but she had issued no ultimatum nor did she propose to do so".

US supply of faster-than-sound jets and deadly missiles, etc. to Pakistan is a hostile act against India, a threat to its security and disrupter of its planning. To keep Indian concern confined to diplomatic polite representations is neither a sign of wisdom nor strength

GETTING his orientation from the Prime Minis-ter's own words Congress Secretary, Sadiq General Secretary, Sadiq Ali, in his editorial article in the AICC Economic Review, July 22, runs away with the bit in his mouth.

He starts off with a tribute Dictator Ayur S hands that Chester Howles's statement, He starts on with a tribute Pakistan and China should matically demonstrates the in his press conference the to the Dictator; "President not be ruled out." difference between the earlier day, where he had said Ayub's regime brought some policy of the USSR on the "if Pakistan committed any relief to the people, and a He did not stop with the

Take and the served selected and the gala of monoid failed and an AUGUST 15, 1981

measure of political stability. lis earlier utterances also against the Prime Minister laid stress on the need for and the Defence Minister friendly and cooperative re-lations with India".

Later on, Sadiq Ali be moans,, "For reasons best known to President Ayub, and his close associates, there was once again a spectacular re-vival of the Kashmir issue."

His visit, utterances and activities in the USA are outlined in words that only befit a Kennedy scribe, when recounting the tale. for Indian consumption: "Field Marshal Ayub has contrast-ed his own reliability as a friend to India's neutralist position. We have no quar-rel with him for wishing to prove his reliability as a friend to the USA, but this he need not do by misrepresenting India or pouring scorn on neutrality....

"A time was when some countries and some of their distinguished men frowned on neutralism. These coun-tries have now revised their opinion, and very rightly. It would be good if President Ayub did the same and put himself in line with the new and right thinking on the subject".

Then follow words of grati-tude, "USA's aid, in parti-cular, is extended to many countries, at time on fairly generous scale".

The USA is adjudged "not guilty" and the accusing finger pointed towards Pakistan instead. "A country, in giving military aid, might wish to promote peace in a particular region and streng. thening it against attacks from a third quarter but the reverse may happen if the aid receiving country has different designs. India cannot, therefore, remain a silent, passive, uninterested spectator of the military build-up in Pakistan".

Sadiq Ali as a nationalist Muslim should at least realise that if his understanding of the issue was widely popular-ised among the Indian people then as and when Ayub starts his fire-works over Kashmir the anti-Pakistani instead of the anti-American sentiment evoked by ideas like his could easily be turned against the peaceful Muslim citizens of India by Jan-Sanghis and like Hindu

Pro-American Extreme Right

A SOKA MEHTA likes being considered an "intellectual". The publicity organs of the US State Servile organs of the US State India, first through US arms Department should award a aid to Pakistan and the prize to this Chairman of second through direct econo-the Praja Socialist Party mic aid to India. the Praja Socialist Party for very cleverly trying to

turn the Indian ire growing against US for supply of arms to Pakistan, towards China instead.

In a lecture in New Delhi. Hindustan Times, July 18, he solemnly asserted, "the possi-bility of collaboration between

Chinese. He turned his guns whom he blamed for keeping "the country in the dark about how they proposed to meet threat to the country's frontiers. Our defence cies are shrouded in mystery".

Rajali is bolder and cleaver still he carries the story for-ward in his column addressed to "Dear Reader", in Swarajya, (July 22), he writes:

"Marshal Ayub Khan's triumph—no less a word can ex-press the quality of his success (in the USA)—is a lesson to India if we depend on others, let us do so frankly and gratefully. If we do not like dependence let us not beg or try to intimidate which is an ugly, uncivilized, and un-successful form of begging. Let us make up our mind either to be proud and depend on ourselves or to be friendly, really friendly in a spirit of humility. Dependence and neutrality do not mix well.

"It was a tragic folly to have treated Ayub Khan's proposal for joint defence with the supreme contempt with which it was rejected."

Asoka Mehta opens the innings for the American side C.R. follows and goes straight to score a century!

The Jan Sangh has also joined the game. It also scores another century. Its mouth-plece the weekly Orga-niser wrote on July 17:

"Now that it is clear to all "Now that it is clear to all that a strong and prosperous India is a better guarantee of the survival of freedom and democracy in Asia than any number of Pakistans, USA, we think should further revise to know the growing consci-ousness in USA of the impor-tance of the aid to India. But this consciousness needs to be translated into action in full.

Next week on July 24. it wrote, "we wish when the Prime Minister visits USA this fall he talks business and mouths no sermons". It is a straightforward plea to out match Ayub in the game of seeking US aid that is for self-respecting independent India to become a servile dependency of USA, just like Pakistan!

On this national day it is necessary to raise in a befit-ting and bold manner the issue of the two-pronged US imperialist offensive

The need is great because the Prime Minister is taking a weak stand and the pro-imperialist Rightist elements ents whether inside or outside the Congress are running riot trying to sell the US line to the various sections of the Indian people in ways each group thinks is most suitable for its own audience.

-P. C. JOSHI

When in 1847, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote the famous Communist Manifesto, they said: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Commu-nism". Today, in 1961, when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued its third Programme, one third of mankind is already building a new life under the banner of Communism

O VER a hundred years, the working class fought for it. The socialist world which what labour you put in. Work, get wages according to work and go in the market and buy with them what you like, what you can, with the money in hand. first came into being in the Soviet Union has expanded. The capitalist world has shrunk.

The new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has literally staggered the world. It tells you exactly what it will do in the next ten years first and then what more in the ten years after that

The Soviet Union has been having a planned economy all these years. Even now the Seven Year Plan is being fulfilled. It has already pro-mised tremendous rise in pro-duction in industry and agriculture, the reduction of the working day, rise in wages and standards of living. The question is: Is the new Pro-gramme just laying down a few more plans to fill the calendar till 1980? Within the current ten-

year period, the total indus-trial output will increase by 150 per cent and in twenty years, it will go up by not less than 500 per cent. The Soviet Union will leave the richest capitalism of America far behind. The Soviet man will be the best-dressman will be the best-dress-ed; best nourished, most educated man in the world. Is that the only sum total of all this planning and Pro-gramme, all this endeavour-leaving capitalism far behind in giving the good things of life to the people?

life to the people

1980-new society

The new Programme is not a mere sum total of Five Year Plans till 1980. The Plans will add up now to something new. The new Programme ushers in a Communist society. It is a Programme of full construction of Communism in the Soviet Union. The sum total of the

sum total of the new plans changes Soviet society from its present character of a socialist society into a Communist society. Quite a

Communist society. Quite a new social organisation will be born by 1980. Today, there is socialist society in the Soviet Union. There are no capitalists and no landlords to take away, for their private gain, the wealth produced by the working class, the peasantry and the work-ing intelligentsla.

ing intelligentsia. Soviet society has no classes, who are opposed and hostile to each other, one class living on the labour of another. All roduction and labour is distributed by Plan. No one is without work and none with-

out bread. But as to what and how much you will get of the bread, clothing, housing, etc., depends on how much you work and earn. The principle is: "From each according to his ability", work according to your ability. All the instru-ments of production are at your disposal for it. But as vet, comparative to the needs, machines are few and production is not yet so great. Hence, your share in the product will be according to

AUGUST 15, 1961



there are no capitalists and by brain. landlords to appropriate any share of it as under capi-

talis

to Communist relations. By 1980, production will attain such high levels that the Soviet citizen will not and need not limit his life and living according to his wages. He will work but get things free "according to his needs" and not accord-ing to his wages as he does today, in the main. the new Programme defines to communist relations. By one of class society in which division into opposing classes led to the exploitation of man by man, class struggle, and antagonisms between nations and states". The same old questions will dual, his taste and_{trr} his de-isgiven to him "free"?

today, in the main. The new Programme defines the characteristics of Communist society. They are, in principle, the same as defined by Marx, Engels and Lenin. They are re-stated after the experience of all these years construction of socialis or construction or socialism, on the eve of the march into Communism. We may notice some of them here.

What is Communism? The

Programme says: "Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of peoplethe will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forgrowth of the productive for-ces through continuous pro-gress in science and techno-logy; all sources of public wealth will gush forth abun-dantly, and the great principle

each according to his

ability, to each according to his his needs' will be implementéd. "Communism is a highly organised society of free, social-ly conscious working people in which public self-government which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour will be the prime requirement and neces-sity of life to one and all and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

"Under Communism, the classes, and the socio-econo-mic and cultural distinctions, and differences in

From



ditions, between town and countryside disappear com-pletely; the countryside rises to the level of the town in the development of the produc-tive forces and the nature of work, the forms of production relations, living conditions and the well-being of the population.

"With the victory of Communism, mental and physical labour will merge organically in the production activity of people. The intelligentsia will no longer be a distinct-social in hand. As production grows, things are getting cheaper. More sup-plies are coming in. But still you measure things by money and buy, by your wages, your share in the wealth, though

"Thus, Communism puts an end to the division of society into classes and social strata The new Programme changes this existing socia-list relations of production of its primitive period, was to Communist relations. By one of class society in which

the same old questions will be asked: What of the indivi-dual, his taste and r his de-sires? Will he not be idle, when so much is given to him "free"?

Hence, the Programme says that Communist production is "to provide all its members with material and cultural

benefits according to their growing needs, their indivi-dual requirements and tastes. People's requirements will be satisfied from public sources. Articles of personal use will come into the full ownership of each member of society and will be at his disposal". Idleness? Dull toil? The

Programme says: "Communist society, which is based on highly organised

production and advanced technology, alters the character of work, but it does not release the members of society from work. It will by no means be a society of anar-chy, idleness and inactivity. "Everyone will participate in social labour and thereby

ensure the steady growth of the material and spiritual wealth of society. Thanks to the changed character of labour, its greater mechanisa-tion and the high degree of consciousness of all members

consciousness of all members of society, the latter will work willingly for the public bene-fit according to their own in-clinations". "Communism is the system under which the abilities and talents of free man, his best moral qualities, blossom forth and reveal themselves in full. Family relations will be com-Family relations will be completely freed from material considerations and will be based solely on mutual love and friendship". "A high degree of Commu-

nist consciousness, industry, discipline and devotion to the public interest are qualities typifying the man of Commu-

nist society". Such is the society which the new Programme is announcing.

In order to make it understood in concrete, the Pro-gramme tells us what things will start flowing free from public sources and accord-ing to each one's needs. To bring abundance, you do not work longer hours, tighten the belt and speed up! It is just the reverse. Scien-

ce, technology, automation will work for man, the social working man. So labour pro-ductivity will rise by 300 to

steel production will

free

goods

In the coming ten years, the country will go over to a six-hour working day with one day off in a week. In the arduous jobs, it will be a five-hour day. In the next twenty years the day will be ctill years, the day will be still shorter.

The Soviet Union will, thus, have the world's shortest, most productive and highest paid working day.

By 1980, what will be sup-plied free? Houses for all without rent; free gas, water, heating; free public transport and free lunches at factories, offices, collective farms and schools; free education and medical ser-

vices. Food, House, Education, Medicines—Free in twenty years. Rest to follow soon. All this does not appear, as

if suddenly, on an appointed date in the year 1980. All things will gradually become cheaper and one by one, free, as production advances to a higher and higher degree.

golden

age

No classes, no conflict, joy of work and enjoyment, leisure and culture, love and peace; sorrow only when someone dear passes away. Sounds like the Gold-en Age of which poets sang and dreamt since ancient days but did not see how to days but did not see how to make it. Working class technique and communism make it a reality in the Programme of the CPSU. Who will do it, who to ma-

nage it? What Government what State? Where will the Dictatorship of the Proleta-

riat go? The bourgeoisie, the scep-

* SEE PAGE 18



NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

ار د - - ن

defeat government's anti-worker policy !

The labour policy of the Government of India more so, in tune with its industrial policy. Two Five Year Plans are over and an examination of certain aspects of the labour policy of the Government in the last year of the Second Five Year Plan may be useful.

cern of any socialist State. The position in our country has been that though new factories have absorbed a few thousands of workers and during construction work of during construction work of these factories and projects, even millions were employed. on the whole, the number of employed is on the increase. Employment in the construction period is temporary or rather casual and as soon as construction is over, it leaves thousands and thou-sands unemployed. No arrangement has been made to

utilise their experience and skill when projects are over. In April 1961, the figure of unemployed on the Live Registers of the Employment Exchanges stood at 1,627,000 as compared to 1,405,000 in April 1960. G. L. Nanda in his opening speech on Labour Grants in Lok Sabha on April 4, 1961, acknowledged that "the number of those who are not able to obtain jobs has been increasing".

Closures of factories and works are still common occur-rences. It results both in loss of earnings to the workers and of production. In the name of lack of raw material, coal, wagons or electricity, during this year, there has been a number of closures.

Block closure of jute mills every month, fall in produc-tion of coal in the NCDC (State Sector collieries) Bihar, cut in production and lay off or reduction of work-ers in Punjab, Delhi, Kanpur, etc., are some of the exam-

employers' pampered

Quick remedies for reopening of factories closed due to mismanagement by the employers are still not avail-able. Even in genuine cases it Even in genuine cases, it takes about a year at the earliest to take over the mis-managed factories under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act and re-open

While workers are immediately punished for any mis-conduct, mismanagement on the part of any department of the Government not only reers have to suffer on that account by remaining un-employed or under-employed.

Not only do the employers this problem, they some-times utilise the workers and trade unions to pres rise the Government to get extra concessions in the form of exemptions from excise duty, grants and excise duty, grants and loans, permits, wagon allotment, etc., by threatening a closure or long lay-off. Full support has been ex-

Full support has been ex-tended by the Government to rationalisation and installatended by the Government to rationalisation and installa-tion of automatic looms. It was only due to the strength

PAGE FOUR

Full employment is the first of the workers that at some ployees, with five killed, 20,000 arrested, and thousands victi-mised to draw the attention of the Government to check places, the employers were forced to agree to see that no retrenchment was caused as a result of rationalisation. In weaker centres, rationalisation goes on at the cost of the workers bonus in many concerns has been denied. Even otherwise, employers easily drag the bonus dispute to the High Courts and Supreme Court for

One of the principal aims of a socialist society is to raise the standard of living of workers and toiling masses. This is also embodied in our Constitutio

As against the situation in the socialist countries, in our country, the workers as yet do not get wage rise automati-cally despite increase in national income, increase in production and profits. Planning has a target for increas in production or setting up of new factories but not for corresponding increase in wages.

mimimum wage wanted

How the minimum wage at the subsistance level is to be calculated was not fixed till 1957, to say nothing of fixing and giving a min mum wage. In the 15th Indian Labour Conference, for the first time, the basis of calculation of minimum wage was fixed. Even then, it is neither legal nor binding on any employer. By giving the excuse that the industry cannot pay minimum wage, the employer can still avoid paying the

minimum wage. Even in organised indus-tries like textiles and sugar, Central Government serrich get ser- spoils vices, and public sector industries, though ad hoc increases During this period, there have been obtained, the mini-mum wage according to the decision of the 15th Indian have been wage rises in some industries as a result of struggles and sacrifices on the part of the workers. wage board of the workers, of the workers, wage board awards, and agreements after some local agitation, etc. But rising prices have offset this Labour Conference has not been given. The condition in other industries, some of them sweated and dangerous, like mines, plantations, etc., even gain in terms of real wages now, persists well under minipreventing the standard of While the index of gross profits in all industries has

mum wage level. In the coal mines, for the last two years, Government is considering whether a Wage Board should be appointed or not. In plantations, after a deliberation of one and half years, Wage Boards have been set up but these are moving in the same old fashion-at

Employment Division of the Planning Commission, in his note to the Income Distribu-tion Committee has come to snail's pace. Wage Boards have become another method through the following conclusion: which, on the one hand, bipartite talks for increase 6 (emphasis added), indus-trial labour in national income in wages with the employer on the basis of increase in has remained more or less production and profits in a constant, in spite of expandconcern, are being checked and then on the basis of some ad hoc increase and attempt to link it with proing wage-paid employment and greater share of factory establishments in the total output. 0 ings have gone up to some extent, they have not out-

duction, a wage freeze is im-posed for a specific period, usually five years. The Government has failed stripped productivity; and accept and implement the 6 significant factor in price increases as is often made principle of linking DA with

NEW AGE

then has in fact reduced real wage increase during this

wages. The Government policy of freezing wages and no rise in wages unless productivity increases, continues in the Third Five Year Plan period. It is to the glory of the working class that they have fought against it and succeeded as far as money wages are concerned in some centres. To a large number of agricultural workers, even the Minimum Wages Act has not been applied in practice and the State Governments are asking for extension every year. Fourteen years after inde-pendence and in the midst of building the "socialist pattern of society", the role of work-ers' trade unions—the main production force along with the peasants-is "voluntary". unions are never consulted in planning and fixing targets of production

The cost of living index has

been continuously increasing and stood at 124 (1949-100)

in May 1961. The index for

wholesale prices has also been

going up and stood at 127.1 for the week ending July 1, 1961.

It required a nationwide strike

of Central Government em-

Through the Labour Appel-late Tribunal (LAT) formula,

the purpose of not only delay-ing it but making it either im-

possible or very expensive for the workers' organisation to

The workers insisted on a

revision of this formula. At last, the Government decided

to set up a Commission to re-

view the situation. The em-

ployers have objected to the composition of the Commis-sion and for the last one and

half years, have not even

allowed any discussion of the

Commission. The Union Labour Ministry,

just to maintain its prestige

on the question of personnel, goes on appeasing the em-ployers who are very tactfully

oing everything so that the

They have demanded that

their representatives should be in the Commission and that only the unanimous

decision of the Commission should be implemented by the Government. The Lab-our Ministry has accepted

our Ministry has accepted this demand of the employ-

gone up to 168.7 in 1958 (1950

"The whare of organised

"While average real earn-

Wages have not been a

LAT formula is not revised.

rising prices.

fight it through.

There is yet no law for com-pulsory recognition of trade unions. It is left to the sweet will of the employers. Recently, the Registrar of

Trade Unions has been given wide powers to interfere in the internal affairs of trade unions. It was suggested that some more powers be given to in Works Com him with the possibility of virtually running the unions man from the e as the Government desires. as against the This was opposed by the trade rotation of

period is another attack against the working class in due course, it may be extend-ed to all industries where wage board and other awards

have been given. There are certain industrial centres where for the workers activities, permanently Sec-tion 144 has been imposed. The busiest places in the In-dian capital—Chandni Chowk and the Connaught Placehave had this restriction for some years. Religious proces-sions are allowed there but not even May Day processions can pass through these areas. In collieries, employers are still allowed to use their hired

goondas against the trade unions and workers. In plantations the rule that

if one person in the family is discharged or dismissed, the whole family is automatically removed from the job still continues in some places. States within the State of

the various monopolists like Tatanagar, Dalmianagar, Modinagar, Birlagram, etc., are coming up. In these indus-trial township, the workers and trade unionists are not allowed any civic rights to

in Works Committees, there is an effort to impose a Chairman from the employers side t the principle of of chairmanship

K. G. Sriwastava

**************** unions and had to be dropped alternately between the em-

for the time being. The promulgation of Pre-sidential Ordinance in the last Central Government employees' struggle to declare the legal strike illegal, when to this day, these powers have never been used against black-market eers, communalists, hoarders and all sorts of anti-social elements, stands out as one of the darkest spots in the labour policy of the Govern-

labour policy of the Govern-ment of India. De-recognition of the Cen-tral Government employees' trade unions, after the strike till today, is a pointer as to where the sympathies of the Government lie. The proposed bill to ban strikes and deny help of vic-timised employees and out-

timised employees and out-siders in running the trade unions of Central Government employees to start with, was really a black bill and was opposed by all sections of the working class. The ATTUC termed it as a retrograde step. Now it is learnt the bill is not being introduced in the =100), the index of real wages has gone down to 103.9 (1939 =100) the same year. B. N. Datar, Director, Labour and monsoon session of the Par-liament but may be brought back at some other appro-priate time, may be after the general elections.

Amendments to the Govern ment Servants' Conduct Rules banning membership of unrecognised trade unions and taking out demonstrati etc., is a further step in not only perpetuating British-made laws but tightening it further against the worker A recent circular by the Home Ministry that workers under the Central Govern-ment, including those in the railways, defence fact etc., cannot even attend election meetings, is a further curtailment of their

civic rights. A bill to ban strikes for five This is based on studies up years in the textile industry to 1958. The price rise since and not to allow demand of

 ployer and worker group.
Machinery for implementation of labour laws and agreements is hopelessly inade-quate. It often results in

avoidable accidents, causing death of workers. The police force is all the The police force is all the time used against the work-ing class and in favour of the employers. In some cases, even the army has been called. Use of the Criminal Law against the workers and trade union functionaries is still very common and puts the trade unions not only to harass-ment and loss of time but also to unbearable financial burdens which often they are unable to bear unle and until helped by sister trade unions and Central organisations. On the other hand, the

employers are given conces-sions in taxes, excise duty, help in meeting loss in ex-ports, besides the full use of the State machinery at the time of the struggle of the

workers. S. A. Dange at the 26th Session of the AITUC at Combatore in early 1961 correctly described the Gov-ernment policy as pro-em-ployer and anti-worker, in spite of the good measures we are able to secure after struggles and prolonged negotiations and sufferings.

He warned: "We cannot forget that we are living under capitalism, where concentra-tion of wealth, money and power in the hands of the rich and ruling classes is growing to the detriment of the people. Hence the impera-tive necessity to unite the working class and instill grea-ter class consciousness in it?. This task not only still holds forget that we are living under This task not only still good but is the most impor-tant one for the defence of working class rights and betterment of their intere

AUGUST 15, 1981

IN BIHAR

The problem of the national and emotional integration of the people can be solved only as a part of the problem of their democratic unity. The problem in Bihar is a complicated one. There are many facets to it, each beset with many difficulties.

THERE is the caste prob- latter capacity it has been Filem often leading to con-flicts, sowing seeds of disrupalready recognised for use in primary and secondary schools and following Cal-cutta, the Patna University, -too, had established a Chair in Maithili. tion in the democratic movement and in the political parties, and sometimes even arties, and sometimes even ading to bloody caste riots in villages section of intellectuals of somewhat extremist persua-sion, at one time, raised the

Bihar like the rest of the country has its communal problem, the problem of the Muslims. During the last few vears there has been a rerudescence of communal disharmony — anti - Muslim riots at Sitamarhi and Akhta tension and conflicts over Muslim burial grounds in villages over large areas of the State drawing attention to the problem as a state-wide

nhenomenon. There is an accumulation of a number of grievances real or imaginary-but por tent enough to make the Muslims of the State a discontented lot. The democratic movement of the State like elsewhere has been actively upporting the just demands the community while, at the same time, discouraging any signs of a separatist tendency that may appear among Thirdly, there is the prob-

Thirdly, there is the prob-lem of the Adivasi tribes, in AND some ways peculiar to Bihar. Largely spread over the Chhotanagpur Plateau and the Santhal Parganas, they have been greatly attracted towards the slogan of a sepa-rate Jharkhand State raised by a party of the same name which represents the over-whelming majority of the Adivasis in the State Legislature and seeks to speak in the

name of all of them. The Congress which was almost completely swept away in the polls in the Adivasi areas in the last Adivasi areas in the last general elections has failed to evolve any alternative to satisfy the democratic urges of the Adivasi masses and emotionally integrating them emotionally integrating them with the rest of the people of the State. It is the demo-cratic movement led by the Communist Party which has worked out the slogan of regional autonomy for the arious tribal areas in the

LINGUISTIC MINORTIES

Fourthly there is the prob-lem of the linguistic minori-ties, in the main the Bengali speaking people who even Purulia sub-division of the Purulia sub-division of Man-bhum to Bengal constitute about 10 per cent of the population and are sprinkled in good numbers all over the in good numbers all over the State. Their importance, be-sides, arises from the fact that since the days when Bihar was a part of the province of Bengal, they have occupied leading position in the ser-vices and the professions. Closely related with the

above is the problem of linguistic integration in the State. In that region of North Bihar known as Mithila, demands have been raised for the recognition of Maithili for official purposes and as a edium of instruction. In the

AUGUST 15, 1961

The Anjumane Taraqqi-e-Urdu has been carrying on a campaign for the recognition of Urdu as a regional lan-guage in Bihar in terms of Section 35 of the Constitution of India, and there is great resentment among Muslims over the non-acceptance of this demand So far as the Adivasi tribes are concerned they do not-all speak the same language. Different languages are pre-

Not content with all this a

slogan of a separate Mithila State, But while Maithili is

spoken by all in the region of Mithila, the demand for Maithili is, more or less, identified with a particular caste—that of the Maithil Brahming

The Anjumane Taraqqi-e

Brahmins

valent among them. With them the question of immewith

diate concern is not only re-cognition for official use but also the question of giving them a generally acceptable alphabet and producing lite-rature in them.

The Bengalis in Bihar have. for some time, been exercised by the decision of the Patna and Bihar Universities to withdraw recognition from Bengali as a medium for Bengali as a menum for University examinations in the State. After some agita-tion in which all the demo-cratic elements participated, the implementation of this decision was postponed for two years, but the issue is not

These, then, are the problems which need to be solved to bring about integration of the people in Bihar. The most important and knotty among them—as also the most disruptive in the absence of a proper solution-has been the caste problem. An attempt, therefore, will be made in the following lines to study the problem in somewhat greater detail.

While the raste system is prevalent all over the coun-try, casteism is Bihar's bane in a way all its own. It has invaded all walks of life. Political parties are divided on caste lines. Candidates in elections are set up and votes are canvassed on caste basis. In making appointments this is the chief consideration. In the Universities, colleges and schools, teachers are mobilisschools, teachers are mobilis-ed in caste groups. The most important thing to know

important thing to know about a person is his caste. As one writer, Dr. Nar-badeshwar Prasad of the Department of Sociology in the Patna University puts it: "During the general elections, caste has been per-haps the only consideration and people won or lost the elections only on the basis

PEOPLE'S EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION the socalled upper and lower castes and to create that integration which could be-

of the numerical strength and the affiliation of different castes. Political parties, platforms or programmes or ideologies played, if any, a very insignificant part in the general elections. The form of democracy and the content of caste have vul-garised our democracy into. casteocracy." (Democracy In Crisis)

It is a dismal nicture. Perhaps it may be objected that it is somewhat exaggerated, that the colours have been laid rather too thick. But nobody can deny that essentially it is tru

EVIL ROLE OF CASTES

This certainly was not the situation before independence when the interests of th common struggle for national liberation tended to throw caste distinctions in the background. Caste system, no doubt, continued to remain strong even then. It is for historians and research workers to find out the why and how of this phenomenon when its concomitant the village com-munity system had dis-integrated.

of

Mahasabha under the leader ship of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati demanded equality with the Brahmins.

with the Branmins. These caste associations while laying stress on dis-tinctiveness in form and sometimes leaning for pat-ronage on the feudal landlords, certainly represented the deepening of the social reform movements.

In a subsequent stage this helped ensure the participa-tion in the national move-ment of the broad masses belonging to these castes This had the effect of veakening their caste dis tinctiveness and aloofness and promoting a sense of unity in the common national liberation cause. The fact that some of these castes consisted of broad masses of peasants and the leading and more advanced sections participating in the caste associations and subsequently in the national movement were from mid-dle and rich peasant strata. led to some important results.

It led to the raising of economic demands in the interest of the middle and rich peasants, the demand for raising the price of their ntegrated. Dr. Ramkrishna Mukherji for raising the price of their of the Indian Statistical produce, commutation to cash

BY ALI ASHRAF

come the basis of a broad and united democratic movement in rural Bihar. The Commu-nist Party is almost the lone fighter in the cause. Its efforts, though crowned with encouraging success, are yet confined within narrow areas.

In the meantime, the Congress leaders who after the acquisition of zamindaris had broadbased and consolidated their influence among the middle and especially the rich peasantry, began taking advantage of the weakness of the democratic movement to further disrupt it, to cre caste dissensions in th struggle against the democratic movement as well as against their rivals in ruling Party.

CASTEISM AND CONGRESS

It is no exaggeration to say that the recrudescence of casteism in Bihar today is primarily the result of Congress policies and prac-tices of suppressing and disrupting the democratic movement. This provided the general social and political background.

After independence the Congress leaders had a feel-ing that they had reached the goal. It was now time to reap the fruits. Blinded by self-



Institute, who has made a searching study of the sub-ject, considers that "one of the reasons for this tenacity of the caste system appears to he the fact that the caste hierarchy was telescoped into the economic structure which the economic structure which emerged in Indian society" after the advent of the British.

Subsequently, the social reform and anti-caste movements that arose in the early or late 19th centhe early of late 15th cen-tury, themselves turned into distinct sects. Thus while the castes were developing the tendency, however, weak, of shedding the here-ditarily transmitted un-alterable division of labour, the new anti-caste sects developed tendencies of endogamy—one of the traits of the caste system. "The Brahmo Samaj very nearly did", says Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose of the Depart-ment of Anthology, Govern-ment of India.

ment of India. Similar was the state of affairs with the Arya Samaj movement in Bihar, and among the Muslims with the Wahabis. In any case, these reform movements could not rid society of the caste system. On the other hand, in the next and more advanced stage

next and more advanced stage in the early decades of the 20th century social reform movements appear as inne caste movements sponsored by caste associations. These caste associations which appeared first among the various 'upper' castes took up the cause of widow remarriage, opposed dowry and encouraged Western education.

Some of these higher caste associations also fought aga-inst certain caste disabilities inst certain caste disabilities and demanded rights which would have the effect of up-grading them socially, as for example, the Bhumihar

NEW AGE

rent. the reduction of rent and most important of all, the abolition of the zamindari system. This showed the way to the evolution of the kisan movement and the Kisan Sabha in Bihar.

It is an interesting pheno-menon that in Bihar some of the most important leaders of the Bhumihar Mahasabha—a caste organisation par excellance - Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and his associates became leading personalities in the national liberation movement, and in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties Left and the kisan movenents in Bihar.

Thus in rural Bihar the tendency was one of inte-gration, of broad multi-class unity, of development from caste social reform movements to national liberation movements to hattonia inte-ration movement and then to Left and Kisan move-ments. This was the tend-ency of healthy growth before independence.

Later, similar developments, which became more pronounc-ed after independence, took place among the socalled backward and lower castes. Their caste consciousness was the elemental response of the oppressed and the downtrodden against social injustice and economic exploitation That their consci sness has ssified at that become ossified at that elemental level is an indica-tion as well as the result of the division and weakness of the democratic movement in

It was for the democratic movement, a broad-based neasant movement and a mass movement of the agricultural workers to transcend the limits set by caste, to forge links between the oppressed links between the oppressed and the exploited of the various castes, including those of a position to do it

interest, narrow minded in outlook and without any fo sight, they have been quarrel-ing over the distribution of loaves and fishes, over the spoils of offices. Caste became a handy weapon in this fight. The interest of a handful

from among the advanced and exploiting minority of the caste was misrepresented as the interest of the mass of as the interest of the mass of people belonging to that caste who constituted the poor and exploited majority. Thus fac-tional struggles inside the Congress became struggles for twentles and early thirtles "Bhumihar" or "Rajput" raj.

The phenomenon is no more limited to the Congress. The virus has spread to the PSP and other parties.

How debasing and demo ralising can this become was evident when Sri Jai Pra-kash Narain the standard bearer of 'clean' methods in politics, the partisan of 'means' against 'ends', entered into a correspondence (which later leaked to the press) with the late Chief Minister of Bihar in which both accused each other profusely of casteism in their respective attitudes of sympathy or antipathy towards K. B. Sahay.

As the unprincipled and opportunist group struggle intensifies in the Congress, it is becoming evident that the coming general elections will more and more assume the form of bloody caste riots.

No amount of glib talk by the Congress about national and emotional integration in Bihar will mean anything un-less this poisonous growth of casteism is weeded out. Will democratic elements in the Congress unite with other democratic elements and par-ties in undertaking this task? Alone, no party in Bihar is in

PAGE FIVE

KERALA'S EXPERIENCE : ____

Lakhs of words have been used for more than a velopments of the superior of th Lakhs of words have been used for more than a velopments of the last three ous influence of other com-ur to draw people's attention to such fissiparous months alone. After the categorical and They had then been over-dencies as casteism, communalism, linguism After the categorical and They had then been overprovincialism and regionalism which are said to be on the increase. Prime Minister Nehru, Congress Presi-dent Sanjeeva Reddi and several other leaders of the Congress have spared no energy in carrying on a verbal crusade against these "threats to national unity"

T HE Congress organisation Litself appointed a Nation-al Integration Committee with ex-President Indira Gandhi as Chairman. Its report was fully debated at the last session of the A. I. C. C.

In all these discussions, however, they have omitted to mention another factor of national disruption which is no less dangerous than casteism, communalism, lincasteism, communalism, lin-guism, provincialism and regionalism, i.e., the frantic effort made by the Congress to man itself in power by hook or by crook.

Nehru's Appeal

Let us, in this connection. recall the state of affairs in Kerala about two years ago. In June 1959, the Prime Min-ister visited this State, remained here for two days and met people of various, views and belonging to various poli-tical and social organisations. The conclusion that he arriv-ed at was that the people here had been "divided into two hostile camps" and that it was necessary to "build a, bridge" between the two camps. It was with a view to build such a build between build such a bridge between the two hostle camps that he then suggested mid-term elec-tions in Kerala.

But, far from building the bridge as the Prime Minister had hoped, the mid-term elec-tions led to intense fight between these two camps

As Dhebar himself reluctantily admitted at the Durga-pur session of the A. I. C. C., the mid-term election was conducted against the backthe mid-term ground of a "polarisation be-tween the Communists and the anti-Communists". It was this polarisation which ac-

cording to Dhebar, forced the Congress into some sort of undeclared partnership with the Muslim League.

The Communist Party was as anxious to end this polari-sation as the Prime Minister was. For, that polarisation was the child of partisan pre-judice and hatred. It did its utmost to create an atmos-phere in which the two hos-tile camps may be reconciled with each other as the Prime Minister desired.

It accepted all the sugges-tions made by the Prime Minister except one—that regard-ing mid-term elections. It was of the view that far from building a bridge between the two camps, the ordering of mid-term elections would further intensify the feelings of partisan prejudice and hatred.

Seen as it would be aga-inst the background of the communally-inspired and violent direct action started

forthright declaration of Dhebar at Durgapur that the "polarisation between Communism and anti-Commu-nism" at the time of the mid-term elections had forced the Congress into an uneasy though undeclared, partner-ship with the Muslim League, it had been expected that the Congress would, now at least, do something to implement in Kerala the policy of "having no truck with" the communal rganisations.

This would mean that, in future elections at least, the Congress would enter into no alliance with the Muslim League-whether declared or undeclared: that it would stop lionizing that rabid represen-tative of the casteism of the dominant caste, Mannath Padmanabhan of the Nair Service Society; that it would make indisputably clear that the use of the pulpit by the Christian clergy in support of any political party or against any other party will not be tolerated by the Congress; that political prejudice, antithat political prejudice, anti-Communist hatred and partisanship would not stand in thé way of the Congress in putting these anti-communal

communal declarations

made at Durgapur than all manner of interpretations began to be put on the Dur-

ruled by the wave of anti-Communist hysteria which Communist. hysteria which had swept the entire organi-sation in 1959-60. The debate. that took place and the reso. lution that was adopted Durgapur gave them heart to express their views openly and unreservedly.

There were others who had, in 1959-60 been swept off their feet by the anti-Communist hysteria and had, therefore, supported the Congress-Lea-gue alliance, but had to have second thoughts in the wake of subsequent developments

Inner-Congress Struggle

A public debate took place between the exponents of these viewpoints inside the Congress organisation and led to the virtual formation of two groups of Congressmen who took their stand on the res-pective viewpoints mentioned above.

The election to the various Congress organisations, including the election of the President of the K.P.C.C. was conducted on the basis of a struggle hetween these

22.1310

well as the editor of the Lea-gue paper), formally resign from the League Legislature Party (not from the League Party (not from the League as such); set him up as an "independent" candidate; take a decision to "support" • "support his candidature at a meeting of the joint Legislature Party (which includes the Congress, P.S.P. and the Muslim Lea-gue). This was supposed to be the implementation of the policy of "no truck with" communal organisations

ing Panchayat and Municipal elections, the formula is that the seats will be divided as between the Congress and the P.S.P.; the latter, out of the quota assigned to it. will allo-cate seats to the Muslim League.

There is, thus, no direct division of seats between the Congress and the Mus-lim League. But, in the process of division between the Congress and the P.S.P., care is taken to see that the League seats are also in-cluded and indicated.

To this should be added that all the three parties are jointly committed to on a State-wide political campaign directed against Com-munist Party." In other words, the forthdevelopment programmes. of the Panchayat activities, would be hampered if party politics is imported . It was a couple of days

before this Panchayat Raj Conference convened by the Sarva Seva Sangh that the State Council of the Communist Party expressed its opinion that efforts should made to keep elections and the functioning of local self-government institutions outside the field of party rivalries

It, of course, did not agree ith the Sarva Seva Sangh in its attitude to elections in general: in the matter of elections to the Central Parlia-ment and to the State Legislatures, political struggles between various parties is inevitable

The approach of the politi-cal parties as the Swatantra, the Congress and the Communist parties to major econowhich fall within the pur-view of the Central and State Governments) is, of course, different from one another.

The battle of national nolicies and programmes as between these various parbetween these various par-ties will be of immense service in rousing the cons-

tions and use it in their own narrow selfish interests and those who want to use institu-tions to the best interest of the broad masses of the peo-

ple. It is, therefore, for all po-litical parties who have a-genuine interest in the wel-fare of the common people to find the best servants of the neople working in the ranks people working in the ranks of all the political parties and outside all of them, to see that these real servants of the people are elected to these institutions and thus defeat the games of the vested in-

that there are no essential differences on policies between the Congress and other political parties in the matter of activities within the Pan-chayats. (Otherwise, how could the Panchayats func-This would be possible only if all the political par-ties. make a determined effort, (a) to overcome mution on non-party lines? Sure-ly, he does not suggest that the State and Central Govtual prejudice and partisan ' approach to one another, and (b) to unite all those ernments, can be formed on non-party basis, though elec-tions to these bodies may be conducted on party lines). Yet he wants elections to be who are genuinely interested in the welfare of the common people against machinations of the local gentry.

Communist

Offer It was to this end that the State Council decided to call on all other political parties and organisations

The reaction of the Con-

force for national disruption

ciousness of, and educating State to make an effort in fighting these elections on a non-partisan basis.

Popular Unity Possible

This, however, is not true of Municipal and Panchayat elections where almost all the political parties in the country have more or less the same approach to problems and have no material differences from one another. Differences, of course, are there between the vested in-

terests in every locality who

T HE 25 member State Exe-cutive Committee of the Communist Party of India in Tamilnad, concluded an imdangering the Southern Taluks of Tanjore, so that inundation of Kumbakonam by

After hearing reports on the flood situation in Tanjore from Manali C. Kandasami, in Trichy from M. Kalyana-Party workers and others who had It regretted that in a national calamity such as this, the State Congress Govern-

party interests. It demanded an investigathe Grand Anicut through the

congress monopoly of power-

by one of the camps against the legally constituted Government of the State, it would put a premium on political prejudice and par-tisanship and would en-courage similar unconstitutional actions against cons-titutionally-formed Governments

The assessment of the Com-The assessment of the Com-munist Party has been proved correct by all the develop-ments in the 'State at the time of, and after, the mid-term elections. Without going into a detailed narration and analysis of these political de analysis of these political de velopments in the State, let us confine ourselves to the de-



ON EVERY MONDAY AT 15-00 HRS. contact your travel agent or Air-Jadia Intern CZECHOSLOVAK AIRLINES, Ambassador Hotel, Bombay 1 Phones : 241131 & 243609 NATIONAL-CEA 1741

itably a variation of the me), and not the communalism of the religious mino-Congressmen Oppose League 'Alliance

A large number of Congress leaders in Kerala and most of the newspapers supporting that party were shamelessly declaring that the anti-com-munalist stand of Durgapur cannot be applied to Kerala where special conditions exist in that communism, rather than communalism, is the major danger here.

putably a variation

well as to the mode of poli-tical functioning of the Congress organisation which brought into it the nefari-

gapur stand. The leader of the Congress Legislature Party in Kerala had no Party in Kerala had no scruples to declare that the Muslim League is not a com-munal organisation. According to some other Congress leaders, the main danger to be fought against was the communalism of the majority community, i.e., Hindu communalism reprewith it. Hindu communalism repre-sented by the Jan Sangh, etc., (which incidentally did not

exist in that form in Kerala, bridge between what though the casteism of the ir Service Society, is indis-

anti-Communism and ended. They, on the other hand, were equally committed to the policy of looking up "Communism as enemy num-her one". ber one".

The only difference between them and that sec-tion of Congressmen who could not reconcile them selves to the Durgapur stand was that, while the former wanted to have a simultaneous struggle aga-inst the Communists and the communalists, the latter wanted an alliance with the communalist. communalists in order to fight the Communists. This

conflict of viewpoints be-tween the two was, in the end, resolved by a clever device of implementing the Durgapur Resolution in words but sabotaging it in practice. **Dractice** In relation to the election

gress party and its allies to this stand of the Serva Seva Sangh and of the Communist. Party was typical. The Presi-dent of the K. P. C. C. rejected outright the proposal made by the Communist made by the Communist Party that this should be tried with the remark, "the very fact that it has come

from the Communist Party shows that it deserves to be there between the vested in-terests in every locality who Many other Congress lea-want to seize the apparatus of ders and Congress papers said

Tamilnad Communists' Election Tactics

the Arasalar breach and such other flood damage in the northern half of the district

sundaram as well as reports from Colmbatore and Salem Districts, and discussing them, the resolution that was pass-ed greeted the Communist had taken up this sacred work tirelessly and exhorted them to continue the service. ment instead of taking the cooperation of all parties and organisations to ensure

tion by the Government as to why at the earliest stage water was not let out from

AUGUST 15 1961

portant four-day session at Mannargudi yesterday.

the maximum satisfactory relief was using the distress of the people and the relief measures in its own narrow

The Executive regretted the resistance of the present Congress Government to accept even some of the 17 amendments proposed by the

could have been avoided.

It called for flood safeguard

measures of a permanent character in the Kaveri basin.

The relief measures needed include shelter, food and clo-

thing for the homeless, reha-

bilitation of houses and fields.

supply of seeds, manure and monetary help to get cattle and resume cultivation, medi-

The Executive paid a spe-

cial tribute to the Seerkali

Branch of the Party for displaying initiative and courage in mobilising thou-sands of villagers and avert

ing breaches in the Kolli-

dam and thus saving life and property in several vil-

cal relief etc.

stated that disciplinary action would be taken against Congressmen who canvass votes for the Muslim League, as they should do if they are sincerely implementing the po-licy of "having no truck with the Muslim League". Muslim League". It was when these electoral arrangements were being worked out by the representa-tives of the Congress, P. S. P.

the Sarva Seva Sangh of Ke-rala organised a Panchayat Raj Conference. The Conference deplored the importation of party politics into the affairs of Panchayats and called for a non-party appro-ach to the Panchayat elec-

Central Government to chayat elections was the same

would do great da smooth and effect

AUGUST 15, 1961

and the Muslim Legon

Panchayat

The Central Minister for Community Development, S. K. Dey, who inaugurated the Conference declared that the approach of the Congress High Command and of the that advocated by the

reat damage to the d effective func-Panchayats and that the implementation of

Elections

Sarva Seva Sangh. He said that party rivalries

In relation to the election of the Speaker, the device was simple: make the leader of the Muslim League Legis-lature Party, (who happened to be the Secretary of the Ke-rala Unit of the League as

View-points such as these were, of course, opposed by certain other Congress lea-ders who argued that inde-finite continuance of politi-cal partnership between the

ongress and the Muslim League would mean the end of the former. Many of them had, from the begin-ning been opposed to the Congress-League alliance as



the Durgapur line to be strictly and faithfully im-plemented in Kerala. 1960, the only difference being (as Stephen, the Secretary of the K.P.C.C. explained) that This, therefore, necessita-Congressmen would not participate in any joint election meeting with the Muslim

ted redefining of the Con-gress attitude to caste and communal organisations. The old stand of open and meeting with the Muslim League, nor allow the Con-gress and the Muslim League flags flying together shameless alliance with the Muslim League had to be given up in favour of a new stand of "having no truck" No disciplinary action, it is said, will be taken - against such Congressmen as do not

But even those who appacanvass for Muslim Leagu rently took the anti-commu-nalist stand would not accept the need for "building a candidate. It is, how the Prime Minister had two years ago characterised the two hos-tile camps; nor would they agree that what Dhebar has agree that what Dhebar has characterised as "polarisation between Communism and

= by E. M. S. Namboodiripad

local self-government institu- that the stand of the Serva Seva Sangh is laudable but not practicable in the condis of Kerala; to which they tion added that the proposal made by the Communist Party is not even laudable.

The Secretary of the K.P. C.C. made the apparently profound but really ridicu-lous formula that the Congress stands for party elections to Panchayats but their non-party functioning after the election is over. In other words, he concludes

fought on party lines: that too, not on the lines of each party fighting on its own po-licy and programme, depend-ing itself on its own political ence, its own organisational strength, but on the basis of an anti-Communist in the alliance of three parties.

the death of the late Spea-ker), or to the Manjeri seat for the Lok Sabha in the ing general elections.

The argument appears to be that these constituencie strongholds of the Muslim League and that, therefore, it is futile for the Congress to contest those seats. This argument, however, will not stand the test of scrutiny as the following figures of vol polled by each political party in the 1957 general elections show that the Muslim League was declared elected with ninority of votes.

Party Manjeri (Lok Sabha)

Kuttippuram (Assembly

The Communist Party has

made a public offer to support to a Congress candidate in the

Kuttippuram Assembly seat

The Congress, however, seems

offer, thus allowing the Lea-

of that

Congress & C. P. I.

Congress & C. P. I.

Muslim League's

to have decided to re

Expectations

Muslim League

League

allow the League to have at least one representative in the Lok Sabha than have the so-called "units cratic parties" in Kerala weakened

This is how the idea of the Frime Minister to have mid-term elections in Kerala in order to build a bridge between the two hostile camps has worked in actual practice

Whatever the extent of his own sincerity when he gave that explanation for the need for mid-term elections; it is clear that his followers have

Percentage
43.49
56.61
48.40
51.60

used it as a "bridge" not between two hostile political camps in Kerala.

They used it as a bridge be tween their own party and the seats of political power from which the electorate of Kerala had thrown it out in 1957 Also as bridge between Also as bridge between the professedly anti-communal national organisation, the Congress, and the openly communal political party, the Muslim League.

Unscrupulous Tactics

No amount of fine phrases used by the Prime Minister would blind our people to the reality that the Congress resorted to the unscrupulous tactics of organising communally-inspired and violent agitation against the estab-lished government of the State, and then, in the name of restoring peace in the State and of building a bridge be tween the two hostile politi-cal camps, manoeuvred itself back into power with the help, of those forces of casteisn against

Nor is this method of conti-nuing the old alliance with the Muslim League in new forms going to be confined to the forthcoming Panchayat and Municipal elections.

Sheer

Opportunism

From the reports that are available, it appears, the Congress is not going to set up its candidates either for the forthcoming by-elec-tion to the State Legislature from the Kuttipuram cons-tituency (left vacant due to

gue to maintain its strength in the State Legislature unimpired.

As for the Manjeri seat for the Lok Sabha, it should be mentioned, that it is the single seat in the whole country from where the Muslim League can expect to send one representative to the Lok Sabha, an expectation which, too, can be dashed to the ground if only the Congress wants to come to an understanding with the Communist Party. It, however, appears that the Congress would far rather and of building a bridge 1 tween the two hostile poli tween the two hostile poli cal camps, manoeuvred its back into power with the h of those forces of castel which it is now thundering.

Southern branches of the Communist Party and the Kaveri as well, without en- Tamilnad Vivasayigal San-dangering the Southern gam, without which the measure will bring no advance whatever to the overwhelming majority of the peasants and will only be an election year trick to fool the people.

The Executive urges the acceptance of these amend-ments before the Select Com-mittee Report is discussed next month in the Legislature and the Bill passed into law. An enactment which refuses to reduce the ceiling from 30 standard acres to 15, which refuses to give retrospective effect and, therefore, upholds all enami transfers made to defeat this very legislation, which exempts many big holdings of hundreds of acres on some pretext or other and which far from securing land to the tilling tenant is going to evict him ruthlessly is not going to be accepted as land reform at all.

Should the Government persist with its present pro-landlord attitude in this matter, the Executive decided that it should give every support to any just struggle which the affected peasantry will undoubtedly sent state of affairs in our undertake to resist this State. iniquity.

The resolution on the general elections reiterated the firm resolve of the Party to take further to the entire people of Tamilnad the Communist Party's entire policy and progrāmme. After hear-ing reports from all the dis-tricts it took note of the manoeuvres which the Congress Party is resorting to somehow allay the discontent against the present regime.

The Executive regretted the inability of the Opposition Parties so far to accede to the appeal of the Communist Party to come to an agreed democratic programme and fight the Congress on such a basis unitedly. This the Executive felt the Opposition Parties other than the Swatantra Party-can do notwith standing differences among themselves.

It is this disunity which is is preventing the people from published from Ma considering a clear-cut and B. Srinivasa Rao reliable alternative to the pre-

The Communist Party will strive its best irrespective of all other considerations to secure a united democratic stand of our people before the General Elections come round. The discussion of the constituencies which was taken up at this meeting will be continued and final-

sed at its next meeting. The Election Fund drive which has already realised. over Rs. One lakh will continue

The Executive also heard a report on the cultural and literary conference held re-cently at Coimbatore from P. Jeevanandam, and on the Cooperative Bill before the Legislature from M. Kalyanasundaram. Other subjects included the release of longterm Communist the collection of shares of the newly formed Tamilnad Jana-sakthi Limited Company, which will be undertaking It is this disumpty when a shortly another issue of the Congress shortly another issue of the Party's daily Janasakthi to be is preventing the people from published from Madurai. considering a clear-cut and B. Srinivasa Rao presided

PAGE SEVEN

by MAHESH PRASAD

India inherited from the British rule a stagnant rural economy. Under the colonial framework the idian peasantry was condemned to the exploitation of the landlord, money-lending and trading classes and the meagre economy surplus from the agricultural sector was syphoned away in the form interest and taxes, resulting in chronic stagnation of the agricultural economy.

T HE main economic classes developed, industrial econo-in the countryside, in the my. pre-independence period, con-sisted of the landlords and the tenants. The former owning substantial areas of land were by and large functionless intermediaries who appro-priated rental incomes from the tenants and squandered them away in conspicuous and other un-

productive pursuits. The tenants who were the actual tillers of the soil had neither the resources nor the incentives to effect agricul-

Pre-Indenendence Stagnation

Notwithstanding the agrarian legislations aiming at extending protection and security to tenants, the landlord-tenant nexus continue to be the core of the agrarian structure and contributed to a

state of stagnation in the agricultural sector. This is borne out by the fact that during the preindependence period in the forty five years following 1900, while the population increased by 37.9 per cent, the food-output remained stationery and the agriculstationery and the agricul-tural output as a whole registered an increase of only 12.6 per cent. (Agri-cultural output and Nation-al Incomes; from Studies in Agricultural Economics. Edited by J. P. Bhattachar-jee, The Indian Society of Agricultural E c o n o m i c s, ombay, 1958).

Consequently, the numerous attempts to raise the technological level of Indian agri-culture during the British rule foundered at the rock of the retrograde agrarian class

structure. The replacement of this out-moded agrarian structure through far-reaching land re-forms was essential for laying the foundations of down broad-based social and economic development as well as political democracy in the

country. The advent of independence stirred up new hopes and ownership, aspirations among the pea-santry for complete emanci-pation from the age old bur-dens and the dead weight of lions of sms the past

The Governments in the Centre and the States were expected to implement an agrarian programme which would sweep away the ex-ploitative rights and privireges of landlord classes by transferring the control of the agriculture e agricultural economy-land and other economic aral economy-

cade is the question which requires serious examina-

A study of the economic history of different countries reveals that a reorganisation of the agrarian relationship has invariably preceded or accompanied the transition of backward and predominantly agrarian economy into a

PAGE EIGHT

tee down to the recommen-dations of the Third Five Year Plan-reflects the pulls of the first or the second course reorganisation. of agrarian

Reactionary Solution

A strongly capitalist-biased my. The pattern of agrarian reand reactionary solution of the land problem which does not provide for the break-up of large semi-feudal land organisation varied from country to country. Broadly speaking, however, the land problem was solved either in the the ownership but seeks to gradually transform it into the a revolutionary way in the interests of the cultivating e capitalisfor large-scale tic enterprise has natural appeasantry or in a reactionary way in the interests of the propertied land-owning peal and attraction for the big landed interests in the

country. On the other hand, the active association of the pea-sant masses with the growth process can be ensured only by the sweeping away of semi-feudal landed interests through radical agrarian reforms. Indeed, in the historical

epoch in which the under-developed countries of Asia (including India) are em-barking upon economic and social development, there are powerful socio-political and economic forces work-ing against the repetition of the pattern of material the pattern of untrammel-led classical capitalist development.

The typical pro-landlord course would be based on the transformation of the class of In the first place, the peasantry in India is no more an inert and passive mass witherstwhile rentier landlords and the upper strata of the peasantry into that of subs-tantial capitalist farmers out rights or without an awareness of its rights .and privileges. It is in no mood to accept the plight and ordeal of evictions and impove-rishment which are a necesing by hiring agricultural labourers and farm servants

lisation within the institu- development and Community tional framework of large-scale capitalistic agriculture, which would at best promote a slow rate of growth along with accentuation of econo mic and social disparities and tensions in the countryside. The Indian situation re-

flects very sharply the working of contradictory forces. On the one hand, the leader-Ship of the Indian National Congress is fully cognizant of the compulsions of the contemporary Indian situation and the agrarian programmes put forward by the Congress put forward by the Congress Party from time to time re-flect its awareness of the demands of the historical epoch.

On the other hand, the big landed interests deeply en-trenched within the ruling party, and closely interlinked with the reactionary sections of the bourgeosie, have been by and large successful in thwarting the progress of radical agrarian reforms both at the stage of legislation as well as its implementation These contradictory

have created a peculiar dile-mma for the Congress Party as a result of which, even as a result of which, even though it has reiterated from time to time its adherence to radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry, in practice, because, of the formidable pressure of landed interests it has b een vielding gradually to a reac-tionary course of agrarian reorganisation.

Consequently, during the last decade, as a result of the operation of the laws of

Development Programmes has been to lift up the underprivileged and the weaker sections of the rural society and to narrow down the wide economic and social dispara-ties between the "haves" and "have-nots", it is now gene-rally accepted that the prin-cipal beneficiary of these development programmes has been the rising rural bour-geosie. In fact, these pro-

grammes have contributed immensely towards the strencontributed gthening of the new classes in the rural areas The implications of these changes for economic and social development as well as political democracy are of serious and far-reaching. quite

Inasmuch as the state, instead of sweeping away the semi-feudal survivals in a thorough-going manner, has been drifting towards towards the reactionary and tortuof capitalistic evolution, the vast peasant masses with their plenting idle or semi-employed man-fower are excluded from productive participation both in agricultural growth as well as from the fruits of development

Further, the evolution of a dynamic and enterprising class of farmers from the erstdynamic while unproductive land owning classes is in itself a long drawn-out pro The emerging institutional

framework, therefore, appears to be incompatible demands of rapid as mass-hased velopment in

Indian Agriculture Which Way -Democratic Or Capitalist ?

and appropriating surplus value through wage-labour exploitation

The actual course which

determined.

agrarian reorganisation assumed in a particular

among other things, by the balance and alignment of

social and political forces within that country. In India the formation and

implementation of the land

independence reflects at every step the contradic-tory pulls of the pro-

landlord and pro-peasant solution of the agrarian

carrying on large-scale farm-

reform programmes

country was

On the other hand, the genuine pro-peasant course of agrarian reorganisation would be based on substantial reduction of rental burdens of the peasantry, the conferment of the rights of owner ship on the actual tillers of the soil, and a thorough-going programme of land re-distribution following the break-up of large land-

An important corollary of the second course would also be the organisation of millions of small and middle pea. sant cultivators into coopera tives based on the pooling of resources both of land and labour.

The former (pro-landlord) course would result not in a rapid but slow transformation of the pre-capitalist rural economy into a capitalist one, inflicting great burdens and suffering on the peasantry by evicting them on a large scale from their fields and farms. To what extent the Gov-ernments have lived up to the expectations of the pea-santry during the last suffering on the peasantry by

root an big rentie branch not only big rentier interests but also regulate and restrict the scope of large-scale capitalistic agriculture.

The entire course of thinking and policy making in the field of agrarian reforms as embodied in the proposals made in India from time to time-since the days of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Commit-

ness and the demand for pea-sant liberation which had sant liberation which gathered momentum as a part of the national movement as as under the impact of the agrarian revolutions in Russia, China and other coup tries have created a political climate in which no national political party would dare to ride roughshod over the backs of an awakened peasantry Within the framework spe-

cially of a political democracy it is an impossible feat to stabilise a capitalist pattern of the classical type based on preservation of large-scale concentration of land and other eco c resources at one pole and wide-spread and expanding landlessness at another.

An inevitable instrument of this kind of transition landlords who have been acof this kind of transition towards large-scale capita-listic agriculture would, therefore, be a right-reac-

NEW AGE

in India

The chief vehicles of this growth are: (a) in the first place, those landowners from the erstwhile landlord. iss who have taken to private large-scale farming by employing (or re-employ-ing their former tenants) as agricultural labourers and rm servants and (b) in the second place, those ments from the class of extenants from the class of ex-tenants who have relatively bigger holdings and larger financial resources. These big landlord farmers and rich peasants constitute the rich peasants constitute the emergent rural bonrgeosie which is acting as the spearhead of economic change and growth in the rural areas.

As between the rentier customed to leasing out their lands to tenants and share therefore, be a right-reac-tionary and authoritarian reorientation of the political structure in the country. Secondly, there are earnest ompulsions in the contents Secondly, there are earnest direct management of their compulsions in the contempo-rary situation in favour of an economic framework which ensures simultaneously the speedlest possible develop-ment of productive forces as well as the broad=basing of eliminate the former and at ensures simultaneously the speediest possible develop-ment of productive forces as well as the broad=basing of the gains and benefits of eco-nomic development. These goals of rapid growth and distributive justice: are evidently not possible of rea-

of growth of the agricultural output during the last decade testifies to the fact that without the vigorous participation of the peasant masses in the development programmes it is extremely difficult to generate with in the field of agriculthe ne

The experience of the two unmistakably shows that the spontaneously deve-loping capitalistic structure weighed down by semi-feudal remnants not only restricts the possibilities of speedy economy growth; it is also far from conducive to the uninerrupted progress of political democracy

Indeed, the new concen-trations of economic and social power in the rural areas have strong natural pre-dispositions towards authoritarian and anti-depre-dispositions mocratic re-adaptation of the country's political structure. Economic changes in this context are very deeply intertwined with social and political factors. The Communist Party by alling for concentrated

calling for concentrated efforts to organise and activise the peasant ma advancing the tactic of Na and by tional Democratic front, for the unity of all national and popular forces throws whole weight to achiev progressive solution of the agrarian problem both in the interests of the peasantry of the peasantry and for creating th tion for progressive nation-

AUGUST 15, 1961

punjab communists and responsibility lies on you as the Prime Minister of the country. tar ou singh's fast for st necessary for them to play their role in the political, social and economic life of the State.

A deputation on behalf of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party met the Prime Minis-ter on August 6, to impress upon him the seriousness of the situation arising from Master Tara Singh's decision to go on a fast unto death from August 15, and the State Government's extremely provocative repressive measures

of Harkishen Singh Sur-jeet, Sohan Singh Josh and Jagjit Singh Lyalpuri brought to Nehru's notice the fact that that the sweeping gag order on the press that the Punjab Government had re-cently issued placed secular democratic forces outside the Government at particular disadvantage

For, while the Akalis would continue to carry on their propaganda in the Gurdwaras, the Hindu communalists in the temples and through Arya Samaj gather ings and the Governmen ings and the Government through the press, only the Communists would be pre-Communists would be pre-vented by this gag from carrying on the campaign for preserving communal harmony.

The deputation told the Prime Minister that Govern-ment plans to meet with re-pression the situation that will arise with Master Tara Singh going on fast would create unprecedented bitterness and cleavage in Punjab. These plans, they said, were based on a most serious miscalculation on the part of the Punjab Chief Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon. They appealed to the Prime Ministo call off these plans even at this last moment.

The Punjab Com leaders told Nehru that the only solution of the Punjab tangle lay in applying the same democratic principles in the State for linguistic reorganisation that had been applied to the rest of the country. It was the persistent refusal to do so and the endless compromises with communal forces, they said, that was responsible for the present grave situation in the Punjab.

POST-FREEDOM BACKGROUND

Recalling the events since independence, they said, in course of a memorandum given to the Prime Minister:

"After independence, when the question of giving status to regional languages came up, the Punjab Government came forward with a make-shift arrangement called the Sachar formula." Characterising it as a "result of Congress-Akali compromise", the memorandum says that it bore no fruit,: "the language controversy was again and again raised by the communal elements even afterwards."

"After the report of the State Re setion Com State Reorganisation Com-mission, the Akalis- again launched a movement for Punjabi Suba. On the eve of the second general crossing the Congress once again the second general elections. struck a compromise with the Akalis on the basis of the regional formula which pro-

AUGUST 15, 1961

THE deputation consisting mised some status for the Punjabi language in the Pun-jabi region and Punjab was divided into two distinct regions, one speaking Punjabi and the other speaking Hindi

"As a concession Akalis," charges the to the memorandum, "some Punjabi-speaking areas (Kangra) were kept out of the Punjabi region so as to give numerical strength to Sikhs in the Pun-

jabi region." Even this formula was not seriously implemented, meet-ing opposition from Hindu communal elements.

communal elements. "After the general elections, the the Hindu communalists launched another movement under the banner of the Hindi Raksha Samiti in the name of protection to the Hindi language.'

While meeting this move-ment, too, with repression, the Government promised some concessions to them Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal subsequently started again a movement last year for the creation of the linguistic State in which thousands participated with which lakhs sympathised.

REPRESSION NO SOLUTION

"We have narrated the history of these movements to some extent to show that both the Government policies of relying on repression to suppress these move-ments and of striking compromises with one section or the other of the communa elements have failed to solve the issue, the Govern-ment's policy has only gone to accentuate the communal division in the Punjab with the consequent disruption of the democratic move-ment and weakening of the unity of the Punjab people."

The memorandum further States

"It is in this background that Master Tara Singh is planning his fast and with a democratic solution of the problem still missing from the Government's agenda, situation is really serious fact dangerous for a bo state like the Punjab.... the a border

"More, with the uncertainty that exists as a result of the communal passions that have been roused, with people shy of investing capital in an area where they do not know what will happen next, the very economic development of the State is hampered. From this point, too, a solution to the question which has been plaguing the State for such a long time has to be found.

"From what the State Government is doing, it seems it is still taking a very complacent vie situation. It estimating the impact MasFROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

ter Tara Singh's fast will have on the Sikhs, it does not seem to care about the difficulties that will created for the democr movement and secular forces.

"The Punish Government seems to be thinking that it can suppress the movement. It has begun resorting to such measures as gagging the Press, imposing restrictions on the activities of secular and democratic forces who alone can keep the people united and rally them to fight the communal chauvinists

PRINCIPLED STAND

"Our Party feels that neither the policy of repres-sion nor that of compromise with communal elements can neither the lead to any relaxation in the situation in the Puniab, cannot lead to the creation of the feeling of unity of the Punjabi people which is so

"The solution needed for the Punjab is in no way different from what the Government itself has done in solving such questions in other places. Punjabi should have the same status which other regional languages have in their respective re-gion without making Pun-jabi compulsory in the Hindi-speaking region. The principle of linguistic re-organisation be accepted without any regard to the question of the strength of one or the other community.

"If a firm stand is taken on basis of this principle. then the majority of the peo ple who are den ocratic secular can be rallied, the communal elements can be deprived of their weapon of communal disruption....

COMMUNIST OFFER

"This is not the concern of the people of the Punjab alone, it should become the concern of the whole country and in this matter a great ists or by repression....

"You are well aware that the Communist Party of India has always stood against the forces of communalism and castelsm, that our Party has always been against the mixing up of religion with poli-tics. We have openly come out against the misuse of Gurd-waras and whenever and wherever communal passions have been roused. the Party has proudly stood as the unifier of the peo-ple even at the risk of the lives of its members. Our record-during the con carnage in 1947 is well known and during the Hindi Raksha Samiti and Akali agitations Samiti and Akali agitations too it is our Party that stood as the major secular force in the State.

FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

"We are one with you in the fight against the fissiparous tendencies that have been raising their head, in the struggle to strengthen the unity of the country. But we are of the opinion that this can-be successfully done only by taking a firm stand on the basis of democratic principles and not by compromise with any section of the communal-



NEW AGR

AUGUST FIFTEEN AND

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN GOA

ON 15th August there is not an Indian who does not think of Goa, Daman and Diu. They may be tiny bits of territory but they are not yet a part of Indian national territory. They cry aloud, like little sisters in the devil grip, for succour and emancipation.

W FITHOUT the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu Indian national unity is not complete, nor our national sovereignty supreme over all the area that is our vast and beautiful country. In Goa they hoist the na-

tional flag, chalk slogans all over, hold meetings without the prior knowledge of the police. Arrests follow but they take them calmly.

This year, even before August 15, very large-scale arrests have taken place. and one patriot already killed by the Portuguese butchers lest popular de-monstrations on this national day may not break all earlier records, making Goa another Angola.

Rush To Goa

I was rushed by the New Age to report back the plans of the Goan fighters for this year's 15th August. Inside Goa things are different than in the rest of the country. Here everybody is underground. You can meet active patriots if you have live contacts with the right people and you ins-pire trust and confidence.

The New Age, because of the publicity it has given th of Goan struggle, and to the national solidarity campaign in support, has won Goan friends and contacts also out-side the Communist circle. They were, however, all ton-gue-tied about their future plans. Where very existence is underground future plans are never talked about nor published in advance. Because of the Government,

of India's policy and pressure the armed guerilla struggle was suspended inside Goa during the last few years till it was resumed this year with the hope that serious and militant struggle within Goa itself was only way to change the Indian Government's policy for the better, more in line with the nation's thought. feelings and urgent needs. Ever since the 1955 national Satyagraha movement the Goan patriots have not been sitting idle-though their activities have not been featured by the Indian press. During my present trip I have learnt enough inspiring stories about their earlier activi-ties which should give a ties which should give a clear enough idea about the shape of things to come in the very near future and the worth of Goan fighters.

When on August 15, 1955 the Indian satyagrahis planned to march in, there was mass but-chery on the border itself and national indignation grew to the high pitch. The rest ofthe story is well-known, I will write of what is not generally known.

A Portuguese military officer Geronimo Barreto was incer Geronimo Barreto was in-charge of a shooting party on the other side of the border. He delighted in taking easy aim at and killing outright the Indian satyagrahis squat-ting peacefully on our side of the border. Naturally enough he became object of intense hatred of the Goan militants who decided to taceh bin a who decided to teach him a lesson in his own language.

Fascist Shot In His Lair

The Portuguese, however, hid him in a safe and remote hid him in a safe and remote Bungalow in Ardhafond, near Panjim. Besides he had an armed sentry to guard him and the place. He was also permitted to keep a machine gun and grenades with him. On 18th September after in-tense investigations the netense investigations the pa-triots discovered his place and raided it, when it was pitch dark, soon after midnight. He had his father, mother, and wife staying with him in the bungalow.

A patriots' party crawled to-wards his place, when only twenty yards were left, the hangman's dogs started barking. He kept dogs, too, for watch and ward! His old father shouted out that he suspected the "terrorist".

In sheer panic Barreto threw grenades from the

A batch of Commandos.

inner room where he was staying but it struck the wall of the outer room where his parents lived. He thus killed with his own hands his father and mo-

Commando Chivalry

The Goans rushed in, to give no time to recover from the blast and the shock. He was manipulating his sten-gun. He was caught and drag-ged out into open. His wife was with him and so the patriots did not throw their gre-nades into his room which was the safer course. The Goan patriots did not want to kill an innocent woman, though a Portuguese and the wife of a butcher.

He was shot summarily and a letter left by the side of the dead body that this was in retaliation of the atrocities committed by him. His wife was crying and shedding tears, dumb with panic unable even to shrick She was left alone in peace. Such is the scene of chiva-lary of the Goan nationa-lists, our own fighting compatriots.

I heard another very good story of how the Goan pa-triots seek to deal with the Portuguese oppressors. The Portuguese custom is that when they catch an active nationalist they do not try him in the ordinary courts but appoint a military tribunal instead.

Jose Quadro, chief of the military tribunal of Goa, had sentenced quite a number of the nationalists arrested to 29 to 30 years each. Smiling caustically the Goan under-ground leaders stated that when he wanted to be lenient he awarded 29 and when feit tough he gave 30 years, the highest possible. There were other officers like him. There was one Captain Fortunato Demiranda who led the police patrols looting and beating up the villagers indiscriminately

There were Quislings be-sides, who had earned enough ill-will of the people to drown them in shame i it were the regime of right. eousness in Goa. Two of the biggest capitalists, Damo-

Deshrabhu are big min owners and real favourite with the Portuguese for giving them all type of in-formation about the nationalists and their activities.

dar Mangalii and Vasuder

The patriots one day about the middle of April, 1956 de-cided to teach all the above four a lesson which they may not easily forget. They very neatly put booby-traps inside bibles which they came to respect and Communist clas-sics which they abhor as the voice of the devil. These type of books were

chosen because they are fat and have good and strong bindings! Four nicely pack-ed innocent looking book parcels were made, and posted the normal way to the above four.

It was Sunday, the post office held back the parcels for delivery next day except the one addressed to the Chief Judge of the Military Tribunal. They thou-ght it might be something very important so it was rushed to him through a special postal peon. The Judge opened the parcel and while doing it half his face blew off. He still lives but with part of his face

The police rushed to the post office and seized other similar parcels and thus the three others are yet alive.

Honouring Martyrs

Here is another story of the heroism of our Goan brothers and of the brutality of the alien imperialists.

Two young nationalists, Gopal Desai and Babu Gavans were ambushed by a party of about 40 armed po-lice led by a notorious police agent named Monteiro, near Netarda, just on the border. They shot one of them down and the other fell feigning as if killed.

When the Goan police when the Goan police came near them to pick up the supposed dead. bodies the alive got up and shot eight servitors of the Por-tuguese dead on the spot and also wounded Monteiro, their leader.

Gopal was himself badly wounded but he rushed over to our side of the border. The remaining Portuguese follow-ed him, aggressed into Indian territory, shot him dead in and dragged him back to their side. They burnt both of them without even informing their

relatives. The comrades of Gopal and Babu did not take this lying down. Within a few days of this incident they attacked Chandel, the outpost near which their martyred comrades had been unceremoniously burnt and solemnly removed their ashes to be dis-posed of the solemn and proper way.

Following this on August 15 that year they put up the national flags as usual but with the difference that camouflaged home made gre-nades were planted under flag pole with the pull-switch.

As the Portuguese came to pull out the flag pole the gre-nade was set in motion and blew up. Quite a number of Portuguese soldiers were killed or wounded this way.



Gaura tribe woman

it best could.

damnness

The militants inside Goa

this year smashed up two

monsoon in Goa and the home-made ammunition and the arms of the Goan patriots

are not much use in the

They are grateful to the

They are grateful to the National Campaign Com-mittee for Goa working and rousing the Indian people under the leadership of Aruna Asaf Ali, to realise the slogan to achieve the liberation of Goa in 1961. It is holding All-Parties Conventions throughout the

heavy rains and consequent

with their dirty hands any pole over which India's na-tional flag proudly flies even inside Goa. The new Portuguese way to handle and destroy the national flag is to empty out magazine after magazine till the bamboo pole falls down.

Troop Train Ambushed

Every August 15, trains loads of Portuguese and pup-pet troops are rushed to the border to guard and ensure that August 15, 1955 is never repeated again and the Por-repeated again and the Por-The Goans have, thus, kept up the fight all through. This year the various Goan politi-cal groups united despite their deep differences and all decided to resume the strug-gle, each to contribute what tuguese can carry on with their criminal unwanted regime. On August 13, 1956 one such troop train coming from have become organised into Commando units and early Kolem to Sonaulim was ambushed and smashed near Kallay. The ordinary soldiers were left alone but two do-zens or so Portuguese officers were asked to fall out and shot dead on the spot. shot dead on the spot. One Maciel Shaves was sent from Portugal to Goa, as the Military Engineer-in-charge and to formulate a scheme to fortify the border against any future August 15. While he was on an inspection round of the border, along with two Goan officers one civilian and the other military, their jeep was ambushed and they ordered to put up their hands. Stupid and arrogant Shaves fired his pistol instead and was shot dead in action.

Helping The Injured

The Commandos found that the Goan military officer was also dead, the driver was safe Il out the flag pole the gre-de was set in motion and w up. Quite a number of rtuguese soldiers were kill-or wounded this way. Thereafter and now the Portuguese dare not touch

by Mario de Andrade (Chairman of the People's Movement for Angola's Liberation) hospital facilities were available. A Commando sat by the side of the driver to inspire confidence in him and to ensure that he drove fast enough to take the wounded to the proper place. The Commando, of course, jumped out of the jeep be-fore reaching the place where his own life would have been in certain dan-ger.

BRAZZAVILLE

Cu cor

S 15151

V Fe

LUANI

70.4 Mñ

Tentur:

CANESE E

Teixein da Sili

- C

HE road traversed by my people in the struggle for the right to be free is a severe and difficult one. Even the Portuguese colonialist historians admit that only in 1922 was the military capture of Angola completed

During the long years of ensiavement, popular disturbances time and again broke out. Though all of them were brutally suppressed, too great was the inequality of the forces which clashed. The Portuguese colonialists consistently used medieval methods of annihilation: they were ready in their blind fury to destroy entire tribes. Even to-day they strive to preserve such a disgraceful form of exploitation as forced labour, this terrible scourge

Predatory Portuguese Colonial Exploiters

Here are facts and figures which show the true face of predatory Portuguese colonialism. The per-centage of illiterates among the population in the Portuguese colonies is the highest in all Africa. In Angola, more than 90 per cent of the native popula-tion is unable to read or write. Only 7 out of 100 children of school age have had the opportunity of attending school in recent years. Out of a population of 4,500,000 there are at pre-sent only 174 doctors and almost all of them live in the cities. the cities

Lately the Portuguese started a mass emigration of whites to Africa openly opposing them to the na-tive population. In Angola, according to the latest official data, the white population increased ten-fold from 1950 to 1959.

The number of local inhabitants, overburdened by slave labour, however, has not increased even by one-third. The authorities are settling immigrants on the fertile lands in the Cuanza and Cunene river val-leys and on the Sela high plateau. Many white immi-grants have found work in the cities depriving the Negroes of their last opportunity of earning bread

A picture of astounding poverty could be drawn. This is the fate to which the Portuguese colonialists have doomed the Angolese masses.

active assistance of the count anti-colonial struggle and ex-tend to it all the material and moral aid necessary as is be-ing done by the independent

African States to all the na-Campaign Committee, in a press conference, at Patna (Hindustan Times, July 31) tional independent struggles in Africa". appealed to the Government

of India to "shed the fears that all it has to do is drift and come out openly to the as before, go on condemning active assistance of the Goan the Portuguese and express solidarity with the Angolan struggle. The craven calcula-tion is that the rapidly growing and deepening Angolan struggle will bring the Portu-guese to heel and the grant of independence to the Portu-The Government of India's guese territories in Africa will nderstanding, however, is lead automatically to the libe-

The Government of India's

Conventions throughout the country and winning big support for the demand that the Union Government should lift the Ban on liberation volunteers from In-dia entering Portuguese occupied Goa, Daman and Mrs. Bertha Braganza ecretary of the National





However, in this article I want to speak about how the forces of the National Liberation Movement in Angola developed and grew against the barbaric plundering of the country and the brutal domination

plundering of the country and of alien usurpers. Despite the reprisals and threats of death, despite the country's isolation from the outside world, our generation has appeared in the arena of underground political struggle. The first political national organisations are coming into being.

The Party And The Programme Of Freedom

We have seen the birth in Angola of the most diverse parties and movements. However, the first political organisation with a clear and consistently formulated programme of action was the People's Movement for Angola's Liberation (P.M.A.L.). This party was founded in Luanda, the capital, in Decem-bar 1056

party was founded in Luanua, the set of the

However, nothing could stop the growing move-ment for the peaceful solution of the Angolese pro-blem. In June 1960 the PMAL, firmly declared that the Portuguese government should renounce methods of armed violence, immediately grant the right of the Angolese people to self-determination and political freedom

Angolese people to self-determination and political freedom. The Party proposed that a conference of the re-presentatives of all political parties of Angola and the representatives of the Portuguese government be convened before the end of 1960 in order to solve the colonial problem peacefully. The Portuguese government replied to these just demands by intensifying reprisals and went over to the mass assassination of the peaceful population. To cite one example: when thousands of inhabitants of the Ikolo Bengo village were on their way to the centre of the Catete district with the demand that their fellow-villager Agostino Neto, one of the leaders of our party who was thrown into jail by the autho-rities, be freed, two companies of Portuguese soldiers opened fire against the demonstrators. Thirty Ango-lese were killed and some 200 wounded. Several months later dozens of political prisoners,

Several months later dozens of political prisoners, mainly inhabitants of the Cabinda district, were exe-cuted in one of the prisons. This is the "civilising mission" of the foreign usurpers.

mission of the foreign usurpers. The colonialists by all their actions show that they have no intention of giving up the methods of brutal exploitation and intend at all costs to remain the sole masters in our country. The stubbornness of the Portuguese authorities who are striving at all cost to preserve the second system of correction has cost to preserve the age-old system of oppression has resulted in the popular movement of Angola rising for open struggle. The world knows the details of the courageous

The world knows the details of the courageous attack on military and civil prisons in Luanda in February 1961 with the aim of freeing patriots. The weapons that were used in the assault on the prisons were obtained in the only way possible: the attackers captured a police jeep patrolling the Negro quarters of Luanda and disarmed a group of policemen. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the assault on the military and civil prisons of An-

It is difficult to overestimate the importance or the assault on the military and civil prisons of An-gola's capital. This courageous action was the begin-ning of large-scale national resistance throughout the entire country.

Plans for intervention into our affairs which are Plans for intervention into our anairs which are being nurtured today in the imperialist camp make the people of Angola raise their vigilance. We know that the slogan of rendering "assistance" to the An-golese people can be a cover for the most base inten-

National Front To Win National Liberation

What are the political positions of our movement er the conditions of colonial war unleashed by Portugal?

Portugal? In the first place we are striving to organise a national front of Angola's liberation which would unite all the people's movements, parties and organ-isations throughout the country which would lead. the country to national independence

We shall in every way strengthen a wide alliance with the national organisation of all Portuguese

Finally, we place legitimate hopes on the solida-rity of all Afro-Asisan peoples and of all the progres-sive forces of the world.

ration of Goa, Daman and Diu here!

It is neither self-respect nor realism to expect An-golas' martyrdom will achie-ve Goan liberation. The bitter truth is that Indian passivity is prolonging Angolan agony. The patriotic Indian people must get the Indian Government to pur-sue the same policy towards

Goa as Independent African States are pursuing towards Angola, of active aid and unqualified solidarity. This is the way to ensure the liberation of Goa in a

quick and worthy manner and keep high India's prestige in the fighting African conti-nent, where Portuguese imperialism has suffered heavy defeat.

P.S.P. RUSHES TO DEFEND FRENCH ATTACK ON BIZERTA

T HAT India's foreign policy is anathema to the PSP is well-known. What, however, is not so universally known is. the depth to which it can sink as an apologist of imerialism's rankest mis-eeds. Its latest is an essay in the Janata on Kuwait and Bizerta wherein it has and bizerta wherein it in mouthed an unasham apology for the French. unashamed It has categorically denounced Tunisia on denounced Tunisia on Bizerta. "Bourgiba has over-reached himself" the Janata has declared. And one can clearly discern the French propaganda line in the version of the rape of Bizerta which it has presented to the rea-der. It says:

"Bourgiba served notice on France 'Hand over in three days or a blockade of the base'. The French said 'No, sir'. The blockade started, a helicopter at-tempting to break it and land personnel and stores within the base was sho down, the French started shooting, the Tunisians re-plied, the battle of Bizerta had begun.

"It ended two days later with the French in posses-sion of the larger portion of the city of Bizerta in addition to the base with 600 Tunisians and about a

hundred French dead, with the wounded on both sides in about the same proportions, with a ceas which the Security Counc has recommended and with, can it be hoped, greater wisdom on both sides".

With the French arraign ed before the bar of world opinion for committing a naked act of aggression and being found guilty as wanton transgressors of the Security Council's mandate, nothing can be more suitable to them then statements of this kind.

Janata's essay does not utter a word of condemna-tion for the French. Rather it renders them advice in that their "position can by no means be comfort-able" and they should "reflect that their policy and conduct has turned a very good friend into an extre-me antagonist".

On the other hand, it finds fault with the Tunisians. "Bourguiba should not have driven them (the French) to the wall in this fashion. By so doing he brought about his own disature and, no amount of broadcasts either by himself or in support of him by other Arab or even



Soviet and Chinese Communist leaders can lessen it" declares—Janata (July 30. 1961). Our PSPers are very fond of mincing their words. Rigmaroles are their

forte. It is, therefore, a bit surprising to find them speaking in such plain terms on behalf of French imperialism. The compulsions of servitorship must indeed be very great

RAJAJI'S ANALYSIS AND SWATANTRA'S ELECTORAL NEEDS

O UR revered Rajaji has set forth a very pro-found "analysis" of the 'root of communalism". He tells us that communalism is "not a doctrine or dog ma but only a disease". Flying in the face of

facts, such an "analysis" can hardly secure a seri-ous subscriber. Commu-nalism in India has some great ideologues who have elevated it to the status of. full-fledged dogma. Take our Hindu commu-

allsts, for instance. RSS and Jan Sangh leaders, aver that ideals of secu-larism, national integration can come only through "Hindutya". As RSS General Secretary Eknath Ranade put it in a recent speech at Delhi, neither "pseudo-secularneither "pseudo-secular-ism" nor the Five-Year

Plans nor socialism

unite our country. The "age-old Hindu life" alone can be the unifying factor After proclaiming this credo, the Sanghites pro-ceeded to do in the country what the Hitlerites did in Germany after unfurl-ing the banner of Aryan racialism. As the Hitlerites baited the Jews, the San ghites bait Muslims and Christians and now they are after the Sikhs, too.

of these preachings? Can he not be aware of the fact that these communalists are day by day intensifying their activi-ties? The Jan Sanghites have gone to the extent of proclaiming that the Musims in India suffer from "atavism" and that the Hindus should take the lay in their hands and launch a retaliatory action!

But Rajaji has presented "analysis" which not only glosses over the disbut calls for shedeas ding "anger and "bias" under the specious plea of ding dispassionate study. His call and "analysis"

6 Na

both remind one of that matchless master of tortu-ous in the Middle Ages, Machiavelli. He is creating an alibi for the Jan Sangh communalists whom he ha communalists whom he has been wooing on behalf of the discredited Swatantra

Party. The latest in the series is Jan Sangh sent on the occasion of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's death anniversary. In this he again offered a united again offered a united front to that party, suggesting the following: "Had Shyama Prasadji

been alive he would hav easily realised the danger, and brushing aside the cobwebs of prejudice, he would have wrought unity among all the freedom-loving scattered ranks of Indian patriots and helped to give a straight fight to totalitarianism

That is the true worth of the Rajaji's analysis of communalism. It is an essay which the worst communalist rag, the Orga niser might gladly repro-duce. But it will not cut ice with Indians who re-main unaffected by either senility or the communal canker

GARUDA

Leipzig Fair GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC September 3 to 10. 1961

MEET THE BUSINESSMEN FROM OVER 45 COUNTRIES

Thirty Trade Branches offering:

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS, CHEMICAL PRODUCTS, FURNITURE, HAN-DICRAFTS, HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, PORCE-LAIN, RADIO & TELEVISION SETS, SEWING MACHINES, INSTRUC-TION AIDS, TEXTILES AND CLOTHING, TOYS, CAMERAS, PROJECTORS, TYPEWRITERS, CALCULATING AND BOOKING MACHINES, MOPEDS, CYCLES, CARS, LORRIES, CAMPING EQUIPMENT.

Leipzig Trade Fair SAMPLE FAIR

Goods offered give a good idea of the production level. in the world and for quality comparisons between East and West.

> For details contact: LEIPZIG FAIR AGENCY P.O.B. 1993, Bombay 1; D-17, Nizamuddin East, New Delhi 13; 34A, Brabourne Road, Calcutta 1; "Lomond" 46, Harrington Road, Madras 31.

the democratic upsurge in maharachtra de a resolution on the ques-tion of the allocation of the allocation of the allocation of the modelings land con-sectoration in Vidarbha is greater than in any other bion of the allocation of the allocation of the allocation of the modelings land con-sectoration in Vidarbha is greater than in any other is the percentage of landless agricultural labourers higher in Vidarbha than elsewhere. in maharashtra

A year and a quarter after the formation of the shifting the forms of Samiti Maharashtra State the stream of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement led by the Samyukta Maha-rashtra Samiti still continues in the new State.

THE formation of the new enabled the Congress rulers to regain part of their influence lost earlier. This was inevitable, since some of the well-to-do social elements in the urban and rural areas that had deserted the Congress during the five years of the anti-bilingual years of the anti-bilingual struggle had not crossed on to the Samiti for good. Their basic loyalty to the Congress had not been broken. Many of them returned to the Con-gress fold after the formation of Maharashtre f Maharashtra.

The PSP, the Congress Jan Parishad and the B. C. Kam-ble Group of the Republican Party also defected from the Samiti after the formation of the new State.

It is in no sense surprising, therefore, that the breadth and sweep of the movement underwent a certain narrow ing under the new conditi What is noteworthy is that, the new situation, the amiti and its broad influence continued

In fact. more. All over Maharashtra, the people continue to look upon the Samiti as the only popular alternative to Congress rule in the State. In their indiscreet moments, the Congress rulers in the State also admit that the only real alternatives in Maharashtra are the Congress or the Samiti.

Not only the recent general elections of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, but the municipal elections of big cities like Sholapur, smaller municipalities, village panchavats, and rural and urban cooperative societies prove beyond doubt that the above statement is not just a con-tention but a fact. In all such elections, the Congress and the Samiti have emerged as the main contending forces and the tacit or open align-ment of the PSP, the Jan Sangh and the Kamble group has been completely routed.

Rural Struggle

Even more than in the rban centres, in many rural reas, the Samiti has come it as the majority force apturing village panchayats ind the new network of rural cooperatives at the base. It yould be out of place to borate the details of the lestion in this article, but it heir specific role, rural co-peratives and village panayats have become extreely important centres of adership during the period of the Second Five Year Plan. e Congress fights for domiting them as viciously and naciously as for municipal dies and legislatures. The naciously significance of the mifi's notable successes in hese bodies, after the forma-ion of Maharashtra, should not, therefore, be undernot, the.

UGUST 15, 1961

AUGUST 15, 1981

substantially achieved? How is it that the passionate desire of its opponents and the fear of its friends viz., that the niti would crack up after the formation of th States, have both been belied by life? This question is no riddle for those who have actual experience and knowledge of the last five years' movement. Unity Of Democrats

How is one to explain this phenomenon? How is it that an organisation which emerged as the instrument

of struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra continues to

live and grow even after its central demand has

While focussing attention on the anti-bilingual struggle, which was natural and correct, from its very inception has Samyukta Maharashtra movement championed actually fought for all popu-lar and democratic causes, for the economic demands of he urban and rural mass for social equality and the protection of minority rights

The Samiti channelised all popular discontent aga-inst the anti-people policies of the Congress rulers.

It was a very influential factor in forging un-precedented unity in workingclass strikes.

It supported and participated in a massive struggle of landless agricultural workers/for land, spread over many districts, the like of which had never been witnessed in Maharashtra in the past. nast.

It secured the election of Muslims and non-Maha-rashtrians (not excluding Gujeratis) to the state legisla-ture and Parliament. Above all, it achieved the

achieved by the national and even the Left movements in the past, of securing the elec-tion of Scheduled Caste candidates to the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha in general constituencies.

It is all these aspects of the movement, inherited from the past that have assured its continuity even after the formation of Maharashtra. In fact, they have acquired greater importance and em-phasis now than before. Within a few months after

the formation of the new State, the Samiti held all-Maharashtra Convention which was attended by dele-gates from the remotest districts of the State. A sober evaluation of the new tion was made at the Con-vention pinpointing the shifts unfavourable to the Samiti.

At the same time, the speeches of the delegates also brought out the growing discontent against the Con-gress Government following from its, economic and other policies and the need for

Can Rajaji be unaware

for the Samiti providing for the affiliation of political par-ties as also individual mass enrolment

"A Socialist Maharashtra in Socialist India" was adopted as the goal of the Samiti.

The Convention further adopted an elaborate Policy adopted an elaborate Policy Statement dealing with the problems of the new State as also broader national prob-lems. It adopted separate re-solutions on land ceilings, industrial development, re-gional disparities, minority rights and protection, work-ing class and trade union demands and the question of the borders of the new State the borders of the new State On many of the resolutions powerful mass actions, include provide an angle of the second half of 1960 and first half of 1961

The question of the border regions of Maharashtra such as Belgaum and the Dangs, placed in adjacent States, still agitates the people of Maharashtra. The position of the Samiti in this respect

BY

S. G. SARDESAI

should be properly under-stood. It does not ask anyone to accept its claims just because it considers them to be just. The position of the Samiti

The position of the Samiti is that the formation of linguistic States demands a principled solution of the question of their borders. The only correct and accepted democratic principle in this respect is the contiguity of a given linguistic territory with the village as a unit Once the village as a unit. this principle is accepted Once Samiti is prepared to refer its border claims to any independent tribunal and abide by its verdict. It has also sn the contiguous parts of Kar-nataka which are at present included in Maharashtra and declared that they should be joined with Mysore.

Aid To

Integration

It is necessary to under-stand the all-India signi-ficance of the question of the borders of linguistic States and the protection of minority linguistic rights in linguistic States. It is not a problem of Maharashtra alone. Many other States also face it. Failure to tackle it in a

principled, democratic manner embitters fraternal relations between people speaking different lan-guages and gives a handle to reactionary elements to disrupt national unity. The question has to be raised to the level of and

treated as one of the major problems of national integration in a free and demoratic India

NEW AGE

ed a resolution on the ques-tion of the allocation of the Krishna-Godavari waters among the States concerned. It clearly stated that there was no question of dealin ue point catch with it from the of view of the area of the rivers which is mainly in Maharashtra. The question should be main ly dealt with on the the consideration of the famine areas and the irrigation requirements of the concerned States.

The question of distribution The question of distribution of the waters of inter-State rivers has become a serious bone of contention between many States in India. The Congress leadership is fusing to tackle it on re-the worked out on the basis of broader national interest. The reasons are obvious. It is necessary for the democratic and peasant movement in India to work out such criteria and force the Union Government to accept then

Separatism .

And Disparities

The uneven economic deve opment of the various States and regions of India—a heri-tage of imperialist rule—and of different regions within a linguistic State is another question which has to be proquestion which has to be pro-perly tackled for the purpose of national integration. Fai-lure to tackle it also gives a handle to reactionary ele-ments to whip up campaigns of hatred and disruption.

The separatist Maha Vidar-bha Andolan is one such problem for the Samiti. Though no such movement exists in Marathwada (due to a different historical back-ground) the question of its under-development is even

under-development is even more acute, The bourgeois-dominated policies of the Congress Government in Maharash-tra, far from narrowing the disparity between Vidarbha and Marathwada on one side and Western Maha-rashtra on the other cetu rashtra on the other, actu-ally accentuate the existing disparities.

Free rein to the profit notive leads to an abnormal -and even from the point of view of the local people a harmful—development of in-dustry in and around Bombay and a few other cities, accom-panied by the crying neglect of Vidarbha, Marathwada and certain dark patches i Western Maharashtra itself.

Western Maharashtra itself. Further, while denying the just claims of the under-developed regions, the Con-gress leadership makes grave concessions to landed and trading interests. In Vidarbha particularly this amounts to feeding precisely the elements that are clamouring for a that are clamouring for separate Vidarbba

The Samiti has drawn up a programme for an integrated development of the State with specific emphasis on the re quirements of the under-developed regions. This makes a powerful appeal to the people of those regions and to the sense of common to the sense of common brotherhood in the relatively advanced parts of the State.

In November last year, when the State Assembly session met in Nagpur, the Samiti led a powerful morcha of pea-sants to the Assembly House The Convention also adopt- drawn from all the districts

A very large section of them are Buddhists (formerly untouchables)

This Morcha, thus, had a triple significance. It gave a fillip to the struggle for land, put the Maha Vidarbhites on the defensive and helped to strengthen the unity of the caste Hindu peasantry and the. un-touchables.

After the February events in Jabalpur, the Samiti came out categorically against the riotmongers and in defence of the protection of the Muslim minority. A huge rally was held in Bombay. The efforts the Jan Sangh and Hindu reaction to spread the virus

in Bombay was halted. The Samiti is now prepar-ing for the coming general elections. In its recent meet-ing it decided that it would fight the Congress on its independent platform and on a general democratic programme. At the same time, it would cam against the Jan Sangh, the Muslim League, the Maha Vidarbha Andolan Samiti and the Swatantra Party in the elections. And electoral agreement or adjustment of any sort with these parties was totally ruled out.

Such experience as we have had from the multi-sided nature of these various activities and movements points out that Indian reaction is no doubt on the offensive, not only against the forces of democracy and socialism, but against national unity integrity itself. At the same time, the key to the struggle for national integration is intensification of the struggle for democracy, equality and justice in every sphere of social life. The combination of the

The combination of the struggles for working class, peasant and middle class demands, for the protection of minority rights, whether of religious or linguistic groups, for the removal of the scourge of untouchability, in fact for social justice in every sphere and aspect of national life-all this together constitutes the struggle against the forces of national discuption and for the cause of national integra-tion.

To mobilise the people for such struggles is to defeat the threat of national disintegration

(July 31)



EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Sinha at th W AGE PRINTING PREES Jhandewallan Estate, Rar hansi Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4, Asai Ali Road, New Delhi.

> Phone : 25784 Telestanh graphic Address MARXBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATES INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12.00; Half-yearly Rs. 6.00 and Quarterly Rs. 3.00.

cn: Yearly Rs. 20.00 Half-yearly Rs. 10.00.

All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

PAGE THIRTEEN



Tagore once said that it was his task in life 'to answer questions by songs'. To answer every kind of question as to the nature of existence and the destiny f man, but to answer them not in the terms of formal logic but in poetry.

of Islam Mary Shelley says that her husband had long deliberated whether poetry or netaphysics shou life's work and that he chose poetry; but in choosing it he did not renounce philosophy but recognised that it was through poetry that he could best express, the philosophy of the vision that was in hi Although Tagore was less metaphysical than Shelley he too embodied his vision in song and drama

Poetry reveals to us, as the orderly, precise and logical orderly, precise and logical methods of metaphysics never can, penetrating modes of ex-perience which add profoundto the values of existence It uses language with en-tirely different purposes from those of the academic philosopher. Turning from abstract thought, the poet seeks for the emotional equivalent of pure ideas, presenting his vision of life in a statement of events in human actions or the natural beauties of the world

TRUTH OF THINGS

This has been described by T. S. Eliot as finding the objective correlative for philosophic thought, so that poetic images evoke their own understanding of. existence, rich in emotional vertone

Thus, for Tagore the truth of things was revealed in the immediate experiences of our earthly life as seen through the poet's intuition and not in abstract speculation.

Not where the wheeling systems darken Or our benumbed conceiving soars. The drift of pinions could be hearken Beats at our own clay shuttered doors. Angels keep their ancient places Turn but a stone and start a wing Tis ye, tis your estranged faces That miss the many splendoured thing.

We need not belittle the hilosophy that interprets life in this way, for the whole cipline, but for Tagore the philosophy that interprets life in this way, for the whole trend of recent thought is to deny the possibility of reaching transcendent truth in abstract terms. A true philo sophy must concern. itself with the actual world but beitself comes truly philosophical by understanding it more, profoundly-not so much as intellectual problem, bu but as an unfolding to the imagina-tion of the significance of human life

Thus we find in Rabindranath Tagore a poetical revolt against formalism and a clear

PAGE FOURTEEN

IN her notes on The Revolt recognition that deliverance is not by escape from the world but by a deeper under-standing of the world.

""

answe

by .

mv

sonas'

Rabindra

nath

questions

In so many of his poems we find the suggestion that the life we live every day and all our days is filled with spiritual significance. It is by the path of this daily life that the sacred touches us. There is no other way, no revelation of truth which turns its back on the world and looks heyond

In thine own time, in a moment leaps to light. In the impossible, from somewhere out of sight In its own radiance hid, yet robed alone In the ever-possible and ever-known.

POTENTIALITY OF BEING

"The test of a true faith" said John Oman, the Cambridge theologian, is the extent to which its religion is secular. Ibsen in his little-known drama Julian the Apostate forstells the coming of the Third Kingdom: "The recon-ciliation between nature and spirit, the return to nature through spirit that is the through spirit. that is the task for religion. The third kingdom shall come-the spiof man shall take its inheritance once more".

Here is a point of view which like that of the great mystic Eckhart dissolves the idea of a separate transcen-dant Diety into the conception of the potentiality of being, rather after the fashion of Whitehead, for whom all true philosophy was a kind of poetry.

The way of the mystic has been depicted as a hard one.

profoundest revelation may be missed by its very nearness, not because we are too un-spiritual but because we are

too exalted to see the Divine

"I am a poet by tempera-

ment" said Tagore "but the star guiding my destiny is extremely practical in its influence". And for this

reason, perhaps to the con-cern of some who would have preferred him to re-

natural beauty, he was com-

close at hand.

say that he would welcome a wave of atheism over India if like a forest fire it alone could sweep away the corruption and rubbish which clogged Indian life on every side.

Thus Rabindranath Tagore took the Indian spirit on pil-grimage through the whole civilised world and in his own person brought the world back to India

It was the very intensity of his imaginative perception of the truth in nature, in scien-ce, in human life, in expe-rience that made him so angry with what he regarded as the hopeless sterility, the black stunned stare, the incongruous mysticism, the jelly-fish structure of brain and heart which characterised what was decadent and reactionary in Indian reli-

main the sweet singer of gion. "There is no one in all the

world", he declared "with whom it is so difficult to sympathise as with the nar-rower fanatics of our own particular faith". pelled to illuminate with the light of his poetry the dark places of Indian social life and religious practice. This was just because his vision was not of general truths, of abstract ideals, of That there were Western

other worldly experiences, but

of the particular, the con-

crete, the every day. Here we find an indepen-dence of thought and attitude

and a spiritual courage which

constitute not his least claim

to a place among great men and great poets. But truth which is a home

truth hurts. It is not content with vague aspirations it sears and burns away the lies and

self-deceptions in which we

Thus we find him extre-

mely critical of that sweep-ing revival of Hinduism and

the organised and elaborate defence of it which went so

far as to assert that Hindu

superstition and custom were subtle expressions of

the profoundest scientific knowledge.

Nor was he prepared to ac-cept the idea very prevalent today that while Europe had

a superiority of technology and power yet it was crudely

materialistic as contrasted

with the deep spirituality of India and the East

of intellectual and spiritual

achievement from the litera-ture of Ancient Greece to works of the great poets and

philosophers of Western Eu-

rope today. East and West, Tagore says, again and again.

need each other He believed

that there was no future for India unless she ruthlessly looked into customs and belief

and fearlessly joined in the

It was, he asserted, an

patriotism, ignored the grand quest of man for knowledge.

CLEANSING

FIRE

He even went so far as to

search for enlightenment.

utter lack of reverence

wrap ourselves.

Tagore And His

ideals of conduct and charac ter which as a patriot he en-vied for his own countrymen is very clearly shown in his own translation of one of the Gitanjali.

HUMAN

ANGUISH

Thus once again, more

effectively than by mere argu-ment does the poet instruct us and enlighten us by his song.

"I have conquered my people by my songs" he tells us. Let, me make the songs of a peo-ple and I care, not who makes

their laws. It was a wise man

who said that.

Where the mind is without fear and the head Where knowledge is free; Where the world has not been broken up into

fragments by narrow domestic walls; Where words come out from the depth of truth; the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of Where the clear stream ead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-

widening thought and action; Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

> above all other claims, protesting against the justice and the religion. (the words strangely enough are the same) which denies them in the name of that which is even more sacred, humanity

itself Again and again his stories are critical of the sanctity of priests, their spiritual insolence, standing above all good and evil, all sorrow and affec-tion. He makes one of them declare:

In this conflict of rights

we have something very like that in the Greek tragedies -notably Sophocles' Anti-gone; and underlying it is

one of the most profound of all -philosophical pro-blems-the nature of the

human conscience and the

inexorable law which seeks

Tagore sets human rights

to override it.

Knowing all Scriptures, I Know well the heart's compassion is a lie.

But for Tagore the heart's

and most abiding philosophy

Compassion that tender

emotion, is often not far from love of a different kind, and some of the most

beautiful of Tagore's poems

poet speaks and in song he

POWER

OF EROS

In the Chitra we have the

really wonderful love story of the prince Arjuna and his

love for the girl who has been

answers many ou

ed.

of all time.

bv Dr. JOHN LEWIS

humanity and the violation of compassion is the greatest of atural affection. It is often in stories of such incumstances that Tagore atural faith and the deepest natural affection. circumstances that Tagore becomes a poet of sorrow, expressing the pathos of men's wasted lives, the sacrifice and loneliness of women's days and the bitter tragedy which can sometimes follow submisto orthodox beliefs.

are concerned with the love of man and woman. Yet here too, not for a moment would he separate He has a wonderful power of setting forth final and irremediable tragedy, the anguish in a human situa-tion, laying bare the inmost mind of distress in such this either from his ethical ideals or from his religious feeling. Once more the true circumstances.

Perhaps the greatest of these stories is the poem en-titled Sati. The Indian girl Ama has been carried off by a Moslem, in spite of her be-trothal to another man. Yet to the stranger it was that her love went forth.

Both men die in hattle huit her father and the rejected bridegroom have sworn ven-geance and the father now insists that she is the lawful bride of the dead man and must perish on the funeral pyre. The girl pleads with passionate dignity for her life, passionate dignity for her the the father relents, but the mother overrides them and the soldiers seize the girl and

burn her. Thus should their master pass, with a woman's tender form perishing in agony be- ate cry through the entire side the man's lifeless body. body-and then to send him From Ama's lips comes her away like a beggar-no im-

last desperate appeal but all in vain. Awake, awake, awake, King of Justice!

Thou Lord of the burning-ground, awake toda See what rebellion in your mighty realm Mean foes are making! Waken, God of Gods

AUGUST 15, 1951

Passionate Philosophy

He had the most intimate

he had the most intimate and deeply religious feeling for natural beauty, for hu-man beauty, for the beauty of human relationships of human feeling for

love and fellowship and for

him this beauty was itself

divine. Therefore, his is no

Never did the poet dream

possible! Ah, God of Love, what fearful flame is this with which thou hast enveloped me? I burn; and I burn whatever I touch.' This too is an old theme

the philosophy of love was as well known to Plato, to Euripides, as to Snakespeare and keats and Shelley. For Eros is far more than mere sexual love. The erotic is not the dionysian but something more exalted

It is a return to the oldest gods of all, the vague potenof beauty in order to escape from the responsibilities of the daily struggle for human cies of ecstacy and love, to the instinctive origins of all human emotions, to . something far deeper than rights. In his lectures on Nationalism he emphasises with characteristic courage reason. This Love is Life itself. Here is a Greek chorus which magnificently de-lineates it.

and the flame of conviction, the need for the radical re-

lineates it. the need for the radi In the beginning when the sun was lit The maze of things was marshalled to a dance. Deep in us lie forgotten strains of it, Like obsolete; charmed sleepers of romance. And we remember, when on thrilling strings And hollow flutes the heart of midnight burns, The heattore of enlanded moving things

The heritage of splendid moving things Descends on us, and the old power returns. -Eros, Eros, who blindest tear by tear,

Men's eves with hunger, thou swift foe that pliest.

Deep in our hearts joy like an edged spear; Come not to me with evil haunting near Wrath on the mind, nor jarring of the clear

Wing's music as thou fliest. There is no shaft that burneth, not in fire. Not in world stars, far off and flinging fear As in thine hands the shaft of all desire, Eros, Child of the highest,

KAMA'S SCATTERING

tice, before Indian political freedom can be worth anything. In 1919 came the Puniah Tagore has two pieces about struggle and its suppression; ama, the Indian Eros. The Rabindranath wrote to Lord

moval of Indian social injus.

Kama, the Indian Eros. The Rabindranatl Five-Arrowed One. In one he Chelmsford, takes up the story of how Siva Knighthood. Chelmsford, renouncing his a glance burnt Kama to -only to scatter the not to love England. In a of love far and wide over letter to C. F. Andrews in 1921 with a glance burnt Kama to ashes seeds of lo

the whole world. What hast thou done, burning the Five-Arrowed One? Thou hast scattered him throughout the world His pain more troublous sighs in the wind and restlessly flies

His tears roll down the heavens. The universe thrills to the keen of the Love-God's

anguished queen; The world's four corners wait:

-rays?

Whose feet on the grassy couch? Burning the Five-Arrowed One e, what has thou done?

LIFE'S

LOVELINESS

Love and intimate knowledge of nature have become for Rahindranath Tagore a deep religious ex-perience. This perception of perience. This perception of what is the very core and reason of things has led him to the deepest of all philosophic truths—to the philosophic truths—to the hidden loveliness of life, to a deep experience of realised beauty within existence. As Keets sold: As Keats said: "Let us see Beauty is truth, truth beauty-that is all

Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know" It is only the beauty in know that wherever the spirit things, as for Keats it was the of separation is supreme there beauty in the Grecian Urn, gives you the infinite, for infinite is not the beyond but the promise of perfection in the here and now. Radakrishnan thought that beauty should not be loved for

its own sake, but only as an attribute of the divine. Tagore is far from such remote, me-taphysical and abstract con-

AUGUST 15, 1961

Suddenly at a sigh from a God none see, Earth shivers and swoons. Whose robe do I see adrift, in the moonlight flooded Whose eyes in the still blue sky? Whose is the face with gaze veiled in the shining Thou hast scattered him through the world. "With all our grievances against the English nation,

I cannot help loving your country, which has given me some of my dearest friends Some of my dearest friends. I am intensely glad of this fact, for it is hateful to hate. "The fact is that the best people in all countries find their affinity with one ano-

ther. The fuel displays its differences but the fire is one. When the fire comes before

"Let us seek that fire and

reigns darkness. Let me light my own lamp with love for the great humanity revealed

in your country". Tagore condemned evil wherever he found it but never extended his condem-nation to entire people. He attacked British domination of India but expressed in clear terms his love , and

given for just a year the gift of the beauty which she lack Arjuna finds her and loves her and the woman awakens to meet her lover's need of her: "to face that fervent gaze that almost grasps you like clutching hands of the

Į.

hungry spirit within; to feel his heart struggling to break

bounds, urging its passion-

* SEE FACING PAGE

with thy thunder! O'er this paltry justice thine eternal justice rise victoric

It is in the same spirit that he gives us many stories which condemn the subjec-Rabindranath repeatedly tion of human relationships to rules and rites, to conven-tions and religious duties, in which he so often found ininsisted that the West's con-quest of material forces was essentially a spiritual achievement and that his country men would impoverish them-selves if they neglected it. Nor did he forget the record

ed British men and women who fought against tyranny and prejudice. He held that all men should

develop to the fullest height of their personality but must refrain from interfering with the life of others. No nation eliminate the finite to find others its swn code of believ

Let who so will, with shut and brooding eyes, If Earth be real or more than dream surmise! Meanwhile let me with thirsty vision drink Its beauty, ere my sun of life shall sink.

He applied the same principle within the nation and declared that the suppression of the aspirations of a minorit however weak is always a loss to the nation and to the whole of humanity.

UNITY OF MAN

Tagore's deep feeling for the unity of man made him realise before most of his con-temporaries that interdependence of peoples and countries rather than their independence must be the principle of life and progress today and tomorrow if the world is to survive the challenge of modern science and technology

ditions of the East, an inheritor of the rich, cultural heritage of ancient and medieval India, he was simulta-neously a modernist who weled the values proclaimed by the West. In a word, Tagore lived and worked for the rea-lisation of the Ideal of Universal Man.

This was Rabindranath Tagore. Nobility has been falling out of fashion in our day. It is not notably preeither in statesmen or

poets; but in Tagore was a personality greatly marked by nobility of thought and deed.

He sought for the whole of mankind the highest life. He combined in himself a puritan austerity with the most profound understanding of literature and heauty in all its forms. And men of all races will never cease to feel the greatness of his mind and Soul



Steeped in the age-old tra-Every drop pupifies your blood

It is blood which which the tiny **pourishment to all the colls** which make up **body and the brain and t** sustains life itself. Think of the dangers you face when this blood becomes this blood becomes impure. Often, Itching, Scabies, U-cers, Eczems, Boils, Rashes, Gout and many other com-plicated diseases beset upon you ke vour life you and make your miserable.

12

6

SARIBADI SALSA is reputed for decades as the world's best blood purifier. It clears the bowels regu. larly, cures all skin and other diseases arising out of blood impurities, tones up the liver, increases the. appetite and thus helps formation of new, rich blood which ensures a sturdy health for you



0

0

Ô

0

Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road, Calcutta-4 Delhi Branch: 224, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6, 1855, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6.

workers unite against jute bosses

from INAN BIKASH MOITRA

The West Bengal Government has rejected the proposal of the Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA) for the sealing of 18 per cent more looms in the jute mills on the plea of "continued shortage" of raw jute.

sought the Government's permission for a third block losure of the mills in August. Two block closures, each for a week, once from June 26 and another from July 24 had heen already sanctioned by

when the IJMA's latest re-quest was turned, down, it came forward with the proposal for sealing of additional looms as an alternative to the plan for the third closure. The IJMA, however. delibe-

rately did not specify the pe-riod during which the addi-tional looms should be scaled, but suggested that the "posi-tion might be reviewed every week and the measures with drawn whenever thought necessary."

state govt. opposes closures

The State Labour Minister told press representatives on July 26 that he had secured the Ilnion Labour Minister's concurrence with the West Bengal Government's decision.

Explaining the reasons for the decision, he said that 12 per cent of the looms had already been sealed. The new proposal for sealing another 18 per cent looms would mean sealing of 30 per cent of the working build looms. The proposal made by the IJMA would, thus, affect one-fifth of the workers now employed in the inte industry (about 225,000 orkers are employed in the

workers are employed in the industry). The State Government, he The State Government, he said, had carefully examined the proposal. Taking into con-sideration larger national in-terests, and all other factors, the Government could not accept the IJMA's proposal. Box Jute mas fourier is to the Raw Jute was flowing into the

THE IJMA had at first market. There would be. therefore, no difficulty, in get-ting the raw jute supply. He further pointed out out He further poi that apart from two block closures in June and July.

the weekly working hours in the jute mills had been reduced from 48 to 42}. Every time the workers had been asked to bear this strain in the name of national inter-est and economy. "They this strain any more", he added. should not be asked to bea

At his invitation, the representatives of the four Central Trade Union Organisations—AITUC, INTUC, HMS and UTUC—had met him on the previous day (July 25) to discuss the problem created by LJMA's proposal for sealing additional looms. The trade union leaders strongly opposed the proposal

and urged the Government not to accept it. They pointed out that the

proposal had been made with a view to forcing the prices of raw jute and influencing the raw jute and influencing the decision of the Wage Board in the industry in favour of the millowners. Taking ad-vantage of the uncertainty created by the closures, the employers were also trying to extend the system of double-loom oncertaion in the mills loom operation in the mills.

buffer stock

V.I.LENIN

INTERNATIONAL

ON THE

The trade union leaders pressed for the building up of a buffer stock of raw jute for fixation of a floor price for the commodity to "frustrate the design of millowners and traders to cheat growers of a fair price by forcing prices down at a time when raw jute has started coming into the market". A convention of inte

workers held in Calcutta on July 24 under the auspices of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union strongly protes-ted against the policy of stopping production in jute mills. Bankim Mukheriee. MLA, presided. Addres MLA, presided. Addressing the Convention, Indrajit Gupta, M.P. warned that the very existence of the entire jute industry would be at stake, let alone the question of losing foreign markets, as a result of the malion pursued by the mill policy pursued by the mill-owners in the interests of immediate gain. It was a shortsighted policy which had been approved by the

unemployment for thousands

He pointed out that Indian jute manufactures had alrea-dy begun to lose their markets in the USA and Australia on account of the block closures and the artificially created uncertainty in the prices of raw jute and manufactured goods. A vital foreign exchange earning industry like jute industry could be saved only through state control over

raw jute and jute goods. Bhowani Roy Chowdhury, General Secretary of the Union said that 25,000 to 30,000 workers would be rendered unemployed if an additional 18 per cent of the looms were sealed and that badli workers would be mainly affected.

Strongly opposing the policy ursued by the millowners: pursued by the millowners, the resolution adopted at the Convention pointed out that it would ruin lakhs of jutegrowers and throw thousands of workers out of employment. As regards badli workers who numbered nearly a lakh the resolution strongly pro-tested against the system of illegally keeping workers as badlis against permanent. vacancies. During the block closure of jute mills in June last, most of the badli workers had been deprived of legiti-mate lay-off benefits.

mate lay-off benefits. The resolution demanded compensation for all badli workers who had worked for three months at a stretch and of employment books issu and tokens to them as well as

to casual workers. It further opposed IJMA's policy of extension of doubleloom operation, taking advan-tage of the uncertain situa-tion created by the block clotion created by the block clo-sures. Since this action was in contravention of the recommendations of a special comernment, the resolution de-manded effective measures against offending employers.

workers and growers to unite

The Convention welcomed the proposal for a joint Con-

vention of jute-growers jute workers which will be held in Calcutta next month.

the second se

The workers' contention that there is actually no shortage of raw jute has been further confirmed from official sources. Representatives different jute-growing of different jute-State told the meetin of the Central Advisory Body for jute in Calcutta on July 26 that there had been a general increase in the acreage under

jute this season. The increase, according to the press note issued by the Indian Central Jute Committee was estimated at 25 per cent in West Bengal, over 50 per cent in Bihar, 35 per cent in Assam, 30 per cent in Orissa, 100 per cent in U.P. and 66 per cent in Tripura.

employers' false plea-

Yet the millowners - continue to maintain that raw jute is in short supply. Not n that. The management of the Kankinara Anglo-Indian Jute Mill and the Kankinara Jute Mill has unilaterally decided to seal 80 to 40 looms in each mill, in open violation of the Government's directive. prohibiting the scaling of any additional looms. If the Government now shows any weakness in this case, other employers will obviously follow suit.

Humanity has cause enough to rejoice these days. The cosmos is in our reach and looks like becoming a familiar path—to the stars and beyond. And those who storm the heavens have given us a programme of building the earthly kingdom of human brotherhood, creativity and abundance.

THE times are rich, dream-like. And yet there are clouds on the horizon, dimming the noon-day splendour. even if not shutting it out. The clouds of war cluster thick around Germany, from where devastation has erupted twice in a single generation. Many recall August-September 1939. Those older, think of the same months in 1914. The differ-ence lies in the enormously more horrible prospect of ruin, death and a throw-back of our human race on the eve of its greatest adventure.

By Mohit Sen

Library if Congriss

announcement that the Bun-

deswehr is to be further brought up-to-date. Missile warships are now to be given to it—and to General Foer-

who has been judged a war criminal for his dastardly deeds in the Soviet Union.

Even as the Soviet Pre

mier congratulated his peo-ple on Titov's exploits he

also struck a sombre note

powers are now pushing the world to a dangerous brink,

and the threat of a military

attack by the imperialists on the socialist states is not ruled out... The United States is, in effect, carrying

out measures in the nature of a mobilisation and is

threatening to start a war.

Its allies in the aggressive bloc support this dangerous

Dreading the thought of a

nuclear holocaust many in

our country are inclined to underestimate the gravity of

the world crisis. Some others feel that some outbreak of

hostilities in Europe is scar-

Both these view points are

dange

disastrously wrong and the complacency they lead to can only to be termed criminal. The Soviet Premier is not a

of war. Yet he has very sharp-ly drawn the world's attention

to its possible eruption. There

to argue about the danger. It menaces us and our future.

As for involvement Khru

shchov himself has appealed to the Governments and peoples of the non-commit-

peoples of the non-commu-ted, neutralist countries to throw in their weight for

peace before it is too late. Today if anything is sure, it is that war is indivisible. There can be no limited war

between the Soviet Union and the United States. It will be total. Nuclear-headed missiles will hurtle across the skies. The contaminated

atmosphere will poison all our breaths. Th world will give no aid.

What is then to be done?

Some may say that the Soviet Union should resign itself to the status quo, that West Berlin should be left as it is,

ved by giving up a German

Those who argue thus forget

Berlin, the poisoned dagger.

tion and temptation. It is the lack of definition resulting

from no peace treaty that

Moreover the situation has

that is the greatest provoc

that peace should be

peace treaty.

is no need-indeed no time-

man to exaggerate the

course"

cely our concern

He said that "the Wester

Take the Western moves in the recent weeks. There was the sterile Western reply to the Soviet proposals. It con-tained the same single demand—either liquidate the German Democratic Republic (as a prelude to further roll-backs) or allow the powder-keg of West Berlin to remain at the point of detoriation.

Either allow the West German monopolists to imr swallow up the socialist industries and agriculture east of the Elbe or give them a little more time to prepare to blow up the world.

Followed Kennedy's bellibroadcast. He asked for a stupendous increase in military spending, for step-ping up the production of ping up the production of all the armaments in US possession and for bomb possession shelters throughout the giving more money to cause death than even he had

ADENAUER'S DIKTAT

Still there was a sentence or two somewhere in his speech which said that negotiations should not be comple-tely ruled out. How, when, on what basis—these were not specified. But even this bare mention was enough to rouse the ire of Adenauer, who with the senile rage of eighty bitter years seems to want the world to be buried along with him.

Thus, his Foreign Minister Brentano put on the heat at the West Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris (August 2 and 3). The Times of India London Correspondent wrote that Britain seemed anxious that the West should propose talks with the Soviet Union talks with the Soviet Union as a follow-up to the US Pre-sident's speech. But the Brione fact. It is this very status quo that has brought the world to the brink. It is West tish representative had to toe the line

The Bonn chauvinist press s underlined the fact that the final communique makes no "diplomatic initiative", i.e., does not even make a pretence at peace. It simply states that there is a "gene-ral feeling" that a "show-down" is imminent. It un-abashedly declares that the

The very next day after Foreign Ministers left e Conference hall came the

AUGUST 15, 1961



seans urgency. So give the complete address and make sure that it reaches quickly.

If the address is not adequate, the telegram is likely to be delayed.

You can be penny wise and yet avoid risk of delay if you address your telegram to his telephone number e.g. "Bannerji TF 31670, New Delhi". The telegram will be read out to him on telephoue as soon as it reaches Delhi.

The address, TF 31670, is charged as one word only.

HELP US SERVE YOU BETTER Posts & Telegraphs Department

PAGE SIXTEEN

Price : 1.37

WORKING - CLASS AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT This volume contains some of the most important of V. I. Lenin's works relating to problems of the International labour and communist movement.

Adcraft

write to: Postage: 1.37 People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., 'M. M. Road, New Delhi, P.P.H. Bookstall, 190-B Khetwadi Main Road, Bom-bay 4. National Book Agency (P) Ltd., 12. Bankim Chat-terji Street, Calcutta 12. NCBH Ltd., Nallathambi Chetty St. Madres Calcutta 12. NCBH Ltd., Nallathambi Chetty

NEW AGE

DA MIST AUGUST 15, 1961

brings grist to the West Ger-man revanchists and their cries for the "frontiers of Hitler's Reich". This status quo must be changed if peace is to survive and grow stability. Western "occupation rights" in West Berlin are "not to be whittled down".

advanced far beyond this point. Khrushchov stressed in his speech that "the settlement of the question of a peace treaty with Ger-

Germany-Time For Decision

To put off the conclusion of this treaty for several more years, he said, would mean connive at aggressive forces, to retreat under their pressure. Such a position would lend still grea-ter encouragement to NATO and the Bonn Government to form more and more divisions in West Germany, to equip them with atomic and thermonuclear wea-pons, to make West Ger-many the main force for un-leashing a new world war".

INDIA IS INVOLVED

What then are countries like ours to do? In all fair-ness we must first study what the Soviet Union proposes, particularly its reply to the Western notes. It will not do to self-righteously say "a plague on both your houses".

For West Berlin the Soviet reply reiterates the theme

many cannot be postponed. that its social - political character is not to be chang-ed nor even touched. More. It is to be guaranteed in whatever form appears most suitable—by the UN or by the Big Four or by the neutral nations Its communications with the outside world are also to be guaranteed.

What is the change then? The military occupation by the West is to end. A base in the heart of another country is to go. Europe's Bizerta is to be liquidated. West Berlin becomes a demilitarised free city. It may remain capitalist. But it no longer is to hang on as a war-maker.

The same approach permeates the Soviet cor German peace treaty. There to be no forcible change in the social systems either of the Federal Republic or the German Democratic Republic. German unity is to be settled by the Germans. The Western powers need not sign the same

treaty with both States. They can take their choice. But the aftermath of World War II is to be ended, even if for the time being with two German States in existence.

APAR NO DEGA

It is not necessary that all these proposals be a they are. The Soviet Union is the last to insist upon this. Its only demand is negotiations to realise agreed objectives— demilitarised West Berlin and a peace treaty by the end of the year.

India, as a successor state, is fully involved in the Ger-man problem, to say noth-ing of the larger issue of world peace. The Govern-ment of India is reported to be seriously concerned and Pandit Nehru is said to be looking forward to a frank and full discussion of the problem with Khrushchov. This is welcome news.

The world is dangerously near the point of no return. The time for decision is upon us. Let India act. fast and wisely, to see that negotia-tions begin and discussions start. Let the Panch Shila banner unfurl itself in the heart of Europe which has bled itself—and the world too much too often.

loading and unloading ELECTRIC operations made easy / MODEL 4004 A ELECTRIC TRUCK FORK TRUCKS MODEL EK-2 CAPACITY 2000 k from the USCR PETROL PETROL MODEL 4043 LIFTING CAPACITY 3000 kg. MODEL 4045 V/O MACHINOEXPORT G CAPACIT 5000 kg. MOSCOW nur Agents Jttar Pradesh, Panjab, Rajasthan, Madhya-West Bengal, Be & Maharashtra, , Gujerat Madras, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh & Kerali PEACED, DELID, Jammu & KASHMIF, PEAREY LAL & SONS (E.P.) PRIVATE LTD., GENERAL INDUSTRIAL STORES SUPPLYING THE NATIONAL ENGINEERING CO. (MADRAS) CO. PRIVATE LTD., Phones 1 25136 & 47996 P.O. Box No. 183, 10. Clive Row, CALCUITA-1 Phones 1 25136 & 47996 Phones 1 252664 & 22.5241, Bose Road, MADRAS, Dhoada S, Phones : 2/248 & 2/248 TRADE REPRESENTATION OF THE U.S.S.R. IN INDIA SOMEAY Branch : Sh. Padder Bond. NEW DELH-2 CALCUTTA Branch -Pist Nex. 6 & 7 Sinch 50 & Myaya Marg I, Sintop Lafray Road T-19/01 NEW AGE PAGE SEVENTEEN

SOVIET PLEDGE TO HISTORY

* FROM PAGE 3

tics and the critics, who cannot imagine `a social order without the policeman, the tax-gatherer, the hangman and the State, cannot see how "law and order" can remain in such a social order. But Marxism has all along taught that man once lived in primitive communism without the policeman an the prison to make you obe laws, without the tax gather er to collect money for the rulers", in short, without the State". Moral law and its habit alone held that social

Only when private property in the means of production arose, exploitation of man by man began, classes came into being, the necessity for State, Government, taxes, police, army, prisons and courts was felt. Under primitive communism, these did not exist, though society lived in pover-ty. Punishment was by Vakdanda and Dhikdanda (reprimand and censure). It was but whose is it-when sociareal cooperative commonvealth!

When once again, private property in means of pro-duction and classes are abolished, the need for the State, taxes, prisons, army and police vanishes. Society aes once again a coope-commonwealth, > this rative commonwealth, this time on the basis of abundance of wealth. science and culture of a new type, orga-nised not as a primitive denised not as a primitive de-mocracy but a highly advanced socialist democracy. The Programme has a very ing statement make on this

socialist revolution The made by the working class establishes the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is a de cracy for the toilers and dictatorship against the exploitarysing against the exploi-ters. When classes are aboli-shed by socialist development —what happens to the dicta-torship and the State? Those who wish to under-

stand the outlook of Marxism-Leninism should find very profound conclusions on this subject in the Programme:

STATE STRUCTURE -

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, born of the socia-list revolution, has played an epoch-making role by ensuring the victory of socialism in the USSR. In the course of socialist construction, how-ever, it underwent changes. After the exploiting classes had been abolished, the state function of suppressing their resistance ceased to ex

"The chief functions of the socialist state-economic and organisational, cultural and educational—have developed in full measure. The socialist state has entered a new nhase. The state has begun to grow over into a nation-wide organisation of the working people of socialist society. Proletarian democracy is becoming more and more a socialist democracy of the people as a whole". (Em-phasis added).

"The working class is the only class in history that does not aim to perpetuate its power. Having brought about a complete and final victory of ocialism-the first phase of Communism—and the transi-tion of society to the full-scale construction of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled

its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the USSR from the point of view of the tasks of internal

"The state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the entire people, an organ expressing the interests and will of the people as a "Since the working class is

the foremost and best organis-ed force of Soviet society, it plays a leading role also in the period of the full-scale construction of communism. The working class will have mpleted its function of leader of society after com munism is built and classes disappear".

The dictatorship of the working class and the State do not disappear simultaneously. "The Party holds that the dictatorship of the working class exhausts itself be-fore the state withers away". (Emphasis added.)

Then the State remains: lism has been established classes have vanished and Communism is being built?

DEMOCRACY EXTENDED

"The State as an organisation embracing the entire people will survive until the complete victory of Communim

What will be its function? "Expressing the will of the people, it must organise the building up of the material and technical basis of communism, and the transforma-tion of socialist relations into communist relations. must protect the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens and socialist law and order, instil in the people conscious discipline and a communist attitude to labour, protect socia-list property, guarantee the defence and security of the country, promote fraternal country, promote fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries, uphold world peace and maintain normal rela-

tions with all countries. Vigorous extension and perfection of socialist democracy, active participation of all citizens in the administration of the state, in the management of economic and cultural development, improve-ment of the government ap-

*

Auto-

In

The

`Of

Man.

*

mation

Service

paratus, and increased control over its activity by the police constitute the main direction in which socialist statehood develops in the period of the building of Communism".

Government apparatus is the curse of all class societies. class states. But bureaucracy is the most dreaded curse of the capitalist order, the bourgeois state. Even under the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, bureaucracy tends to persist, does not vanish altogether.

The Communist Party has to wage a persistent strug-gle to eradicate it. What are the means? The most effective means, in the final analysis is: "Active partici-pation of all citizens in the the administration of the State". "As socialist democracy develops, the organs of State power will be tran-sformed into organs of public self-government".

In order to make this asier and not to allow po-ver to harden into set wer to harden into hands, the Programme introduces the provision of compulsory retirement of a portion of the leadership and membership of all elective organs of Government, legislature and also the

party. "To improve the work of the Soviets and bring fresh forces into them, it is desirable that at least one-third of the total number of deputies to a Soviet should be elected anew each time so that more hundreds of thousands and millions of working people may learn to govern the State. "The Party considers syste-

matic renewal of the leading bodies necessary to bring a wider range of able persons ino them and rule out abuses of authority by individual government officials. It is ad-visable to introduce the prinvisable to introduce the prin-ciple that the leading officials of the Union, republican and local bodies should be elected to their offices as a rule, for t more than three consecutive terms.

"In those exceptional cases when the personal gifts of the official in question are generally believed to make his further activity within a leading body useful and necessary, his re-election may be allowed. In that case, his election shall be considered valid, not if he wins a simple majority, but if not less than three

quarters of the votes are cast in his favour". That is one of the means to kill bureaucracy and creat public self-government, socialist democracy and Conimu-

nist social order The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will put this programme before the 22nd Congress of the Party, meeting in Moscow on October 17. The Communist Party of Russia (called the Bolshevik Party) formulated its first Programme in 1903 and called on the working class and all on the working class and all working people of Russia to fight for the overthrow of Czarist autocracy and then of

the bourgeois-landlord system and for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In February, 1917, the Cza-

rist autocracy was swept away. In October 1917, the proletarian revolution abolished the capitalist system. A socialist country came into being for the first time in history. The first Programme of the Party had been carried out.

Adopting its second Pro-gramme at its Eighth Congress in 1919, the Party pro-mulgated the task of building a socialist society. Socialism triumphed in the Soviet Union: The Second Programme had been carried out.

PROGRAMME

OF ACTION

Today, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is adopting its Third Prostatistic a programme for the building of Communist society. Is there any doubt that it will be fulfilled? The working class of the Soviet Union has always kept its word with History. It is a promise to the whole of humanity. It will be fulfill-The CPSII launched its

third Programme before the world on July 30. A week later, on August 6, it launched the Vostok II and the second So-viet man in space, who circled round the earth for more than twentyfour hours, the first man to see several days

That technique, that scien-ce, that wealth, that courage and foresight, that Party and its strength will fulfil its Proof construction Communism by 1980. Let no one doubt it

What is it to us, we who have become free only four-teen years ago and are only

on the programme of fullstruction of capitascale con lism? Capitalism has lost the battle in the world but is gaining it in India. All good wishes to the So-

.

viet people for their success in building Communism, a life of plenty and peace. But what of it to us? Is it not their internal question, all their own and for themselves? It is not. The socialist revolution of 1917 facilitated the struggles of the Indian people for inde-pendence. All Asia was set aflame and hence the impe-rialists of the world combined to invade the Soviet Union but were defeated

The victories of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the gigantic revolution-ary exploit of the Soviet peohave roused and inspired. masses in all countries. and continents.

"A mighty purifying thunderstorm marking the spring time of mankind is raging over the earth. The socialist revolutions in European and Asian countries have resulted in the establishment of the world socialist system. A powerful wave of nationalliberation revolutions is sweeping away the colonial system of imperialism". Free India is a child of this wave.

To nourish. nurture and build India's strength and her future, the victory of Communism in Soviet Union, the fulfilment of the Third Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a great asset. The CPSU Programme is a guarantee and unfailing ally of the freedom and pro gress of all underdeveloped Countries.

The Programme speaks not nunism for the Soviet people. It deals with the whole world. -the question of crisis and decline of imperialism; of war and peace, of peaceful co-existence, the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries and the liberation movement of the colonial countries, the development needs of the newly-liberated countries and so on

It takes the whole world in its sweep and says "So-cialism will inevitably succeed capitalism everywhere Such is the objective law of social development. Impe-rialism is powerless to check the irresistible process of emancipation".

* SEE FACING PAGE:

GALBRAITH'S GAME By ESSEN The synchronisation of the triumphant return of the Soviet cosmonaut Titov from his day-long journey

Library of Congues

round our planet with the formal presentation Third Plan in the Parliament has inspired a Delhi cartoonist to depict the Plan as a rocket ready for ascent into the skies which symbolise the good things of life for our people.

And yet, even a layman knows that the process of

country advancing to a higher

level of production relation-ship, is not linear at all, but is rather marked by upheavals

which denote the end of one

system of society and the beginning of another.

In America they have

spread the myth of a peo-ple's capitalism which Prof. Galbraith now wants to plant in India. Elsewhere

where the right-wing socia-

lists are a factor they call it gradualism, or capitalism growing slowly into social-

ism. The fact that a good

many of our well-meaning friends in the Government

and outside also fall victims

of this myth encourages the

Professor to propagate it

with a new gusto, but then he should know that the yencer of this propaganda

is already beginning to wear

Prof. Galbraith's stress on a larger part of the US economy being Government controlled

than India's is also aimed at

creating the same impression, but here, too, he has thought

it fit to keep mum about the

interests whom this sort of

Donning the garb of a votary of planning—a term which he says has currently

He is against "a strategy of

economic advance" or as the

Indian Finance has aptly des

cribed it as a "preoccupation with the central rather than

peripheral urgencies, an im

previousness to importunities

of various sorts that are not part of the central strategy

As a plea for complete planning, for not neglecting any of its facets, this would

no doubt be welcomed, bu

what Prof. Galbraith make

is no such plea. It is rathe

to build an independent

economy by embroiling it into a so many side issues.

Soviet man is helping and teaching, not for the sake of profits, investments and bases,

but for independence, peace

Against

Advance

control serves.

Indian planning.

of development".

an attempt to sid an attempt to sidetrack the country from its main aim

A s a symbol no doubt it was a masterly depiction because the Plan really means one stage and another. for us another stepping stone knows that the process of growth, real qualitative growth in the sense of the the achievement of a level of development which will guarantee good life for all our people. But then that is the limit up to which the analogy goes, for, unlike the unerring judgment of the designers of the Soviet spaceship the fra-mers of our Plan have left in

it many a loose end. Prof. K. N. Raj, the noted economist, has referred to some of these in his article in the Statesman (August 8) in which he has taken the plan-mers to task for their ambivalent and diffident approach to the problem of resources. And yet, it is a fact to which Prof. Raj also testifies that the Plan as it has emerged in its final form will "command wide support within the coun-

try and outside". The weaknesses of the Plan, however, give a handle to cri-tics from amongst the ranks of reaction—the monopolists, who dislike the growth of the public sector, and the im-perialists who cannot easily stomach the idea of one of their erstwhile colonies emerging as a vibrant industrialised nation.

Some of these critics go about their business directly, making frontal attacks on the objectives and targets of the Plan. Others do it more sur-reptitiously under the garb of

"Educating" Indians

A case in point is that of the well-known Harvard Don-now the US Ambassa-dor in India-Prof. J. K. becomes fashionable even in the USA—Prof. Galbraith sets out to relate what he calls the "unfinished business of Galbraith, who, to quote the Indian Finance, has made of diplomacy an "instru-ment of surreptitious modern development plan-ning". Here, in the name of analysing general problems, he makes oblique criticism of education". In a series of speeches at "the three oldest Seats of modern learning in the country", namely, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, he has deliver-ed himself of a series of obiter dicta, which, according to the same big business "constitute an im

ortant contribution to the grammar of planning". What has the learned Professor to tell us, however? Not much, we suppose, which is either original or profound. nomic development should be conceived not as jumps but linear progress along a "along which the nations of the world are spaced, in their various stages of development", very much like the famous Rostowian classifica-

* FROM FACING PAGE

On this August 15, from the Red Fort, let us look into the skies where Soviet man, re-presentative of mankind, has soared in space beyond the earth and come back. And then let us look back on our dom, where iron, steel, ma- years ago. chines, oil and all sinews of Let us too look ahead that strength and freedom we are way and make our Plans that building; in which this same

democracy and socialism to come. The new Soviet Procome. The new Sovie gramme is a Program gramme is a Programme for mankind's emancipation begun in 1917, and foreseen by

way.

AUGUST 15, 1961



NEW AGE

The same point he rubs in through his plea for emphasis on both "the visible and invisible dimensions" of achieve ment. The latter to him mea labour productivity etc. Al these are admirable con siderations. no doubt. bu only in the context of the acceptance of the basic stra-tegy of the Plan. Without it as in the case of Prof. Gal braith, they are merely a subtle ruse to deflect the Plan from its main course.

Discussing the strategy fo economic advance Prof. Gal-braith has laid stress on the development of an efficient transport system, a low cost steel supply and economical and reliable sources of electricity—in other words, all that the private sector needs for its own "economical" and rapid development. Otherwise if this were not the Profes first accepted the need for a priority development of basic industries in the public sector, and only later stressed the necessity for all these "over heads" to subserve the former

The Indian people have had a long experience of the aid and trade policies of the successive American ad-ministrations. They know, too, the humiliations heap ed on them and their Gov ernment, and its policy o non-alignment, ever sin the grant of the wheat loan a decade back. Of gratuit ous advices too they have had a plenty from Eugene Black and his numerous bands of experts.

If after all this Prof. Galbraith too chooses to advis them only on sundries with-out repudiating a word of all these worthies, he cannot surely expect them to take him at his word.

T CAT I THAT THE SCRAP-BOOK two millions story

GLORIOUS were the days when Indian National Congress headed the struggle for national independence. Money for the Congress came from all sections—rich and poor. Today, fourteen years after independence, the Congress prestige has recorded a serious slump. Its major portion of expenditure is mobilised from big business houses and industrialists.

Last year when Parlia ment debated the issue of companies donating to political parties Congress leaders shamefacedly deleaders shamefacedly de-fended this provision. Now as general elections are approaching nearer the drive for funds has been intensified. To win the favours of the ruling party the big industrialists are rushing with lakhs of rupees for the Congress funds.

Birlas have been traditional Congress donors. And now at this great time of need they have come forward with their money bags for helping the Con gress. Recently an adver-tisement had appeared in newspapers which said:

HINDUSTAN MOTORS LIMITED

Notice is hereby given that Nineteenth Annual General Meeting of the Share-holders of the Hindustan Motors Ltd., will be held at 8, India Exchange Place Calcutta, on Tuesday. the 25th July 1961, at 3-30 p.m. for the following pur-

To consider and if thought fit, to pass, with or without modification, the following resolution: As Ordinary Resolution :

AREAD, NO. DESA

"Resolved that the Board of Directors be and they are hereby authorised to contribute and/or subs-cribe to any institution organisation or fund for any charitable or other purposes not directly relating to the business of the Company or to the wel-fare of the employees, from time to time. in any financial year up to a total amount of Rs. 20 lakhs or per cent of the average net profits of the Company, whichever is greater not withstanding the limita-tion laid down in Section 293 (I) (e) of the Companies Act, 1956, provided, however, contribution to any political purpose will subject to the restrictions in Section 293A of the Companies Act. 1956."

By Order of the Board, Per Pro Birla Brothers Private Ltd., G. Makharia.

India Exchange, 4, India Exchange Place, Cakcutta, the 8th June, 1961.

If financial dependence on big business is any index of Congress popularity it is clear for whom it stands foday. It is a distressing thought. On the 15th anni-versary of Indian Indepen-dence the reality stares at us all-the Congress once which stood for the popu-lar masses is far far away from the people now.

humiliating freedom-fighters

interesting communi-cation from Diwakar from Indore. Madhya Pradesh Government is preparing a roll of freedom fighters in M.P/ The notifications (without date) specifically states that only those who participated in political activities between years 1919 and 1946 should apply. The notification further states that application from freedom fighters should reach the District Collector up to 31st Decem-ber 1961, thereafter no application, will be taken into consideration.

Naturally a few questions arise. There are number of persons, of course, their number is much less, who actively participated in political activities before 1919 but were not active since then. Is it that the definition of freedom fighters is restricted to a particular period and th who were active only prior to 1919 or after 1946 are not working for Indian independence and hence not patriotic.

Secondly, what is the

NEW AGE

IHAVE received an Government attitude to these freedom fighters? Is it proposing to give pen-sions or some other form of economic assistance to those of them, who are their families, who depend on the freedom fighters for their living, or for their children who are studying or have no means of livelihood?

Nothing is clear from the pro forma application and the Government noti-fication regarding these and other questions. It is strange that after fourteen years of freedom the Gov-ernment of Madhya Pradesh has woken up like Rip Van Winkle and is now preparing the list of the reedom fighters.

In the meanwhile many Congress MLAs and MPs, inspite of the fact that they are well-of, have managed to secure big sums as political sufferers from the Government of Madhya Pradesh, Even cer tain ex-Chief Ministers and Ministers are on the list of such political suffers.

With the date limit o December 31, 1961 for applying through District Collectors. / it seems the angling for new fish with its bait. Congress Government

tailpiece

It has hannened in a Congress-ruled State, Andhra. According to the Audit Report of the Government of Andhra Pradesh for 1959-60 "Donation aggregating to Rs. 1,30,500 were made during the year 1957 to 1959, by certain Government Companies to a political party... after the issue of a directive by Government in July 1958 requiring the Government representatives to oppos principle the prop contributions to any political party... Govern-ment have stated that in this case the resolution was passed by a majority of the directors though the two Government directors dissented"

-AGRADOOT

PAGE NINETEEN

from Masood Ali Khan

The heavy load of happiness on the heart goes on increasing. Human hearts have never known such a surfeit of joyful feeling as they have had to put up within these last few days.

It was only the last new days. It was only the last week that the Draft Program-me of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published. What an outbreak of happy emotion what inspiration and pride it meant what a flood of feeling its great targets released. And now this!

IN the Draft Programme there are only two simple and unpretentious sentences dealing with cosmic research: And yesterday those two sen-tences burst open with a flash to reveal just a glimpse of the spectacular feats that lie ahead and the breath-taking progress that is yet to come. The excited voice of the radio announcer once again boomed to tell the world that another Soviet man had gone up in space at 9 o'clock on Sunday morning. A new spaceship Vostok II had been launched on a round-the-earth orbit piloted by Soviet citizen Gherman Stepanovich Titov. So here goes the second of the heroes into the depths of space to fathom the secrets of the mysterious universe. The news spread like wild

fire and thousands gave up the idea of going out into the country on that fine sunny Sunday morning and stuck to their radios and television sets

Is this just a repetition of Gagarin's flight? This was the first question which came to one's mind. But the radio went on "The tasks of the flight are: to study the effects on human body of a prolonged orbital flight and brotonged orbital right and descent to the surface of-the earth; to study man's working capacity during a sustained state of weight-besones" ssness,"

PROLONGED FLIGHT

The spaceship had gone into the orbit as planned minimum distance from th the metres and maximum 257; inclination of the orbit to the equator 64 degrees. Weight of spaceship not counting the last stage of the carrier rocket: 4731 kilogrammes, the announcement went on. "The announcement went on. The systems which sustain the cosmonaut's life activity are, normally. The functioning normally. The cosmonaut Gherman Titov feels well. The flight of the Soviet spaceship is controlled

I remembered Gagarin saying at his press conference that he could have easily stayed up longer. This time it will be longer. This time it will be two or three hours we say and wait for the next announce-But the communiques one after another and announcement brings ment. come each facts which reveal that this time it is a different kind of flight.

The thrill excitement and The thrill, excitement, and admiration rise; people leave everything else and glued to the loud speakers or TV screens follow this world-shaking, earth - embracing flight. The whole country participates, wonders, waits and rejoices at every step. "The Motherland listens, the Motherland knows", as Gaga-rin's favourite song declares.

After a few minutes of the first announcement we hear Major Titov's statement we hear Major Titov's statement which he made before take-off "Words fail to express the happiness and pride which overfill me", he says. "I dedicate this new space

flight to the Twenty-second Congress of our Communist Party," he declares. His last words are full of confidence, "Goodbye till we meet again before long, dear comrades and friends."

VOICE FROM SPACE

Then we hear his voice coming to us through the hissing and spluttering of cosmic depths "Earth, I am Eagle, do you hear me. I re-port", and there follows sucher message informing another message informing us of the successful continuainforming another tion. Yes, each announcement tells us that the flight con-tinues as hours go by. • We begin to realise the greatness and heroism of this achieve-ment on the great impact impact ment and its great importance for the future of man.

for the future of man. Two circuits, then three, four... the number goes on increasing. We are told that television pictures of Titov received on earth show him calm and smilling. Then comes another surprise: the radio gives us the time table of the flight for the next hour or so. A list of towns is broadcast with timings when the Vostok II will fly over. Its orbit in space does not revolve with the earth while the earth turns in the middle of it and thus the space vehicle passes over newer and newer places. Then we learn his blo-graphy. Born in 1935 in a village in Altai region. Father

an old school teacher, retired last year. Titov passed Stalin-grad Airforce school in 1957. Married to Tamara, born 1937. Mother alive, born 1914. A biography like thousands of oth

At 15 hours Titov completed the fourth circuit. Informed that from 12.30 to one had lunch which consisted of three courses. "Feel fine," and each 'fine', 'excellent' broadened the smiles on faces in Moscow and people felt relieved only to start worrying again as there was no mention of

landing. Then, "Had an hour's rest according to plan, did physi-cal exercise, then started work." Good God! The things work." Good God! The things that go on in cosmos these days. Message to South Ame-rican people while figing over them. Yes, and tested the manual system of control of the spaceship which func-tioned faultlessly during the fifth revolution going over Edinburgh, Novosibirsk, Kwangchow, Melbourne, Parisa. My daughter Gulnar brings her revolving globe and we My daughter Guinar brings her revolving globe and we trace the orbits over it. And the orbits go on accumulating and covering the whole earth like a net.

Moscow, August 8

COMMUNIST IN COSMOS

Telegram from Gagarin's parents to the Titov family, "We are happy as if he were our own son. Our country has

no lack of such heroes." Gagarin in Canada woken up by the Soviet Ambassador sends immediate message which is radioed to spaceship and duly acknowledged. He says, "My heart with you, I embrace and kiss you. Following your flight with deep emotion. Sure of success." He cuts short his stay and rushes home, "Till we meet soon."

Again we are told Titoy in high spirits, retains his capa-city to work, no deviations re-corded in the functioning of cardiac vascular system or respiration. Pulse rate 80 to 100, respiration 20 to 28 per minute. Some time later Titov informs the world: temperagrade (this was Moscow's temperature too) humidity 70 per cent, pressure 750 to 760 per cent, pressure 750 to 760 mm, oxygen in air 24 and half per cent, carbon dioxide 0.4 only. In short he says, "Ex-cellent comfort."

At 17 hours had supper. Announcer breaks in again; at 17 hours fortytwo the spaceship Vostok II started to land.....No started its seventh circuit. More names of towns to be flown over. The flight continues. Father's voice "I only knew he was a test pilot, did not know such a

pliot, did not know such a task will be given to him." This was an extraordinary day lived by whole of huma-nity. It is past 11 but the great drama goes on At 11-30 our Prime Minister Nehru's message of greetings is broad-cast. Radio sings "I believe cast. Radio sings "I believe caravans of cosmonauts shall fly from star to star and we shall leave our footprints on far away planets."

RETURN TO EARTH

Eleventh round of the earth begins. We wait till one for the last announcements. We start listening at 6 in the morning but the flight goes on. We learn that he slept till 2-37 and slept well, had breakfast (We did not, rushing from radio to television and back). Prayda arrived with huge red bacdings and particle of headlines and portrait of Titov and another picture of him with Gagarin.

At 12 o'clock mid-day came At 12 o'clock mid-day came the much awaited announce-ment, "Unprecedented in the history of mankind, a pro-longed cosmic flight of the Soviet Cosmonaut success-fully completed." And we listen as the radio goes on: 17 circuits round the earth last-ing 25 hours 18 minutes 700 ing 25 hours 18 minutes, 700 thousand kilometres covered— distance equal to the moon and back. Ship landed in the and back. Sing landed in the appointed place not far from the historical spot where Gagarin landed on April 12. "Comrade Titov is well and feels fine. Great perspectives open up for the cosmic flights of man".

Again the newspapers are full of the accounts of the space flight and landing, print details of Titov's biography and dozens of photographs and dozens of photographs. We come to know that he not only took controls of the spaceship in his hands while in flight but also landed the

C. P. I.'s Greetings

Libry of Congress

The Secretariat of the ment in man's conquest of National Council of the space. All world sees that Communist Party of India has sent the following message to the Central Com-mittee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the Comunist Party of India, we send our heartfelt congra-tulations and warmest greetings to the Central Committee of the Com-munist Party of the Soviet Union and through it to Comrade Gherman Stepa-novic Titov for making yet another thrilling achieve-

spaceship himself at 10-15 yesterday. On landing he declared "I feel wonderful as

declared "I feel wonderful as I reported from up there". Asked what was the state of the ship he replied "The ship and all its equipment is safe and intact and one can go up in it again".

NOSTALGIA FOR HOME

Saving that he flew over the Soviet Union fourteen times Titov observed "I knew that there was such a thing as longing for one's native land which is called nostalgia. But it seems that such a thing as longing for the earth also exists. I don't know what name they will give to it but it exists. There is nothing lovelier than the soil of the motherland on which one can stand, work and smell the breeze of the

and small fields". Titov declared that the view from the spaceship was wonderful. He had three portholes to watch the earth and the sky. "All that Yuri Gagathe sky. "All that Yurl Gaga-rin saw has been confirmed. I saw the extraordinary sun and the stars and the bright unearthly colours. The cosmos waits for its painter, its poet

and of course, its scientists". Speaking of the bravery of this young man Pravda today says that it is possible to give any intonation to one's voice but one cannot pretend with the beating of pretend with the beating of one's heart. And Titor's heartbeat was completely calm in flight. The line of his cardiogram should be engraved on an obelisk as a monument to man's fear-lessness and relaw

lessness and valour. Earlier while preparing for his flight Titov recalled the beauty of the landscape and orchards of his native Altai region where he grew up near the town of Bernaul. He tied his pencil firmly with a nylon

his pehcil firmly with a nylon thread to the logbook of the spaceship so that it would not float away in weightlessness. "Yuri did not tie his pencil well and lost it. But he found it again" said Titov laughing, "If I fly over Canada I shall certainly shout Hello Yuri".

That was on Sunday morn-ing. Then on Monday morning as Khrushchov was talk-ing to the Ambassador of Argentina the telephone rangand the voice of Titov came over from afar announcing his safe return. "Wonderful", Khrushchov said, "your voice sounds as if you have just re-

space. All world sees that Socialism and Communists have been the first to blaze have been the first to blaze the trail of humanity's triumphant march into cosmos. This thrilling feat of Communist Titov and Soviet Science, together with the publication of the historic Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union symbolises the truth that scientific Communism leads both on our planet and in outer-space. All Glory to the Soviet Scientists and Soviet People!

turned from a wedding ball". Titov replied, "You put it well Nikita Sergeyevich. It was like a ball though not a wed-ding ball".

KHRUSHCHOV'S MESSAGE

Khrushchov after hearing Titov's report said "We are proud that you, a Soviet man-did all this. No longer a candidate member of the Party but a full member. Count the the period of your candidature as over. Every minute of your stay in cosmos can be count-ed as a year. You have prov-ed that you are a real Com-munist and can keep aloft Lenin's banner. We shall give you a worthy welcome in Moscow on behalf of the whole people and the whole country".

Khrushchov asked how Titov's wife felt and whether she knew and approved. Titov replied that his wife knew, at first she did not quite approve but later did.

Khrushchoy: "It is quite understandable. She wanted her husband to perform a heroic deed but this heroism was such that she could lose her husband and appar-ently because of this she hesitated. These hesitations are human and understand-able to all".

The Titov family is already here. You can imagine what they lived through when they suddenly heard that their Gherman was piloting the world's second spaceship. No-body left the radio which was fixed in the orthard of Stanga fixed in the orchard of Stepan Titov the father (he is a gardener now in the collec-tive farm called the Ray of tive farm called the Ray of October in the village of Pol-kovnikovo in Altai region) and nobody slept the whole night. But 52-year-old Stepan Titov comforted his wife "Don't worry. I believe in his success. This is not our per-sonal matter but of the whole neople and the whole couppeople and the whole country

Well, everybody is here now to welcome this son of Siberia whose granifather Pavel Titov was a poor Sibe-rian muzhik and had organised the poor hungry pea-sants to fight the kulaks in a sants to high the kninks in a commune which he had named May Morning. This was in 1920 and it was in those days that the founda-tions were laid of this state of workers and peasants which today storms the heavens.