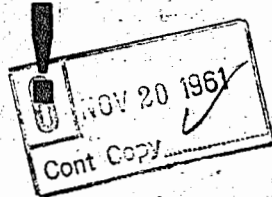


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U. S. "friendship"—we have had enough!



By Our Political Correspondent

The hard pressed rulers of USA expressing "friendliness" is not amazing, after the debacle after debacle they have suffered in every corner of the world. The Prime Minister of India accepting U.S. imperialist gestures as genuine friendship was really shocking.

THE Prime Minister accepted U.S. "assurances" of continued friendship with India even after the U.S. supply of supersonic fighters and guided missiles to Pakistan.

The Prime Minister repeated the compliment after the polite Chester Bowles had flattered enough his leadership of India, the achievements of our country and so on. Without batting an eyelid this official representative of USA stated that U.S. would hold to defend India in case of aggression from Pakistan.

BOWLES' TRICKS

The New Age and other Communist papers were the only ones in the country to expose the trickery and duplicity of these U.S. assurances. We were proved very soon right, even earlier than we had imagined.

Chester Bowles on reaching Washington himself supplied the commentary to his New Delhi statement as to what the U.S. helping to defend India meant and implied, that the U.S. umbrella would be extended over India, the same way as in Laos, in case the need for "protection" arose. No room was left for any Indian to keep on the blinkers.

It is all to the credit of Prime Minister Nehru that he at last saw through the game and repudiated it.

The Parliamentary Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, August 18, reporting Nehru's reply to the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha referred to the statement by Chester Bowles that "U.S. military aid was committed to the defence both of India and Pakistan in case either country attacked the other. Mr. Nehru said that whatever commitment the U.S. had with Pakistan, 'there was no commitment to us with regard to aid of this type'. The subject had not been discussed at all".

This should be enough about the shameful illusion of U.S. helping to defend India. Now about the U.S. helping economically, through its "aid", to build up India.

If Prime Minister Nehru can go that far, Morarji Desai naturally went much further in spreading illusions and worse. During the first week of the current session of Parliament the Finance Minister submitted a statement in the course of which he asserted that he was hopeful that foreign assistance would be forthcoming to the

extent envisaged in the Third Plan.

No responsible Finance Minister, irrespective of his own political orientation, had any business to express such confidence when there was absolutely no basis for the same.

All the English dailies of the Capital a week or so earlier had carried on their front pages the summary of the statement that had been received from the World Bank as to what exactly to expect from the Aid India Club.

India's foreign exchange requirements for the Third Plan were estimated at dollars 5,500 millions. India had requested the Western countries represented in the Aid India Club to make available dollars 3,800 millions, for the first two years of the Plan.

Through its earlier meeting the Aid India Club promised only dollars 2,225 millions for the first two years which met only two-thirds of the commitments to be entered into during 1961-62 and 1962-63 for various Plan projects.

Now came a new statement that the firm commitment was for the first year only which meant that India had to go on living from hand to mouth, carry on from year to year, and not be able to plan its economy for the five years as scheduled in the Plan. This latest statement from Washington blew up another lie embodied in Morarji Desai's Parliamentary statement that this time the Aid India Club would provide aid for a much longer period as against the earlier year to year business. He obviously blindly trusted his American patrons.

YEARLY DOLE

Was not Kennedy different than Eisenhower? Had he not promised to give a new look to U.S. foreign policy and above all to U.S. aid policies? Was he not a great admirer of India?

All this stuff was duly regaled through U.S. publicity agencies. What is worse it was widely publicised in the Indian press as well and many political leaders of India swallowed it, almost whole.

The U.S. administration did propose new legislation to the Congress enabling the U.S. President to make long term commitments of U.S. aid to foreign countries.

First it was badgered in the Senate which cut the total aid

programme by 10 per cent. Another amendment defeated the very purpose of long-term aid, it made it obligatory for the administration to make a full report to four Congressional committees on every intended loan of more than five millions dollars. Thus loopholes to keep up lobbying, pressurisation etc., were kept clear.

The House of Representatives just smashed up this much publicised long-term aid plan by passing an amendment denying the President the long-term borrowing authority and restoring the annual ritual.

It should shame all Indians and make them vigilant against all "friends" of America in India to learn that this amendment was moved by Dalip Singh Saund who was once born in India, became a U.S. citizen, and went on to become a member of the House of Representatives, on the Democratic ticket, the same party as President Kennedy!

Even the pro-American Times of India, August 22, has editorially commented, "the bi-partisan support on which President Kennedy had been banking for the passage of his foreign aid programme has proved to be a mirage."

Now there is virtual panic among the Indian planners and the Ministerial circles, all the castles in the air they had built up have collapsed over-night and they just do not know what to do next to make the Third Plan a success and take the very first step that will implement its targets.

PLAN IN DANGER

First, the Third Plan has been thrown into the melting-pot of its dependence on foreign aid, and more, its lopsided dependence on American and Western aid, through the Aid India Club.

Secondly, the whole basic policy of rapidly industrialising India, through the tactic of building heavy industries through the public sector, is in danger. Giant projects costing tens of crores of rupees can neither be self-confidently undertaken nor rapidly built with aid assurances on the yearly basis.

Thirdly, the very pattern of the Plan is in danger of getting out of shape. The U.S. aiders are well-known anti-public sector so far at the basic and heavy industries are concerned. This has been the experience of the past.

On the basis of yearly aid now it will be repeated again. The public sector enterprises will be denied aid. The Indian private sector may be given aid pro-

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vided it agrees to get into junior partnership with U.S. monopoly firms.

The Planning Commission had itself called upon both the sectors to keep ready in advance "a sufficient number of projects that can be executed as soon as necessary foreign exchange has been secured". It needs no great imagination to understand which sector will be starved and which aided after the foreign exchange needing projects, from both the sectors, are filed with and examined by the U.S. aiders.

Fourthly, the danger of foreign private capital virtually invading India has increased manifold. The latest 100 page brochure published by the Investment Centre, set up with the specific purpose of encouraging the flow of foreign private capital into our country has given some tell-tale figures. "Foreign investment in the private sector in India, which amounted to Rs. 2,558 million in June, 1948 had more than doubled to Rs. 6,107 million at the end of 1959".

SAME POLICIES

Under President Kennedy, the U.S. Congress, with a majority of his own Democratic Party in both the houses, has ensured that the U.S. economic aid policies would remain the same as

under Eisenhower and Truman.

U.S. rulers have realised that they cannot get India's foreign policy changed by a direct frontal assault. They are, therefore, concentrating upon getting India's economic policy changed as the first step.

Their own economic "aid" policy has not basically changed. Through their diplomatic flattery of India, cunning exploitation of all Indian weaknesses especially the greed of the Indian monopolist groups, and the servility of Indian politicians, like Morarji Desai, in strategic places they hope to get into India economically first and step by step change its internal political complexion, the change of foreign policy would inevitably follow in good time. It constitutes a part of the whole process.

BREAK U.S. LOBBY

After the experience of Chester Bowles' visit to India and the U.S. Congress discussions and the decision of economic aid it is only very obvious that the persistent "friends" of present-day USA are either the blind and the deaf who cannot be trusted as the leaders of our country, while the unrepentant ones are the anti-national fifth column of U.S. imperialism, who must be hounded out of our public life.

why is this spy at large?

THE Government of India do not propose to take any action against a U.S. spy masquerading in New Delhi as a newspaperman who was caught red-handed at his "work" some time ago.

Patrick T. Killen, New Delhi representative of the American United Press International had been caught photographing Indian Air Force planes at Palam. The planes had been newly purchased from the Soviet Union.

Twice in the last three months, Communist members of the Lok Sabha sought to elicit information on the matter through questions and on both occasions, the questions were listed only for written answers.

On the first occasion, on

May 4, the reply by the Defence Minister confirmed the facts and stated that Government were considering whether any further action—besides confiscation of the films—was necessary.

Later, on August 18, the reply furnished, informed the inquiring members that no further action against the American spy-journalist was contemplated as he had expressed regret. Government also pleaded lack of information about the reported visits of the spy to Kashmir.

Having said "I am sorry", Killen is free to continue his activities so harmful and dangerous to our national security. Surely CIA agents in free India should not have special privileges.

UNWANTED TENSION

Nobody wants communal tension to grow, as it is unfortunately happening in the Punjab. Nobody wants our common people to get split as they are getting divided, between Sikhs and Hindus, in the Punjab.

THE Third Plan is on the public anvil and it has to be shaped nearer the heart's desire. On it depends a better or worse life for our countrymen and the direction of the nation's development.

Really dangerous U.S. imperialist manoeuvres have to be coped with, as epitomised in the U.S. supply of new and devastating weapons to Pakistan and tricky offers of "economic aid" to the Indian Government and the big money bags of the private sector.

There are numerous tasks, big and small, that call for undivided national efforts. In the set-up of our country Master Tara Singh's fast and Kairon's police bandobast become diversionary disruptive factors. The mass of the patriotic people feel as if they are between the devil and the deep sea.

In the Punjab situation, during the week, there has been no change for the better. In fact it has worsened. The doctors pronounce Master Tara Singh having reached "the danger zone". The fast of the Hindi Samiti Chief has not attracted as much press attention but he is also aged and very widely respected in the Arya Samaj circles which carry weight among the Punjab Hindus.

The wordy warfare that is on, through the columns of the public press, reminds one of the Neros of the past. The polite letters being exchanged between New Delhi and Amritsar, with the solemnity of diplomatic exchanges, evoke cynical smiles among the hardened ones.

Each side is sticking rigidly to its own position waiting for the other to make the concession first. It is a deadlock hiding grave consequences within its folds. If it bursts the way no body wants but fears, India runs the risk of having to face up to another 1946-47 type communal holocaust in the Punjab.

The Maharaja of Patiala is using the deadlock to negotiate a direct agreement between Akalis and the Hindu communal chiefs. If the accredited leadership of the nation refuses to function aright such political monstrosities get into motion.

Various Proposals

Knowledgeable circles in New Delhi report the following proposals as being seriously considered for providing a solution:

The first is to set up a high-powered commission to investigate the grievances and demands of the Sikh community. The Arya Samaj leaders are reported to be favourably disposed, provided it leads to a comprehensive probe into the grievances of both the Sikhs and the Hindus in Punjab.

The second line of thought would concentrate upon evolving a suitable formula to ascertain the will of the people on the linguistic re-organisation of the Punjab. The Union Home Minister had already declared that the verdict of the people, as ex-

pressed through the next General Elections, would be respected. The Akalis have demanded a referendum. A formula to reconcile these two view-points are being discussed.

The third is the Maharaja of Patiala's suggestion, to declare the Punjabi language as the "main language" for the whole of Punjab and ending the present division into Punjabi and Hindi regions. This proposal takes as its basis Pandit Nehru's Bhavnagar speech and the actual practice in the other States.

The fourth is the revival of the old proposal to detach parts (to be subsequently determined through a Boundary Commission or the like) and their merger with Greater Delhi.

The last two proposals are not popular either with the Central or the State Governments because they are not acceptable to the Punjab Hindus in general and those of the Harijana in particular.

Despite all these discussions no new initiative is being unfolded.

The position as we go to the press, is that the Prime Minister has expressed his willingness to meet Sant Fateh Singh provided it is understood that the Punjabi Suba would not be conceded.

The Akali chiefs have gone on record demanding that the Government first accept their Suba demand in principle before they would agree to meet.

The deadlock naturally continues spreading anxiety all round.

Reflection Inside Pakistan

THE Pak President does not open his mouth without shooting something against India. The Akali agitation is, on every count, India's own domestic problem and the concern of no other country. President Ayub, however, went out of his way to poke his nose into the Akali affair.

In his speech at Ziarat he commented that this movement was "also a result of the Indian leaders' narrow mindedness and the short-sighted policy of the Indian Government". He was explaining Nehru's "bigotry" over Kashmir as being responsible for India and Pakistan being at loggerheads.

The Government-controlled Pakistan Times has also painted a grim picture of "wide-spread language and communal tension" in India. The another Pakistan papers have featured colourful stories on Master Tara Singh's fast.

The London Correspondent of the Pakistan Times has quoted with great glee the comments by the Conservative newspapers about India's language problem and internal tensions. Those British papers who have failed to boost up the Akali agitation are attacked for

NOTES OF THE WEEK

letting down. "the once-beloved Sikhs whose fight for a Punjabi-speaking State has been completely ignored".

President Ayub and his kept press is not enamoured of the Sikhs. The Akali agitation is being exploited to denigrate India and forecast its doom through internal dissensions.

The patriotism of the Sikh should help them realise how the Akali agitation and Master Tara Singh's fast is playing into the hands of the Pak ill-wishers of India.

Similarly the secular principle which has been our national tradition and is embodied in the Constitution should lead Indians think out how is it that the communal Akalis are able to get into the centre of the political stage in the Punjab, which once produced martyrs and patriots who are the pride of India as a whole.

The solution of the Punjab tangle and the unwanted tension which continues to mount, lies in our remaining true to our national secular tradition, patiently working out how to implement the democratic principle of a linguistic State for the Punjab, which cannot be long denied what others already have.

A Different Picture

THE situation in Maharashtra is radically different from what prevails in the Punjab. If there is deadlock in one place there is forward movement in the other. The qualitative difference between the leadership supplied by the communal Akalis and the democratic Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti stands clearly revealed.

When Poona suffered the flood havoc, it was, according to independent observers, largely due to the efforts of the Samiti that the Floods Enquiry Commission was appointed, despite the initial resistance of the Congress Government. This raised the prestige of the Samiti which used it to serve the people more.

The floods made the issue of relief an emergent problem. The INTUC proposed that the Bombay workers should donate one day wages by working extra on August 20, their weekly holiday.

The AITUC demanded that the millowners should contribute the entire day's profits for relief work. The owners contended that they have already given about Rs. four lakhs in cash and kind. The TU leaders argued back that one day's profits amounted to much more, about Rs. 20 lakhs.

The INTUC distorted the AITUC proposal. The Girmi Kamgar Union, affiliated to the AITUC, explained that it was not against working an extra day for relief purposes but only against mill owners making profit out of workers' labour dedicated to flood relief. They made it clear that

they wanted both the wages as well as the profits of the day to be donated to relief.

They further explained that they wanted the entire amount to be handed over to the Chief Minister's Fund directly, three-fourths to be utilised for relief inside the State and one fourth to be passed on to the Prime Minister's Fund for relief in the other flood-stricken States.

The millowners, however, refused to budge. The trade unions of the city are conducting a signature campaign to rouse public opinion against the callousness of the owners to make them contribute at least as much as the workers towards relief. The Chavan Government is remaining discreetly silent.

It can't disown the INTUC nor can it welcome its proposal without laying itself open to the charge of being soft towards the selfish millowners. The public feeling against the owners is gathering steam.

Housing Problem

The Samiti has scored another triumph by forcing the withdrawal of the Bill which sought to amend the house-rent legislation for Bombay city.

When the Bill came before the Assembly it was denounced as "pro-landlord and anti-tenant". The Bill sought to give incentive to the landlords to build more houses by removing from the orbit of the rent law new houses fetching monthly rents of Rs. 100 or less.

Fabulous rents for new houses would have been the result. The hope of the common people, of one day getting better and less crowded housing accommodation and within their means would have been frustrated.

According to the present law the landlord can increase five per cent in case of repairs to the house. The new Bill raised it to 7.5 per cent. More, it provided that in case of "major" repairs the entire cost of such repairs would have to be paid by the tenant. Again he could be evicted by the landlord in case extensive repairs were planned.

If the Bill was passed the tenants would have been completely at the mercy of the landlords. This new legislation spontaneously aroused the ire of Bombay's vast population. The Samiti gave concrete and organised expression to it through meetings and signature campaigns.

The Bombay Corporation was moved to go on record against it. The Government was made to realise what unpopularity it was courting. Chief Minister Chavan timely intervened and withdrew the Bill.

The above series of successful initiatives by the Samiti show that the just and burning grievances of the people can be redressed if such methods are adopted as help to unify and activate the common people, irrespective of caste, communal and such other differences.

The masses respond and the

Congress Government is made to retreat. A more alert and wiser Chief Minister like Chavan does it timely. Kairon can also be made to eat the humble pie, but the Akali's slogans and methods are different. They take up a just demand but impart to it a communal content. They resort to religious demagoguery which polarises the Punjabis between Sikh and Hindus.

The Foreign Missionaries

THE role of the foreign missionaries in educating, organising and financially aiding the Nagas to demand an independent State and start the armed rebellion against the Indian Union is well-known. The ruling party, however, does not seem to have learned much out of this bitter experience.

Even the columnist of pro-Western papers like the Times of India have exposed the foreign missionaries hand behind the latest separatist demand of the Assam hill tribes leaders. There has, however, been no public warning about this alien plot nor any news of the preventive measures against the mischievous missionaries taken in Assam.

The latest is the report by the India Press Agency, August 19, that the West Bengal Government is preparing a detailed report on the activities of the Christian missionaries, especially in the hill region, for early submission to the Union Home Ministry.

There are worrying reports of increasing propaganda by a section of Christian missionaries among the hill people and Tibetan refugees in the Darjeeling district, directed against the plains people.

These missionaries operate under the garb of carrying on philanthropic activities while they preach separatism. They have their contacts inside the Gorkha League and even among Congressmen. The secessionist group already exists in Darjeeling. It has recently become more active.

The trade union leaders have been complaining against the objectionable activities of these missionaries among the tea garden workers, where they have been threatening excommunication of those Christian workers who join the trade union. Serious charges against them have been levelled on the floor of the legislature in Calcutta.

The Christian missions in India are mostly led and financed from USA. There has been too much hush-hush about their treacherous activities just because the Government of India thinks that their public discussion and open condemnation would upset the Americans and hinder getting U.S. aid! Nothing could be more shortsighted in terms of safeguarding India's national interests and its integrity.

-P. C. Joshi

AUGUST 27, 1961

tamilnad congress leader flays ceiling bill

That an important member of the ruling party should come out with down-to-earth criticism of an official measure — rather the inadequacy of it — is a rare case in the otherwise smooth-sailing Congress politics in Madras.

SUCH a rare case, when backed by logical arguments, provides the starting point of an animated discussion, on the eve of the General Elections, on the urges and motives of the party in power. The case in point is the dissenting note appended to the Joint Select Committee's report on the much delayed Land Ceiling Bill by the veteran Congressman and Member of the Legislative Council, K.T. Kosalram. Kosalram has already created a flutter in Congress camp.

UNITY WITH LEFT

Not only has Kosalram pinpointed the shortcomings of the bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee, he has also made ideological cause with the left-wing critics of the measure. In fact, his criticisms are more sharp than those advanced by the Communist, Socialist and DMK representatives on the Select Committee.

Kosalram is candid in his assertion that it is hardly likely that there will be any land available for acquisition and distribution to the landless, after the enactment of the ceiling measure in its present form. But the Preamble of the bill sets out the aims of the measure as of one securing an economic system that "does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment".

Kosalram points out that lands held by religious trusts have been exempted by a specific

provision on the ground that such ceiling as would apply even to future acquisitions would be inconsistent with article 28(c) of the Constitution.

Certain other types of land, such as land used for dairy farms and sugar factories — "non-agricultural purposes" — have been exempted from the operation of the legislation by clause 13. Under clause 70, lands held by charitable or educational institutions, any trust or any University have also been left out from the purview of the measure.

If no surplus lands can be had from "institutionalised owners" the position is bleak still, when it comes to recovering the surplus from "private owners". The family holding has been so defined, and the ceiling itself so generous (30 standard acres for a family of not more than five members), that there will be no surplus at all from the "private source".

Kosalram testifies to this state of "no returns despite prodigious labour". He has said:

EVADING CEILINGS

"The evidence tendered before the Joint Select Committee — and it has been specifically elicited by me from the landlords and representatives of land-holders' association throughout the State — clearly discloses that by clever and calculated partitions or by otherwise, after the survey by Government and in anticipation of the Bill, the lands held by individuals

have already been reduced below the ceiling level. It is therefore clear that there will be no land left for acquisition from private persons for purpose of distribution to the landless".

The Congress member is particularly critical of the exemption given to lands held by religious trusts. While conceding the point that other States have given similar exemption to lands held by mutts he, at the same time, points out that lands held by temples and mutts in other States "are not as large as lands held by mutts in our State". In his view, "the suppression of tenants of the lands owned by mutts in the name of God is more atrocious than the suppression of tenants of lands held by individual owners".

PROMISES GALORE

Kosalram is frankly pessimistic about the promise held out by the Government that a separate legislation to regulate tenancy administration of religious mutts would be brought forward soon.

While the Communist leader, M. Kalyanasundaram, has merely "reserved" his comments about the promised legislation, the Congress member fears that such a promise may not be honoured at all. He recalls: "it is well to point out that in 1948, at the time of the enactment of the Zamindari and Inams Abolition Act, exemptions were granted in respect of certain Inams. When there was agitation, it was stated that a separate legislation would be brought forward in regard to those Inams. But the promised legislation did not see the light of the day and public men were exposed to volley of criticism and condemnation".

The Congress legislator fears that the ceiling measure if passed by the Legislature in its present form, would open the flood-gates of eviction of tenants. Especially this would be the result of the provision facilitating resumption of personal cultivation of absentee landlords.

Originally, resumption for personal cultivation was not permissible in case of persons assessed to Sales Tax, Profession Tax and Income-Tax. The Select Committee, by majority decision, has removed the two disqualifications regarding assessment to Sales Tax and Profession Tax and has retained assessment of Income-tax as the only prohibition.

"This can only mean that a merchant, salaried person in a village and all except big officers and moneyed men can take to cultivation as a secondary means of livelihood and deprive the tenants of their primary means of livelihood", Kosalram has observed. The dissenting Congress Member wants that Government, "in order to redeem its pledge to the tillers", should bring forward a comprehensive legislation which will ensure:

RADICAL SUGGESTIONS

● That the tenants of the lands held by trusts will get permanent right of occupancy by the formation of Tenants Cooperatives, ensuring 60 per cent for the tenants and 40 per cent for the trusts.

● That more restrictions on the resumption of personal cultivation are enforced so that protection already granted by the Acts in force is not taken away and eviction for personal cultivation is sub-

jected to severe checks and balances.

● That assessment to Sales Tax and Profession Tax must also be made disqualifications for resumption of personal cultivation.

The Communist leader M. Kalyanasundaram, has appended a separate note of dissent to the Select Committee's report. He thinks that if the bill were to be passed "as recommended by the majority of the Select Committee", it would be "a hoax" on the Planning Commission and would amount to throwing overboard the promises made to the people.

COMMUNIST PROPOSALS

He wants ceiling to be brought down to 15 standard acres for a family of not more than five persons. He wants the term family to be defined as to include only the husband, wife, minor children and unmarried adult children.

He wants also the "Act" to have retrospective effect from 1955, when the intention of the Government to bring in reforms was made known and led to partitioning of lands and other "benami transfers and alienations", by landlords. He wants the "exemption chapter" to go, or in the alternative, to be very much curtailed.

Against these, the DMK approach does not concern itself with a detailed analysis of the effects of the bill, in its present form. S. M. Annamalai, its representative on the Select Committee — the member has resigned from the DMK on account of personal differences with the leadership — starts with a declaration that bill "cannot achieve the object of reducing the glaring inequalities in the ownership of agricultural land".

He favours a ceiling of 24 standard acres, instead of 30 as at present. He wants the Act, when passed, to be effective retrospectively from 1952. He is also opposed to all exemptions.

The Socialist approach is similar to that advanced by Kosalram. The Socialist representative, A.R. Marimuthu, however, favours the reduction in the ceiling limit to 15 standard acres as suggested by the Communists.

The Swatantra approach is one of outright objection to the very premises of the reform. V. K. Ramaswami leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, P. T. Rajan and K. Balasubramania Iyer, both members of the Council, have in identical but different notes of dissent, argued that any ceiling on acquisition and ownership of property was opposed to the "fundamental rights of property" guaranteed to the citizens.

They feared that the "ceiling legislation" would result in fragmentation of holdings and "ruin" agricultural economy. The Assembly will be discussing the Land Ceiling Bill through the major part of its current session. The controversial legislation, is expected to become the major plank of election propaganda and already peasant organisations under Opposition influence have started a protest campaign against it seeking drastic changes in it in favour of cultivating tenants. (IPA)

From September 15

defence employees to hunger-strike

The following resolution was passed at the Executive Committee meeting of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation held in New Delhi on August 17 and 18 under the presidency of S. M. Banerjee, MP. S. M. Joshi, M.L.A., General Secretary of the Federation, K. G. Sriwastava, Joint Secretary, Samuel Augustine (Bombay), B. Banerjee (Calcutta), Mathews and Thambuswamy (Poona) were among those present in the meeting.

THE Executive Committee of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation, in its meeting of August 17 and 18 held at New Delhi, having considered the issues arising out of last year's general strike, viz. the prolonged de-recognition of the unions and the Federation even against the general principles of the Code of Discipline, the removal from service of a large number of trade union workers, punishments resulting in heavy financial loss to thousands of workers, continual harassment of persons who participated in the strike and deliberate efforts to smash the trade unions, cannot but record its strong protest against this reactionary labour policy of the Government.

All these days, for thirteen months, the Executive Committee and others sympathetic to the cause of the workers have been trying to persuade the Government to change this vindictive attitude. All available avenues and forums have been explored to vindicate the legitimate right of the workers.

However, even to this day, no change of attitude is visible. It is painful to state that even the solemn assurances given on the floor of Parliament, have not been honoured and the clarifications issued from the Ministry (specially for Railway Board of February 11) from time to time have remained unimplemented. For example, it was announced in the Parliament that no

person would lose his job for mere participation in the strike.

Similarly, clarifications were issued defining what was misbehaviour, etc. But in a large number of cases, workers have been removed from service or punished with reversions and reduction in pay for mere participation in the strike. The charge levelled in very many cases is mere "absence from duty during the strike". All efforts of the Federation to secure redress have proved fruitless.

Some workers and trade union leaders were thinking seriously for quite some time to resort to an indefinite fast with a view to focussing the attention of the public on this patent injustice. However, the Federation has been restraining them so far from doing so.

But as the Executive is left with no other alternative to get justice for them, it though reluctantly, allows them to undertake fast as an appeal to the nation, from September 15, 1961.

The Executive Committee hopes that the people of this country who fought their battle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi will appreciate this righteous action and extend their full support.

The Executive even now urges upon the Government to restore recognition of the Unions without any further delay and to institute an independent Committee of Enquiry to examine the cases of punishments in the light of the solemn promises given by the Government to the Parliament and through it to the nation.

Representatives of the Federation had met Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, and Shri G. L. Nanda, Union Labour Minister, on August 18.

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NEW AGE

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NEW AGE

Communist MPs On Plan

from our parliamentary correspondent

Whatever the reasons, it is a fact which has been noted by many people, that the debate on the Third Five-Year Plan in the Lok Sabha, as far as it has gone till this writing (for the three-day debate is as yet incomplete) has been "lacking in zeal and enthusiasm." Certainly it is not just due to the fact that the Draft Plan has already been discussed. It is somehow a reflection of the bigger reality to which many members drew attention — the lack of enthusiasm outside the House.

Communist MP Indrajit Gupta, drawing pointed attention to this fact, at the very outset of his speech, recalled the position at the time when the Second Plan was presented and said that the contrast between then and now was evident for everybody to see. The Second Plan, when it was presented, "certainly represented a new orientation of outlook as compared with the First Plan and it put forward certain targets before the country which I think even its critics admitted at that time did open up a completely new vista."

Many members pointed to the fact, in this connection, that the "fruits of planning" had been garnered by a handful while the common man, benefiting very little and more indirectly, was saddled with far greater burdens. A. K. Gopalan, summing up the negative aspects — after the Prime Minister had presented the positive achievements in the form of figures — of the results of ten years of planning, said:

"Though obviously some achievements are there, those achievements are far below our expectations...and extremely meagre in relation to our needs and also the possibilities. At the same time, the sacrifices that the people have made to realise these achievements are also very great."

Taking the important yardsticks, he pointed out that national income had lagged behind the target, the per capita income had lagged still more, and unemployment had increased recklessly. "All the most important targets in regard to steel, coal, cement and machine-building have lagged behind. Prices had gone up and along with that the standard of living of the masses had gone down. Disparity in income...instead of coming down has gone on increasing. Concentration of economic power is taking place with greater momentum."

basic flaw

Pointing the basic flaw in the Third Plan, Indrajit Gupta said there was a lot of good expressions and phrases in it and excellent objectives had been laid down. "But when we come down to concrete matters, we find that in the Planning Commission, in many respects, they prefer to indulge in vague generalities...avoidance of certain unpleasant problems; they do not want to tackle them or commit themselves to any detailed, concrete, specific things."

Indrajit Gupta said that when the history of the development of the independent Indian economy came to be written, "certainly the construction of some of these big projects, heavy and basic industries which are growing in our land...will constitute a very important landmark.

There is no doubt about it." Still, the "central criticism of the whole approach to the Third Plan" remained which according to him was: "after ten years of planning, can we say that we have reached a stage where the whole concept of a centrally planned economy is clear to us?"

This was not to suggest that the mixed character of the economy was to be abolished. Still, "in a country which has to make up the huge lag of so many centuries, what is the object or purpose of this central plan?"

Surely, it could not be that in order simply to keep parallel pace with the private sector, a few industries and enterprises should be established by the Government.

public sector

"The idea," the Communist MP said, "is that the growth of the public sector, the intervention of the State in economic affairs is necessary today in economies of our type in order to overcome the backwardness of the past, and to be able to really take the country rapidly along a line of economic development which is necessary as the economic counterpart of our independence."

The public sector, he said, should be the main instrument, commanding the strategic heights of the economy as somebody had said, so that it is able to direct "this terrific campaign of planning."

"Have we been able to do that?" asked Indrajit Gupta. It had not happened. "That is why I say that all our ills flow from this..."

"What is the root cause of it all? I do not agree with Asoka Mehta that we are proceeding at a trotting pace (and) that it is necessary to break into a canter. If you see it in the proper perspective, we are moving at a pedestrian pace."

"What is being done is good, everybody supports it, but it is far from adequate, because, side by side with this public sector exists a very powerfully entrenched private sector. I am not referring to the small people, the small industries, the medium industries, the village industries...I would like to see them get a better deal."

"But the big private sector is powerfully entrenched even in those sectors where the State is trying, correctly trying, to make an entry and has made an entry to some extent..."

"Therefore, my main submission is that in this central task we have failed. The huge manpower we have got in our country, a big capital advantage, and the vast resources — a major portion of it has not even been touched by us. If we are able to harness this manpower and vast resources, we can make a terrific breakthrough on the economic front in the State sector so that we

can hold on to all strategic lines."

He quoted the AICC Economic Review (6.1.61) to show that per capita income today was lower than in 1931-32. "The growth is there if we limit it to the period of planning. But how far have we gone, historically speaking?" he asked.

The distribution of increased national income was no mystery although the Committee set up to go into the mystery were welcome to continue their work. "I doubt very much," Gupta said, "whether their report will see the light of the day before the general elections."

"The Tatas, Birlas, Mafatlals, Walchands, Mahindras, Dalmias and Martin Burns — these seven houses are controlling an asset of Rs. 776 crores...Out of the total block capital of Rs. 2800 crores, over Rs. 700 crores are controlled by these seven houses...156 companies, each of which have got a paid-up capital of more than one crore each control Rs. 602.6 crores out of Rs. 1300 crores. Two-thirds of the entire corporate sector is dominated by 100 companies which have got a paid-up capital of Rs. 334 crores and net assets of the total of Rs. 1017 crores."

"Even in the agrarian sector...a very prominent economist of our country has calculated that 30 per cent of the total additional income in the agrarian sector during this last decade has been appropriated by about three per cent of the big farmers."

For raising resources was it not time, asked Indrajit Gupta, to nationalise at least the banks? These constituted a vital, strategic instrument of planning and "control of banks will allow you to divert the resources according to the Plan into channels which are in the national interests so that the resources are not wasted or frittered away."

As regards resumption of tenancies the Report admits, "whatever the conditions, the right to resume land creates uncertainty and tends to diminish the protection afforded by legislation" (p. 226).

He recalled that the proposal for State-trading in foodgrains which was expected to yield Rs. 700 crores to the Government had been quietly dropped.

Referring to the serious consequences for Indian exports that would flow from Britain joining the European Common Market, Indrajit Gupta asked: "What is our independent role? De we fight ourselves to protect our trade and to develop our exports? Are we going only to rely on Britain's goodwill to fight on our behalf when they negotiate with the ECM countries and say, 'You must give some safeguards to poor India also?'"

agrarian reforms

A. K. Gopalan dwelt on the failures of planning in the sphere of agrarian reforms and in reducing regional disparities. The Third Plan report embodied several outspoken admissions he said. For instance, on page 221 it says, "The total impact of land reform has been less than had been hoped for."

In several States the normal rate of rent still remained as high as a third of the produce. The Plan report admits that "in many ways,

indian oil begins to flow



TWO OIL WELLS OF ANKLESHWAR began producing Indian crude from 15th August, best news for the auspicious National Day.

In the Lok Sabha Oil Minister Malaviya announced that 100 tons a day would be supplied to the Burmah-Shell refinery at Trombay till it was in a position to receive more.

The public sector oil wells are in a position to supply 250 tons daily but Burmah-Shell claims not to be in a position to receive more.

Originally Burmah-Shell was to take about 1500 tons a day from next January but it has now stated that it was not able to take so much oil. This foreign company discovered only dry wells in our country but when Indian oilmen, with the help of the Soviet specialists, discovered several rich oil wells, and successfully began production of India's own crude, these foreign refineries have no room for refining it. Unfortunately Nehru is no Castro to deal with them the right way.

Malaviya also announced that the Cambay wells were all ready for production, that all the arrangements had been made to deliver 25 tons of crude oil to consumer tanker lorries. He also revealed that none of the consumers were yet ready with their transport, an obvious case of sabotage by the private sector consumers and of traditional pressure from the hitherto all-powerful Western oil companies.

We may have no Castro but we have the Indian people and their selfless friends. The Anglo-American oil monopolies in our country would be successfully broken as Indian public sector in oil comes into its own. India's own technicians are getting trained and experienced under the encouraging guidance of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

India's own oil discovered by the Indian scientists, aided by the socialist scientists, refined in and sold from the nationally owned oil refineries will no doubt enable India to stand up to all this foreign sabotage and resistance to producing and selling our own oil in our own market.

But all this needs unrelenting mass pressure from Indian public opinion on the Government of India to deal firmly and promptly with the foreign oil concerns.

despite the legislation, the scales are weighed in favour of the continuance of existing terms and conditions (p. 222)

"Ejections of tenants have taken place on considerable scale under the plea of voluntary surrenders." (p. 244)

As regards resumption of tenancies the Report admits, "whatever the conditions, the right to resume land creates uncertainty and tends to diminish the protection afforded by legislation" (p. 226).

no policy changes

Not only are loopholes exploited to evade the ceilings, said Gopalan, the legislations themselves make a mockery of ceiling. Despite two Plans and the Nagpur resolution Madras, Mysore and Bihar had not adopted any legislation on ceiling so far. Says the Report on page 230: "In Madhya Pradesh and Orissa legislation allows the owners of surplus lands to dispose them off to persons belonging to certain prescribed categories even after the enactment of the legislation."

Despite all these admissions, Gopalan said, no change in policy is contemplated in the Third Plan. There is directive to States to plug the loopholes in their legislation. The Kerala Act passed under the Communist-led Ministry was assented to by the President only with the provision that transfers between 1957 and 1960 would be treated as valid.

The plight of agricultural labour as revealed in the report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry was further evidence of the way things were going in the countryside.

The imbalance in regional development and failure to take steps to correct it was revealed by the disparity in the increase of per capita income in various States. At 1948-49 prices it had risen 38.2 per cent in Rajasthan 22.9 per cent in Punjab and only 3.2 per cent in Kerala. Gopalan dwelt at length on how Kerala had been neglected in the earlier Plans and was destined to meet the same fate in the Third. He wanted to know from the Prime Minister how he expected national integration to come about with these regional disparities persisting.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

The Third meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India will be held at NURMAHAL (Panjab) from the 18th of September till 23rd of September. On the 24th, there will be a mass rally.

The main agenda of the National Council will, of course, be the Draft Election Manifesto. Nurmahal is a railway station on the Ludhiana-Lohian-Khas branch line, about 33 kilometres from Ludhiana railway junction. All trains from Delhi and Lucknow side stop at Ludhiana. Following trains are available for Nurmahal (comrades will please consult railway time-table):

Dep. Ludhiana	Arrival Nurmahal
6.10	7.08
11.00	12.00
16.10	17.31

Comrades are requested to inform the Communist Party Office in Nurmahal about the time and date of their arrival.

Nationalise Jute Industry, Smash Bosses' Sabotage!

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

The big bosses of the jute industry in West Bengal have openly defied the authority of the Government. In their lust for profit, they have set at nought mandatory instructions of the Government. They have deliberately created a grave crisis in this vital industry, which earns the maximum amount of much-needed foreign exchange.

NOT satisfied with two block closures of the jute mills for a week each, one from June 26 and another from July 24, which had been already sanctioned by the Government on the alleged ground of "shortage" of raw jute, the millowners' organisation, the Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA), asked for a third block closure at the beginning of this month.

The West Bengal Government turned down the request. The IJMA then came forward with the proposal for the sealing of 18 per cent additional looms in the mills. This was also rejected by the Government for two reasons.

First, sufficient quantities of raw jute had already started flowing into the market. Secondly, 18 per cent looms would have meant putting 30 per cent of the total number of working looms out of commission.

The new proposal made by the IJMA would, it is estimated, have affected one-fifth of the 225,000 workers employed in the industry. The powerful jute bosses, however, had no intention of abiding by the instructions of the Government. They started sealing additional looms, reducing the number of shifts, curtailing working hours and even closing down mills. Till now, on an average, about nine per cent additional looms have been sealed (in some mills, the percentage is as high as 18), six mills have been completely closed and shifts and working hours reduced in several others.

This is not the end of the sordid tale. A few days ago, an anonymous letter was circulated to some high officials of the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The letter, which was despatched from Calcutta on August 4, made slanderous allegations against West Bengal's Labour Minister, Abdus Sattar, who took a firm stand against the third block closure on the sealing of more looms.

Nobody, however, will be taken in by this "plan". The reasons are obvious. No one knows when the floor price of raw jute is going to be fixed, and the fixation will not benefit the masses of growers after the bulk of the new harvest has been disposed off by them. Moreover, the floor price may be fixed at a level which will ruin the jute-growing peasantry. On present indications, the possibility of such a measure is not altogether ruled out.

Secondly, the workers' demands for State trading in raw jute is sought to be circumvented by the plan of a "joint" machinery for building up buffer stocks. Lastly, Dr. Roy's suggestion about payment to workers is a big hoax, just because there is no such provision in the existing law! Moreover, the badli workers can never fulfil the condition of completing 240 days' work before a closure!

It is now strongly rumoured here that Dr. B. C. Roy and

the Union Government have already agreed to another block closure for a week in the beginning of September. If this turns out to be true, it will be nothing short of the most cringing surrender to the blackmail of big business.

The objectives that the jute bosses are seeking to achieve are the following:

- They want to push the raw jute prices to the lowest levels. About ten days ago, jute was selling at Rs. 45 to Rs. 50 a maund, and the State Minister for Agriculture admitted that these prices were "fair" to the peasantry. Since then, daily arrivals in the market have been about 70,000 tons. But the jute mills are not just purchasing the raw jute. As a result, the price has already slumped down to Rs. 37 a maund.

As a result of the sealing of additional looms and other illegal actions of the jute mill owners, about 27,000 workers have been already thrown out of employment. About 80,000 workers did not get any lay-off benefits during the two block closures. And, now, not one of the 27,000 workers rendered unemployed since the beginning of this month has received any compensation.

The jute mill employers have thrown an open challenge and effectively muzzle them, the Government has already begun to knuckle under to the pressure of the jute bosses.

cheating growers

Even the "City Notes" in Statesman of August 18 had to take note of the fact that "raw jute prices in India have come down heavily in the past week...Now increasing quantities of good quality fibre are flowing into the markets and prices have tumbled. Nevertheless, the Calcutta Mills have shown no eagerness to buy."

Their game is quite obvious. The West Bengal Kisan Sabha has demanded fixation of the floor price of raw jute at Rs. 45 per maund, because the cost of production is around Rs. 30. But the millowners are putting pressure on the Government to fix it at about Rs. 25!

They want to boost up the prices of jute goods in India as well as in foreign markets by curtailing production.

They have deliberately created the present crisis with a view to forcing the Government as well as the workers to accept their demand for the introduction of double looms in violation of the recommendation of the Special Committee on jute.

They are seeking to sabotage the work of the jute Wage Board set up by the Union Government.

Apart from seriously affecting the workers and the jute-growing peasantry, the utterly anti-national policy of the jute bosses has resulted in heavy losses in overseas markets.

Our monthly exports of finished jute goods have already declined from 70,000 tons to about 50,000 tons. Pakistan's nascent jute industry has started pushing us out from our traditional markets like Australia, Cuba, Burma, etc. To cite an instance, while Pakistan mills are well sold up to December 1961 and partly sold even up to March 1962, the order-book of the Indian industry is blank!

It is not generally known that even in the context of planning, our jute industry has all along enjoyed unfettered freedom to regulate production, to price its products and to retrench its labour. But the owners have not

W. BENGAL TEACHERS RIGHTS VIOLATED

A Convention, held in Calcutta on August 18, expressed grave concern over the persecution of teachers in schools and colleges on political grounds based on secret police reports, and stated that such a policy violated the fundamental rights of citizens.

The convention, which was organised under the joint auspices of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, West Bengal Primary Teachers' Association and the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association, decided to send a deputation to the Prime Minister in order to allay the apprehensions of the teaching community in West Bengal. Dr. Janakiballabh Bhattacharya, MLC, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University, presided.

The resolution stated that the policy pursued by the West Bengal Government was against the provisions of the Teachers' Charter adopted by the All-India Federation of Educational Associations and against the tradition of academic freedom in West Bengal.

It further said that in matters of recruitment and confirmation of teachers, academic attainments and teachers' efficiency should be the only criteria, and the sooner this policy was accepted by the State Government, the better would be the academic standard in educational institutions.

It urged upon the Government to change its present policy and to take steps to safeguard the rights and freedom of the teachers, conferred upon the nation by the Constitution and the Teachers' Charter.

The Convention called upon the three organisations of teachers to evolve a joint programme for a movement against the evil practices of the Government.

It further requested them to issue a call for a broad based convention of educationists and all those interested in education on the issue of the persecution of teachers.

merely abused this freedom; they are now demanding a heavy ransom from the nation. The nationalisation of this vital industry has, therefore, become an immediate necessity.

Jute workers and their leaders have launched a hunger-strike since August 16 in protest against the closure of two jute mills in Howrah, as a result of which 1,300 workers are out of employment.

Naresh Das Gupta, President of the local branch of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, and Janab Badruddin, a jute worker, are on hunger strike in front of Shibpur Fort William Jute Mill. Debatrata Ghosal, Secretary of the local union, and two workers Bechal and Hasmat Fatehpuri, have gone on hunger-strike near the gate of the Howrah Jute Mill.

The demands of the hunger-strikers are: Jute Mills should work for 48 hours in the week; all sealed looms should be put into commission; three workers per loom should be made permanent and all workers who have suffered losses in earnings must be paid full compensation.

About one thousand jute workers surrounded the office of the Deputy Labour Commissioner in Howrah and demanded his immediate intervention. The hunger-strike was withdrawn on August 19 after Labour Commissioner had agreed to convene a tripartite conference and after Dr. B. C. Roy had asked the BPTUC deputation to request the hunger-strikers to call off the action.

A deputation consisting of the representatives of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union and the BPTUC, met the Chief Minister on August 19 and demanded that the 48-hour week should be enforced and the introduction of double looms should be immediately stopped. It pressed that if necessary, an ordinance should be promulgated for this purpose.

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Calcutta's battle to save Tagore's heritage

From Utpal Dutt

This being the Tagore Centenary year, we have had a bumper crop of Tagoreana, most of it little better than amateurish. But a part of the press and many intellectuals have opened fire on these functions on a score that should have been their best defence.

They are complaining of "vulgarisation of Tagore", of "the abuse of Tagore at the hands of ignorant masses". They cannot stand the great demonstration of a people's love for their poet; they can no longer shut up the poet in a Parnassus; they cannot pass off Tagore as a supra-normal deity, abstruse except to his esoteric hierarchy of priests. The people have come forward to take charge of their own culture. That is the outstanding feature of the Tagore plays, songs and ballets now being performed almost at every street corner in Calcutta: the conscious participation of the people.

True, the productions are amateurish, but the artists may be forgiven their shortcomings because they are dealing with perhaps the most difficult playwright in modern dramaturgy. But these street-corner producers are blazing a trail, and in a few years, one can confidently expect a new consciousness of Tagore, a Tagore that is close to the people.

For that matter, the high priests and savants of the Tagore cult are even more amateurish when they speak or write on the master. A pseudo-politician, himself a Tagore, speaking on Tagore's music the other day rejected the entire heritage of our classical music and put Tagore above Tansen. He declared that the Ustad who sings *pya ghar aise* and plays with *pya over* and over again, is a paranoiac who is satisfying his sexual lust thus indirectly.

Such neo-Freudism merely exposes the speaker's gross ignorance of Tagore's own sources of inspiration. Another one, a poet of some sort, compares Tagore's poetry with Rimbaud's and finds Tagore has plagiarised extensively, and this gem of information, *comme une vache espagnole*, was meant exclusively for foreign journals.

film struggle

The Akash Vani, that anachronism where time stands still, in special broadcasts to the rural listeners is boosting Tagore as a prophet, as a kind of god, and one evening defying the heretics preached the gospel of Tagore as avatar.

The centenary year is a ceaseless battle in Calcutta — the apostles trying to build a temple round Tagore, and the people trying to rescue him.

This battle is reflected in the films as well. On the one hand we have Tapan Sinha's *Khudita Pashan* and Devaki Bose's *Arghya*, on the other, Satyajit Ray's magnificent documentary and his *Teen Kanya*.

Khudita Pashan is the greatest rape committed on literature in recent years. What was a romantic, inten-

sely-lyrical story account of love and tyranny in the Middle Ages, has been trotted out as a ghost-story smacking of witchcraft and black magic, superstition, belief in transmigration of the usual and such other claptrap.

Such outrageous reactionary ideas are attributed to Tagore not merely out of ignorance, colossal as it is; we must be careful not to consider Sinha a simpleton; *Khudita Pashan* is part of a conspiracy, a larger plot to re-interpret Tagore in such a way as to help put the people in straitjacket.

As for Devaki Bose's *Arghya* a spirited attempt is made in it to emasculate, de-humanize Tagore. But the film has been so incompetently executed that it convinces no one and therefore defeats itself.

And once more it is Satyajit Ray who picks up the gauntlet.

His short, *Rabindranath*, as a film is in the best tradition of Houston's celebrated montage of Toulouse-Lautrec's pictures. Never have I seen old photographs come so vividly to life, and their natural limitation, and that they cannot move, has been made the leit-motif of the entire work.

Because they cannot move, they are calm, they

are steeled in battle, the fire remaining underground. They are as solemn and collected as Tagore's life.

The same evangelical coolness runs through the entire film, in the casual way Ray goes from aspect to aspect of Tagore's genius, in the glorious understatement of the commentary, in the passionless treatment of the shots of the freedom-movement where the feature that is emphasized is not bleeding heads under police-batons, but a man picking up of his glasses after they have been knocked off and braving murderous policemen to do so.

This calm gives the film a startling unity, of which the climax is the photo of Tagore juxtaposed with a shot of Japanese atrocities in China. When you expect your idol to rant and gesticulate, you merely see a face, immobile, distorted in fury and sorrow.

Ray has presented, in spite of several deficiencies, a militant Tagore. He has emphasized Tagore's role in the 1905 movement, in our country's struggle for independence and in the anti-Fascist upsurge.

A Tagore who passes through various spiritual experiences, and finally reaches the height of his power in his *Crisis in Civilisation*, in his outright, angry denunciation of warmongers and fascists.

Those who scoff at the inclusion of shots of the marching Wehrmacht and the concentration camps are afraid of this Tagore, of this bitter face of a warrior. They wanted to restrict Tagore to spiritual obscu-



Artist: SUDHIR KHASTAGIR

ritism; Ray has called their bluff.

His *Teen Kanya* — based on three Tagore stories — is once more, in spite of deficiencies, expressive of the Tagore who wrote about the common people.

We do not hold with those who are against the slightest variation from the original. Liberties have been taken, and they are inevitable in films. What is far more important, we have seen a picture of social maladjustment

and injustice, instead of the neurotic rubbish that has been served in *Arghya*.

The battle, thus goes on, in every field of cultural activity. The reactionaries are strong, but the new culture is scoring points every day, in spite of a general retreat of progressives in our films. Ritwik Ghatak's *Komal Gandhar* has flopped. The present author's *Megh* has flopped. Susil Ghosh's *Dilli Theke Kolkata* has flopped. We wait for Mrinal Sen's *Funashcha*.

Sanjeeva Reddy Lets Down National Unity

BY E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Secretary, Kerala State Council, Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

The 'clarifications' of Congress policy, made by Sanjeeva Reddy during his recent tour of Kerala, have helped in further confusing, rather than clarifying, the major question under discussion.

The question is not whether Communism is preferable to communalism or vice versa as Reddy tries to make out, but how, on the basis of what forms of practical activity, the growing threats to national unity can be effectively met.

FALSE POSER

Sanjeeva Reddy himself in a way admits this when he says that national integration is a task in whose fulfilment it is possible and necessary for the Congress and the Communist Parties to work together.

Reddy, however, combines this theoretical acceptance of the necessity for joint work between the two parties for national integration with his practical politics of keeping away equally from Communism and communa-

lism. To a question put to him at the Trivandrum press conference as to whom he would choose if, in a constituency, the only contestants are a Communist and a communalist, he replied with the stock analogy of the choice between the devil and the deep sea.

Such an answer would have been perfectly understandable before the Durgapur session of the AICC. But, as is known, the AICC considered that the forces of national disintegration, including communalism, are such a serious menace to the further advance of the nation that it is necessary for the Congress to fight them along with all other secular forces in the country.

One fails to understand how, under these circumstances, Reddy could bracket the two forces—communalism and an acknowledged variant of secularism—and call them equally dangerous.

DISHONEST PRACTICE

Far more serious than this is the divergence between the theoretical stand taken by Sanjeeva Reddy and its practical application in Kerala. If his analogy of the devil and the deep sea were correct, it would have meant that his

party should combat the forces of communism and communalism with equal vehemence.

It should neither fight communalism with the support of communism, nor fight communism with the support of communalism. That, however, is far from the actual position today.

Nobody would dispute the fact that the Congress is at least sharing power with the PSP in Kerala because, after the 1957 general elections when it had to go into opposition, the Congress deliberately adopted the policy of fighting the Communist Party with the support of such open forms of communalism as the Muslim League as well as its hidden forms like the Nair Service Society, SNDP and the Christian churches.

DURGAPUR'S DEMAND

The Durgapur resolution of the All India Congress Committee is opposed by sections of Congressmen in Kerala on the ground that it would lead to the break-up of the present Ministry. Yet Reddy has no hesitation in giving his full support to the coalition government which was the offspring of the policy of the alliance with these communal forces.

Our Party has repeatedly asked the Congress to clarify

its stand with regard to the Kuttippuram Assembly by-election, the approaching general elections to the Parliament and the local elections that are due to take place in Kerala.

KUTTIPPURAM ELECTION

We have asked its leaders whether they would fight the Muslim League in these elections as they should in terms of the Durgapur Resolution, or whether they would give indirect support to the Muslim League by not only not putting up their own candidates against the Muslim League, but also by launching the ferocious and one-sided political attack on the Communist candidates. Sanjeeva Reddy has evaded these questions. I would like, once again, to put the question clearly and sharply.

Does the Congress propose to leave uncontested those seats which are left to the Muslim League by the PSP?

If such a renunciation of the electoral fight is being made on the ground that the Congress has no possibility of success, then how is it that the Congress proposes to contest such Parliamentary seats as have returned Communist candidates in previous elections?

Again, if the Congress is leaving uncontested a few seats with no obligation to the Muslim League to support its candidate, why should the Congress as an organisation ban individual Congressmen from contesting those seats as some of the Kerala Congress leaders threatened to do in Kuttippuram?

Further more, if the policy is one of fighting Communism and communalism with equal vehemence, how is it that the Congress proposes to concentrate its fire against the Communist Party in the forthcoming Panchayat elections while keeping mum on the Muslim League?

VEILED ALLIANCE

Unless Reddy and his colleagues give coherent and clear answers to these questions, no other conclusion can be drawn but that Reddy's formula of equal vehemence in Congress attack against Communism and communalism is the veiled form in which he wants the present policy of alliance with the Muslim League to continue.

There is no use of talking loud about national integration when such a policy of continuing the alliance with the Muslim League is being pursued.

BIHAR NEWSLETTER

Kedar Das' arrest & m.l.a.'s privilege

Does the arrest of a member of the Legislature within the precincts of the House, on a day when the House is in session, constitute a breach of its Privileges?

This is an interesting question which has intrigued constitutional pundits for long.

TECHNICALLY it concerns the privileges of the Legislature or Parliament. Historically and politically this has been a major issue of struggle between the autocracy of the ruling power and the sovereignty of the people and their representatives. The British Mother of Parliaments, steeped in its hoary traditions of fight against kings and kingly prerogatives, has from time to time, asserted its rights, protected its members and given strong rebuffs to the Executive. The latest being the case in 1945.

legislators' rights

In India, according to Article 194(3) of the Constitution the House, its committees and members enjoy the same rights, privileges etc., as are enjoyed by the House, its committees and members in the British Parliament till the time when the House adopts specific laws in this connection. Not content with this, the Indian Parliament through its Lok Sabha firmly declared that: "No arrest shall be made within the precincts of the House without obtaining the permission of the House." This is Rule 232 of the Lok Sabha.

Vidhan Sabha. It was 10.30 in the night.

Did this constitute a breach of the privileges of the House? A Praja Socialist M.L.A., Sri Yogendra Prasad Srivastava raised the question in the Legislative Assembly and the matter was referred to the Privileges Committee and that Committee has now given its decision.

Sri Ramcharitra Singh, ex-Minister of Irrigation and Sri Karyanand Sharma, leader of the Communist Group, were the only two members who

*****FROM*****
* * * * *
* ALI ASHRAF *
* * * * *

disagreed with the Committee's decision and submitted their notes of dissent. While it was a Praja Socialist M.L.A. who had raised the question of privilege in the Assembly, the member of that Party has, apparently, not signed or submitted any note of dissent.

Sri Ramcharitra Singh, in his Note of Dissent, says: "Taking all the facts into consideration I find that the Police has committed three counts of offence—(1) Trespass, (2) disregard of the Speaker's order, and (3) arrest within the precincts of the House when the House was sitting. The behaviour of the police is reprehensible. I, therefore, recommend that the House should demand an apology from the Government

for the misconduct of their officers."

Even before the decision of the Privilege Committee was made known, the issue had become the subject of considerable controversy in the political circles here. Many people quoted MAY's Parliamentary Practice to contend that "Privilege is not claimable for any indictable offence." And Kedar Das' offence was indictable.

It is argued, however, that this distinction between indictable and un-indictable offence was not relevant to the issues involved in this case. Because MAY'S Parliamentary Practice while pointing out this limitation on Privilege, at the same time concedes that "a service of a criminal process on a member within the precincts of Parliament, whilst the House is sitting, without obtaining the leave of the House would be a breach of privilege". It would be equally so whether the offence is indictable or un-indictable. Even the Bihar Vidhan Sabha Privilege Committee in the present decision itself has ruled that if the House was in session, no member of the House or any other person could be arrested within the precincts of the House. This again is irrespective of the nature of the offence.

Further, the Committee rules that if the House had adjourned or was not actually sitting the members of the House could be arrested for

indictable offences even without the permission of the House.

Thus it would appear from the ruling of the Privilege Committee itself that what was relevant was not the nature of the offence but the session of the House. If the House was in session then nobody — whether a member or an outsider — could be arrested within the precincts without the permission of the House, whatever be the nature of the offence.

ambiguities cleared

So the only relevant question to be considered was whether the House was in session when the arrest took place in the precincts of the Assembly. On this question there was considerable ambiguity formerly. The Law of (British) Parliament was not well defined. But the Committee of Privileges of the House of Commons in its report dated November 27, 1945, has clearly defined the position. The "Committee are of opinion that the simplest rule to lay down is, that service of process within the precincts of the House on a day on which the House or any committee thereof is to sit, is sitting or has sat will constitute a breach of privilege".

Very clear, one would think. And in accordance with Article 194(3) of the

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Rumania Honours Gurudev

From H. K. Vyas

Bucharest

SOME days ago in this beautiful Capital of the Rumanian People's Republic an exhibition was opened in commemoration of the Tagore Centenary Celebration this year.

Tastefully laid out, with big photos of various parts of India and various typical pieces of handicraft the exhibition brought out the specific things about Tagore and this Country.

In one room was a large almost life size photo of great Rabindranath and his daughter, a photo taken when he visited Bucharest in 1926. Just next was a real autograph, in the hand of the Poet himself. The preservation of this autograph and its display in the exhibition gave it a most intimate and personal touch.

Various items symbolic of Indian culture, even the reproductions of Ajanta's glorious frescos were there. But equally and more impressive were the sections where were displayed various magazines which had printed Tagore's works as also two beautiful books Gardner and a collection of short stories, two books which were Rumanian translations of Tagore's

works, brought out as a part of the Centenary Celebration programme.

Prof. Dr. Acad. St. S. Nicolau, member of the Presidium of the R.P.R. Academy, opening the exhibition paid tributes to the great Poet, Writer, Dramatist, Artist and a thinker and above all a humanist.

To the opening came the leading personages of this Country, Mr. Alexandru Bulcan, the Veteran Revolutionary and Vice-President of the Rumanian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Prof. Dr. Engineer Stefan Balan, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture, Acad. Tudor Vishu, Secretary General of the National Commission of the Rumanian P.R. for UNESCO, superior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs, representatives of cultural institutions and public organizations, men of arts and culture and a host of such leading lights of the public life of Rumania were present.

This was not the first event in connection with the celebrations of the Centenary. Already two functions had taken place, including a very impressive meeting in the month of June. And this certainly was not the last.

It was a gratifying and pleasing thing to see so much interest and love being displayed for the great poet of our land, and that too in a country which is separated from ours by more than 8000 miles.

But then I felt that this separation is only a matter of geography. For cultural exchanges between India and Rumania have a long past also. Poet G. Cosbuc of Jassy the ancient capital of Moldavia has translated Shaktala and another Professor has translated Mahabharat and Geeta.

Eminescu, the great Rumanian National poet studied and learnt Sanskrit and there is a small pocket book grammar of Sanskrit written in his own hand in the Museum. Poet Eminescu drew even on some Indian mythological allegories and I was told of a poem in which talking of love, the great poet Eminescu has drawn on the symbolic position of Makadeo in this matter.

Tagore Centenary celebrations are only a continuation of this tradition. And it is even more than this. It shows the great humanist outlook of the new peoples under the peoples democratic regime, its real and true internationalism

and a real advanced and still more advancing cultural life.

Talking to newsmen at Shantiticket in 1930, the great poet Rabindranath paid fulsome compliments to Rumania and above all to its capital Bucharest. He said: (to a Rumanian journalist) "You have been asking me about Bucharest. Well, you have been so kind to me, you have been so ardent and "prompt" to my works. I bring with me an ecstasy from Rumania".

Today Bucharest is becoming ever more beautiful. New streets are coming up, beautiful homes with most modern up-to-date apartments for workers are coming up almost galloping in every part.

Three years before I was in this beautiful city but now I can't even recognise many parts. And this beautiful city of which Tagore spoke, which is now rapidly becoming even more beautiful, this city and in this way the whole country honoured the great Tagore.

But even as it honoured the great poet I think in the same measure it vividly displayed its own lofty cultural progress under the peoples democratic regime.

INSIDE THE H. M. T. FACTORY

The Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT), Bangalore is generally described as 'the jewel of the public sector' and it certainly is one. The demand for machine-tools in our country has registered an increase of 500 per cent during the last decade as a result of the growing industrialisation of the country.

NO country can industrialise itself without manufacturing the machines that make other machines. This is just what the Hindustan Machine Tools does, in a really big and successful manner. This has what earned it the acclaim of all thinking Indians who know that the speed with which we can manufacture our own machine tools conditions the pace at which we can achieve our nation's economic independence.

RECORD BREAKER

● The HMT is a proud record-breaker besides. The Second Plan target was 400 machines. It claims a production of 1,002 machines, an increase of 250 per cent over the target.

● It has successfully diversified its production. It claims to manufacture 162 varieties of machine tools.

● It has successfully increased the indigenous content of the machines that come out of the HMT, the present claim is 95 to 97 per cent.

● After plenty of bitter experience of very highly paid foreign specialists it has succeeded in achieving total Indianisation. There were 86 foreign specialists in 1956-57. There are none now.

● The sale price of its products compares very favourably with the landed cost of imported machines of an equivalent quality.

For example, its high precision lathe costs Rs. 33,000 while a similar imported one costs about Rs. 44,803. The HMT, thus, saves scarce foreign exchange and puts on the market a cheaper machine, besides.

Its net profit after depreciation and tax liability, but before return on share and loan capital of the Government is revealed in the following significant chart;

	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
(Rs. in lakhs)	7.91	30.71	41.98	47.37	82.00
Percentage of net profit on share capital	1.02	5.54	7.15	8.22	13.90

In 1961 it announced 10 per cent dividend, of Rs. 53 lakhs, plus the gift of a second factory.

This second HMT was inaugurated by Prime Minister, Nehru on July 28. An inspiring ceremony, amidst the huge mass of workers and citizens present, the whole function was wonderfully well managed by the worker-volunteers themselves instead of the usual police bandobast.

Managing-Director, Manthala requested the Prime Minister to accept the gift the workers of the factory in the form of another factory. He also announced that from the internal resources of the two factories another a third factory would be erected, in good time!

Pandit Nehru rightly called the occasion "unique and historic" and stated that his achievements like this depended India's future.

The second factory is designed to double the output to 2,000 machines and Rs. seven crores per annum. The two factories would have a common management and services. This will help to cut down the over-head charges, and, thus, help to reduce the cost of production of the machines.

SECOND FACTORY

The second factory was completed 10 months ahead of schedule, that is, in a record time of 14 months, against seven years taken for the completion of the original factory.

The second factory was built without any financial contribution from the Government or the share-holders

and entirely from the savings and profits of the first factory during its five years of operation. To cap it all, it was also built without any foreign technical collaboration — Indian engineers, Indian technicians and Indian workmen did it all.

The HMT came into being on the basis of an agreement with the Swiss firm, Oerlikons. This foreign firm was not only the technical consultant but was also made a partner in the Indian Company, with a guaranteed financial interest.

BAD AGREEMENT

This agreement, originally signed in 1949, became a subject of big controversy and was widely condemned. In its 14th report the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha (1954-55) characterised this agreement as "heavily weighted in favour of the Oerlikons".

build machines, build india— but not by breaking the builders

There was not even a provision to provide for training in designing. Complaints began pouring in from the Indian management of the HMT.

The original agreement was ultimately revised and a new one executed on March 1, 1957 under which the Oerlikons have ceased to have any financial interest in the HMT but continue to act as the technical consultants and are paid heavily for their services.

The troubles, however, are not over. The Swiss firm gets

a royalty on every lathe produced by the HMT. A tussle is on between the Swiss consultant and the Indian management about this royalty.

The Indian side argues that all the Swiss experts are gone, we produce the lathes ourselves and hence the question of any royalty should not arise. The Swiss, however, do not agree.

The original limitation on exports continues. The HMT machines can only be exported to the South-east Asian countries. The Swiss have cleverly provided that in the European market they are not to be challenged by the cheaper Indian machinery products.

INDIAN SKILL

In the beginning the Swiss acted haughtily, were averse to teaching the technical know-how. When they saw the Indian workers were keen and were anyway learning on their own they began coming round.

In 1957 the efficiency prevailing in the HMT was one Swiss worker to 4.5 Indian workers. In 1959-60 it improved, one Swiss worker to 1.1 Indian worker in general and in some departments 1 Swiss worker to 0.9 Indian worker. Thus, the workers of the HMT proved, despite all difficulties, that an Indian

worker could be as good as any Swiss worker.

The agreement with the Swiss is about the high precision lathes of which 14 varieties are produced. The Oerlikons are not the only foreign collaborators in the HMT. There is the French firm, Renault, Batignolles, for low priced lathes (44 varieties). This agreement was made in 1959 and is considered better than the earlier one with the Swiss.

The French firm is to supply drawings, blue prints and tech know-how for a reasonable lump sum, two French technicians to come to train our men, no royalty on machine sold by the HMT due to the French firm.

The products can be sold besides the South East Asia market to China as well but not to the European countries. This French design low priced lathe is being produced from 1960.

IS IT A HOAX?

If any difficulties arise, as originally with Oerlikons, or as again and again in Rour-

kela, the grandiose expansion plans of the HMT would be in jeopardy. Nothing can escape the eyes of the HMT workers themselves, it is their hands that handle whatever comes out, with the HMT label on. They have something very stunning to state.

Huge packing-cases come, from the railway siding to the assembly line, with the name of the foreign collaborating firms printed clearly upon the packing boxes for any one to read and the "HMT" mark engraved on the components packed inside! It is these components that are being assembled and not manufactured inside the HMT Plant.

I wanted to go and meet the workers in their homes I was told that I should not go anywhere near because all the workers whom I would visit ran a risk of being beaten up or sacked after I left. It was arranged that I meet representative groups in a "safe place" and far off from the HMT.

I duly met the HMT workers, spent hours and hours with them, two fat note-books got filled with notes of what they said with great anguish. All I could, tell the workers at the end was that the tale of their suffering and sacrifices was a shame for the country to put up with, just as their record of boosting production and the HMT expansion plans their devoted contribution to building up our common nation.

BUREAUCRATS RAMPAGE

It is very necessary to determine, through an impartial Parliamentary or outside-the-HMT investigations how much of the HMT machines are actually manufactured inside the Bangalore plant and how much just assembly of the parts manufactured abroad, and with the HMT label on!

This is another very important aspect of the problem that needs looking into. It can't be left to the target-mad publicity-seeking their-own-career building bureaucrats in the HMT management.

When Pandit Nehru visited Bangalore for the annual Congress session, early in 1960, the HMT Trade Union President, M. S. Krishnan submitted a memorandum welcoming him and stated;

by P. C. JOSHI

"The Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. is being acclaimed by one and all including the Members of Parliament and the highest dignitaries of the State. We, the employees of the HMT, are as proud as anyone else about this industry. We are proud because we have also contributed our share, a sufficiently major share, to the development of this industry."

SAD STORIES

"However, we believe that it would be incorrect if an only rosy picture is drawn as is sought to be done by some. As workers in this premier national industry who are interested in developing it as persons who know the situation here we are constrained to submit you, Sir, that there are certain burning problems of the employees which are unsolved and certain issues face us which go to the very root of the principles enunciated by the Government."

The worsening situation was driven home to me when I went to Bangalore for the National Council meeting of our Party. The rank and file workers told me stories that shook me up. I requested the

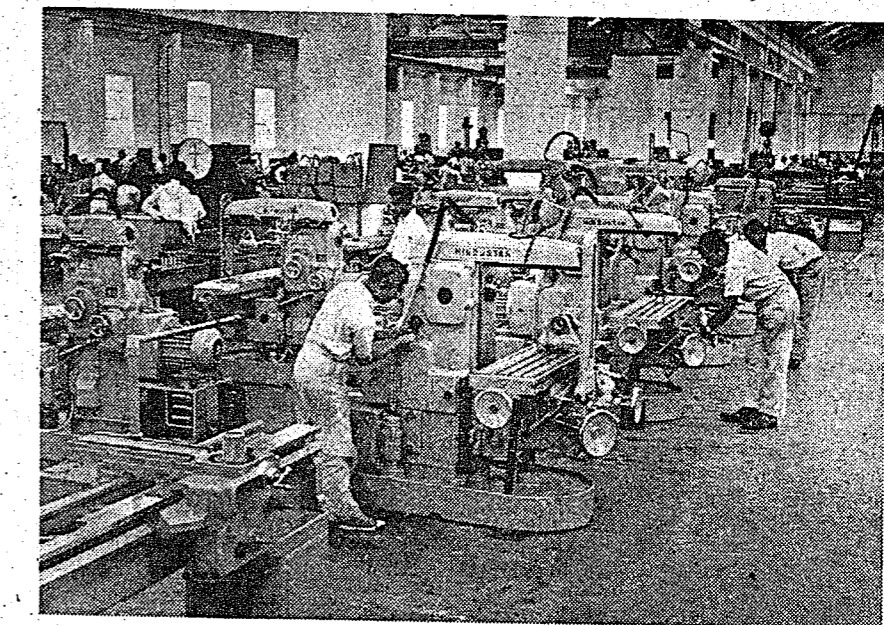
all-India trade union centre. The management gave it de facto though no formal recognition. The union was given a building for its office equipped with telephone, etc. time and place for holding the union elections inside the plant itself, collection of TU funds during work-time.

It was in the HMT that the experiment of workers' participation in management was begun in September 1958. This was played up in official publicity material and welcomed on the floor of the Parliament. The workers put all their energy and enthusiasm to make the pioneer scheme a success and it produced positive results. However, this joint council of Management was defunct as the relations of the management with the workers began worsening.

RIVAL UNION

It began when the workers persisted with the demand for the satisfaction of their grievances. Very elementary demands like reduction of bus fare, night-shift allowance, etc., were conceded.

The management referred only seven out of 21 demands to the Industrial



Machines to build machines

in. The leading elements were arrested and cases started against them.

Above all, the new technique of beating up the workers began being practiced openly and persistently from this day, with the administrative and security officers looking on!

(e) Venkatesh—he has been involved in numerous cases including looting. He is the one who has got men of his type employed in the HMT.

Above are the main goondas but a whole gang of about 500 such rowdies have been recruited. They are not qualified for any work inside the plant and they do no work they only bully and beat, besides functioning as spies for the management.

On March 12, 1961 the management felt bold enough to order that the TU office be vacated, and a week later the securitymen broke open the lock, amidst the cheers of the K.S. rowdies. The Union President had already been banned from entering the HMT area.

The workers rushed to him for advice. They wanted to defend their union office but he held them back, asked them to remain peaceful and have patience.

WORKERS LEAVE

Regretfully the workers went back home. As a leading group of five from the HMT colony was coming back the goonda elements followed them. From the other side another big gang came. The union militants, finding themselves outnumbered, escaped but in the darkness the two gangs themselves clashed and one Krishnappa was killed. After this complete terror, prevailed.

The Union President already stood ordered out of

the area, the Secretary was transferred to Calcutta. The Assistant Secretary and Treasurer found the terror unbearable, resigned their jobs, and went back home.

The problem of trade union recognition again came up. The old union had been asked to file its papers and records and did so year after year, four times. This year when it was asked it replied that they were in the possession of the security office! When problem became very acute, Mysore Labour Minister, Subramaniam told comrade Krishnan that he was an outsider and that if he resigned, the two unions could merge one union formed when would be recognised.

UNION CAMPAIGN

Krishnan confidently agreed but the K.S. leaders refused. The Labour Minister did own up that his own side had let him down but he was followed as Labour Minister by Baliga who had functioned the employers' lawyer and was the chairman of the Board of Directors of Kanara Banking Corporation as well.

The union in its public campaign and its memos to the Government has been asking for a secret ballot of the workers to decide the issue of recognition but there is no response, no courage to accept the challenge, even after repeated doses of terror, and institution of virtual goonda raj inside the HMT.

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The bus stand is right in front of the Security Office. The workers have to get down here and march on foot to the factory-gate, half a furlong away. As the union militants got down from the bus they would be pounced upon by the goonda elements.

The union leaders complained to the security staff. They were told that since the beating was done outside the gate they should go to the police station.

"If you go to the police station there is the certainty of a police case being started against you!" Their eyes blazed with anger as they said this. Ten to fifteen goondas pounced upon one worker, loyal to the union.

For the December 8 hartal real goondas, ex-convicts, were brought in, and they have not disappeared from the scene ever since.

ROWDIES COLLECTED

These goondas hired by the HMT management were permanently employed as securitymen or ordinary workers. Below are a few such names:

(a) K. D. Narasimha—his record is in the police station which he has to visit every day to sign up. He has been to jail several times.

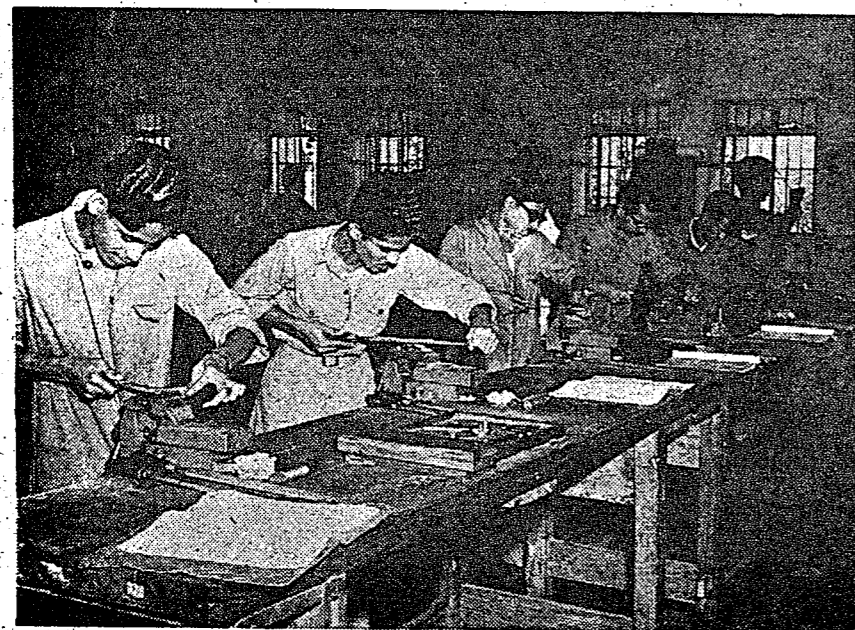
(b) Appalaih—a rowdy his name and photo grace the police records.

(c) Chandrappa—another habitual offender, notorious for drinking, gambling and like evils.

(d) Mari—some months back he was arrested for looting a shop and convicted.



A demonstration in Bangalore, home of HMT



Indian skill can stand up to any test

Peoples Of The Tundra

by Masood Ali Khan

In the snow-covered northern areas of Khabarovsk region live many small nationalities: the Nanais, Chukchis, Evens, Evenkis, Karyaks Eskimos, Yakuts, Etelms and others. They have their own dialects and languages, live on hunting and reindeer breeding and have a surprisingly developed aesthetic sense which finds its outlet in their beautifully embroidered multi-coloured leather jackets and gloves, in their exquisite carvings on bone and horns and walrus tasks.

WE saw lovely specimens of their art in the Khabarovsk museum, and regretted that such things could not be obtained in the shops. If developed their crafts could become a real income-fetching industry.

We eagerly wanted to meet some of these people and were told that we could visit the Teachers' Training Institute where there is a Northern Peoples Department. And, of course, the very next morning we went. It was one of the most exciting experiences of our stay in Khabarovsk and a highlight of our tour.

The Teachers Training Institute has six faculties and 1400 full-time students, there are also evening and extramural departments (with another 1600 students). Andrei Ivankov, director of studies, readily gave us all the information, he himself comes from the Don region "thirty kilometres from Sholokhov's village", but likes his work in this far-away region training new generations of teachers and spreading the light of learning and science.

There are permanent refresher courses for the teachers belonging to the Northern nationalities and the Northern Peoples Department has 56 students (not including those on refresher course). Next year their number will be 130, the Institute has a plan, and because of the new schools being built in remote regions the need for trained teachers is growing.

This is not the upper limit, for the students of minority nationalities can enter the institute through general competition like others, apart from the reserved seats. These minority students go through the general programme of studies and live with other students, the only difference being that they get full grants—clothing, food and all expenses—and it does not depend on their progress at the institute, as is the case with other students. (72 per cent of all other students also receive grants).

languages grow

About two hundred students have already passed these courses from Khabarovsk, but there is a bigger centre for training northern peoples in Leningrad. In the primary school, teaching is in the native language, later Russian is used, but for the refresher courses of primary school teachers there are courses in native languages as well. There are many Russian teachers who know these lan-

guages, as they have worked there for a long time, or were even born and brought up in those remote areas.

Of course, the doors of all other educational establishments are also open to the students belonging to the Northern nationalities. These people who lived a primitive nomadic life of ignorance, illiteracy and superstition and had no script, only two decades ago, now study in all branches of learning.

"Earlier, about ten years ago, they mainly studied in the arts faculties, but now you will find them in all branches. One is doing atomic physics, for example", said the director.

At the Medical Institute in Khabarovsk there is a special preparatory department for the Northern peoples where they can finish secondary education and then become doctors or trained nurses. "But at our institute we don't need this preparatory section any more".

thirst for knowledge

I asked if they still encountered religious superstition, were there still such parents who did not want their children to visit schools or to go to big towns for further studies? Such problems did not exist any more the director said, as the whole framework of life was in favour of study and enlightenment.

There was "a great thirst for knowledge". Perhaps some families had the problem of losing some of their earning capacity temporarily, but the students were fully supported by the state, financially and in all other respects.

I asked what was the opinion of the teachers about the natural abilities of these students, their intelligence and intellectual capacities. "Oh! they work harder and write better than the Russians. No favours are given as regards work and their average ability is the same as of the Russians. Some times they suffer from poor preparation, if their school was not up to scratch, but biological and natural abilities are the same".

There were no racial drawbacks and they were as good as all the others. There was a Nanai who finished the Art School and was a teacher in Khabarovsk, a Yakut lectured on philosophy at one of the institutes, he said.

"We had religious trouble at the beginning of the Soviet period, but now a great leap forward has taken place. Radio, electricity, films, libraries, schools, hostels for pu-

pils who live far away—all these things contribute to the great change. Earlier parents did not allow their children to live in hostels, as they themselves had never lived in houses. Now there is settled living and these problems are a thing of the past."

I was eager to meet the students and the director called "a few", but they, on their part, were just as eager to meet someone from India, so the whole class turned up and the big conference room of the director was soon filled to capacity. We had an informal discussion and questions and answers in which everyone took part. I was happy to find the students very bright and well informed, eager to talk and eager to learn. They were a mixed group of all Northern nationalities from as far as the Kamchatka, the shores of the Bering Straits and the Arctic Ocean.

scientists from nomads

There was a shy looking girl of medium height, Tatiana Udinkann, a Nanai from Kurumisk district. "Our village is one of the three Nanai villages of the district and is called Vekurovka" she announced and her shyness was gone as she started to speak. In the primary school in her village she had studied in her native language—Nanai has different dialects and her's is nearer to the Udegey—then in a boarding school she studied mathematics and draughtsmanship and was now a student in the preparatory department for teachers.

Or there was Gennadi Sammar studying atomic physics. He came from a village called Bilgey in the Komsomolsk district. His parents were fishermen and members of the collective farm. He finished four classes in his village school, then seven year school in the district centre, later went to Leningrad as a student of the Preparatory Department for Northern Peoples, then Khabarovsk and the Physics-Mathematics Dept., he wanted to do research work, and loved his motor-boat with the Moskvich engine.

Mikhail Dyachkov was from far-away Chukotka. He was elected chairman of his village soviet at the age of 19, was later called up to the army but after military service joined this institute. Wants to go back to his village, Tavaivaa, as a teacher, is working on the collection of the folk-lore of his people.

There was Elena Yalagire head of the refresher courses, she has translated many textbooks into the Even language (Nanai and Evens are the "biggest" Northern nationalities in Khabarovsk Region Nanais—5,000 and Evens—even less), and compiled textbooks for reading in the Even language. She has even translated Pushkin (Dubrovsky) into her Even and declared that "all Evens at home speak their own language and think in it".

We saw many text-books and I noted down a few: a



Our Correspondent with Siberian collective farm chairman

special textbook of Russian for the Northern Peoples, text-book for Evenki primary schools in the Evenki language, Stories about Lenin in Even language, an Evenki-Russian dictionary of 800 pages containing 25,000 words, published in Moscow, etc.

The students were eager to know more about India and I was surprised by the nature of their questions. These inhabitants of the snows knew quite a lot about India. They had read Tagore, some praised him highly, they knew about Roerich and had seen his pictures, they wanted to know what facilities were provided for small minorities in India in the way of studies, stipends etc, they asked questions about the caste system and the policies of Nehru and the Communist Party of India.

They had seen Indian films and liked Indian music and dances very much, they said they were surprised to find that Indian dance-movements and gestures, and the way of sitting etc, were very similar to their own, in spite of the distance, and they wondered whether there had been some ancient links, they wanted to know about Indian students and their life and interests.

All this was enough to show their general level and, mind you, I was the first Indian they had seen.

sledge travels

They told me interesting facts about their life; speaking of distances they said that a Nanai on dog sledge thinks nothing of 100 or 200 kilometres, he usually travels fast, making up a song as he goes, along about whatever he sees and comes across, and his song is heard far and wide, over the snowcovered fields.

The dog sledge can be sent home alone if necessary and

the dogs don't allow anyone to come near, and all belongings reach home safe over long distances. "Water is just as much a rarity in the North as ice-bound rivers are for you, because it has to be produced with the aid of fire, which needs firewood and which is not always available in the snow fields".

Before we left Khabarovsk we were taken to have a look at the sports stadiums, gymnasiums, in fact a sports town on the high bank of the Amur. We walked what seemed to be a few miles in the snow and chilly wind and came to an open-air swimming pool in which, while the outside temperature of the air was about 20 below zero centigrade, a girl was swimming. It was a fantastic sight with the frozen Amur spread out before us.

swimming in the snow

But of course the water of the pool was heated and this also kept the immediate layer of air on its surface warm. One had to undress in a closed, heated room and then dive into an underground water-tunnel to come out into the open. But in spite of these amenities the very sight of the girl in her flimsy swimsuit in that cold gave me "the creeps".

And why on earth have tigers come to inhabit this land of snows is beyond me. But there are tigers in the Ussuri taiga. I saw a stuffed one in the Khabarovsk museum and a live one in the Moscow zoo. They are lower than the Indian tiger but just as long, the head is smaller and face long, more like a dog than a cat. The patriots of Khabarovsk insisted that their tiger was stronger, higher and bigger than ours, but on this point I was just as patriotic and firm, I consistently refuted the charge and defended the honour of our own Indian tiger.

"MANIPURIS MUST HAVE ASSEMBLY" SAYS M. N.

M. N. Govindan Nair had been rushing from place to place and looked exhausted but as soon as he learnt that the interview was to be about Manipur, his eyes lit up. "It is a most lovely part of our country and the people are so neat and beautiful and hospitable that going there for the first time was quite an enthralling experience".

HE felt that it was not enough to remember Manipur as the land of dance and song. "Certainly the people are most artistic and the grace of their dances moved me and reminded me of the Kathakali of Kerala. This is a great heritage and I feel that our comrades in Manipur must do even more than hitherto, to aid the development of this heritage and use the rich art forms to take the advanced democratic ideas to the broad masses".

He said that he had told the Manipur comrades about the experience of the Party in Kerala in this kind of work. It was part of the work that he had to do in connection with his visit to Manipur, where he had been sent by the Central Secretariat of our Party to attend the deliberations of the Manipur State Council.

Before coming to the more immediate problems and experiences, M. N. Govindan Nair said that we would remember the heroic struggle of

the Manipuri people against the British imperialists. It was the last part of India to be conquered and the might of the British marauders was, indeed, overwhelming. But the people of Manipur gave them battle.

"A very heroic, but little known, part of our national struggle is the Khongjom War of 1891 which the Manipur Royal Army fought under the inspired leadership of Major General Poono Brajabasi. This great patriot had vowed not to return without being victorious. And when victory proved impossible, he made a final request to the enemy—that he be killed.

"It is this spirit of never surrendering that lives on in Manipur today. Poono Brajabasi has enshrined himself in the hearts of the people and is the venerated national hero of Manipur".

He then went on to speak of the great united struggle

which had swept through Manipur last year and about which New Age had carried a full account by Bhupesh Gupta, who had gone there some time later.

He said, therefore, that he would not go into the events of that struggle but only emphasise that it lives on in the consciousness of the people and it was on its basis that further advance had to be made.

He said that the Communist Party in Manipur was planning its election strategy as part of the battle to win an elected Assembly and responsible Government. His discussions with Bira Singh, Meghachandra and other members of the Manipur State Council had convinced him that there was a bright future ahead of struggle and of advance.

He said that the Manipur Territorial Council had failed to provide a satisfactory administration for the border State and to give even basic amenities of life to the Manipuri people. He strongly urged the establishment of an elected Assembly and responsible Government in Manipur.

He said that the people of Manipur were totally dissatisfied with the present bureaucratic set-up in the State. The corruption in administration had a demoralising influence on the people of this border State.

He pointed out that though Manipur is a small State, its importance as a border State was not to be ignored. The contention that Central administration was best for the security of the border State does no hold good in the light of the unsatisfactory state of affairs existing in Manipur.

Govindan Nair stressed that the contentment of the people of the border State was the best guarantee to the defence of the border and this can be achieved only by giving them a responsible administration, sympathetic and alive to the needs of the people.

He pointed out that there was no justification for denying a democratic administration to the people of Manipur when the people in the rest of the country enjoyed these rights.

Under the present bureaucratic set-up, the economic development of Manipur has suffered a severe blow. He said that the administration

from our correspondent

had little to their credit either in agriculture or in industry. No industry of any kind has been started there and large tracts of land were lying waste. On the other hand, corruption had corroded deep into the administration and made the people frustrated. The Chief Commissioner was particularly unpopular.

He said that the coming General Elections offered "a big opportunity to the people of Manipur to change this set-up. All those who are for an elected Assembly and responsible Government should join together, making this as the key issue in the elections. The election fight will be between those who are for an Assembly and responsible Government and those who are opposed to it".

He added that the Communist Party would be contesting the coming elections in Manipur "as a component part of the Assembly Demand Coordination Committee (ADCC)". The ADCC will put up candidates for the election. It has been carrying on the campaign for an Assembly for a long time. Besides the Communist Party, certain sections of the Congress and other political parties were also represented in it. The ADCC has already decided to make the demand for Assembly, the main issue of its election platform.

KEDAR DAS' ARREST

* FROM PAGE 7

Constitution of India, the same ruling regarding the breach of privilege should apply to the Legislatures and Parliament in India. But some people seek to make out the argument that because it did not find a place in MAY's Parliamentary Practice therefore it does not form part of that practice and is of no or little consequence. As if books not passed by Parliament possess greater and over-ruling authority than rules and laws adopted by that House and its Committees!

But the conventions and rulings of the British House of Commons were to apply to India only till we make our own rules and laws. The Lok Sabha has framed its own rule—Rule 232—which lays down more firmly and clearly than the Laws of British Parliament that: "No arrest shall be made within the precincts of the House without obtaining the permission of the Speaker". Here the rule does not make any qualification, whatsoever, regarding the nature of the offence or even about the House being in session, etc. It does not leave any loopholes.

But it seems that people who find it to be unpalatable or consider it to be unwarranted interference with or limitation on the rights and powers of the Executive and the police are seeking for some arguments to escape its consequences.

Sometimes it is made out that it is a rule of the Lok Sabha and not a law of the Parliament and therefore it is not applicable to the State Legislatures. At others, it is argued that it is ultra vires of the Constitution, violating its Article 19(3), under which the Parliament has not passed any laws, so far.

It is strange irony, indeed, that in India while hundreds and thousands of pa-

ges are devoted to the interpretations of the rules and conventions of the House of Commons and legal conclusions are drawn from them for this country, the rules framed by our Lok Sabha, the conventions laid down by it are considered to be of no consequence.

If, on the other hand, anybody seriously considered Rule 232 of the Lok Sabha to be ultra vires of the Constitution, it was always open to him to approach the Supreme Court for restitution. In the meantime, our legislatures would do well to make our Parliament the model for their functioning.

The arrest of Kedar Das in the precincts of the Assembly has opened up a host of questions of great constitutional interest and importance. And while the Bihar Vidhan Sabha Privilege Committee has decided to close the issue, it will continue to agitate us till the highest legislative authority of the land takes steps to evolve uniform laws, rules and conventions defining and safeguarding the authority and privileges of the legislative organs of the state from the encroachments of an over-zealous Executive.

Meanwhile, the contestants in the controversy over Kedar Das' arrest tended to forget one very simple fact. Without going into all the manifold constitutional niceties, the Speaker had passed orders that "I cannot give permission for arrest within the precincts of the Assembly"—irrespective of whether the Assembly was in session or not.

The arrest may or may not have been a breach of a privilege. (real or imaginary). It was certainly a violation of the order of the Speaker. Let constitutional pundits consider the implications of this simple fact.

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Kanpur Students Rout Anti-Communists

From Our Correspondent

The healthy traditions of the student movement are being revived in Kanpur. Cheap slogan mongering is being replaced by a constructive approach to education and problems of student life. The revival has come to the students of the biggest college of Uttar Pradesh, D.A.V. College Kanpur, which has over 6,000 students on its rolls.

FORCES of indiscipline, casteism and communalism have had this college as their happy hunting ground during the recent years. But this year the students have chosen a serious, conscious, hard working and studious student as the President of the D.A.V. College Students' Union.

The election of Pratap Trivedi, as president of the D.A.V. College Students' Union has a special significance for the student movement in Uttar Pradesh. Serious and studious students during the recent past have been shunning the students' unions, not because they were not interested in union activities but because "non-serious" students had been monopolising the unions.

It is these latter elements, non-serious in their attitude towards studies and life, who have also brought to the whole student community and, especially, the student unions. On occasions these elements have acted on directions from faction-ridden managing committees and disgruntled politicians. Routings them from college unions looked a formidable job.

In Kanpur, the Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha (SYS, Lohia Socialists) has been the unchallenged leader of the student movement since 1954 with an occasional challenge from Kanpur Students' Union (KSU) an affiliate of the AISP. But the KSU itself was weak all these years. Ever since 1954, with the lone exception of 1959-60, SYS candidates always managed to win the president's post in the union election.

Jan Sangh Eruption

Without a clear perspective of the student movement, the union under SYS leadership failed to tackle any major problem of student life. Their permanent agitations, threats and slogan mongering made the student masses apathetic towards the Union. In 1959-60 under these circumstances a Jan Sangh candidate was able to defeat them.

It was after this victory of communal reaction in the college union election that the mass of the students and scattered progressives among them gave serious attention to the problem. Consequently a group of radical and conscious students emerged in the college.

Last year they reorganised the KSU and in a systematic manner carried out their plan to eradicate the growing forces of non-seriousness, casteism and communalism from the campus. In order to ideologically defeat these forces they organised the Marxist Students Forum under which

two lecture series were organised, one in October-November 1960 and another in May 1961.

Combined with day-to-day work among the students through the union this ideological offensive against the backward, non-serious and caste and communal forces gave a new consciousness to the students of the college. This had its effect on other institutions, too. The organised student movement entered upon a new phase in Kanpur.

The revival of healthy traditions of the conscious student movement of the old days inspired the students and it became clear in the beginning of this session that the KSU would gain a significant victory in the union elections this year.

Faced with such a situation the SYS and other student bodies like the Vidyarthi Parishad and the Youth Congress had to move together. The KSU candidate Pratap Trivedi had all the odds against him — he is a student who earns his own bread and educational expenses and who could not afford to squander money on election propaganda. Thus, the KSU fought single-handed against the combined and unholy alliance of the SP, PSP, RSS, Youth Congress and College authorities.

Goondas Hired

On August 12, the polling day, the SYS brought a band of 200 notorious professional goondas of Kanpur armed with lathis, etc. The polling started at 8.30 a.m. but sensing their defeat, in utter desperation a Socialist leader gave instructions to the hired goondas to attack the KSU workers. As a result of this two students received serious injuries, while four others had minor injuries.

The college authorities simply remained silent onlookers to this attack. One of the goondas was caught by the students and promptly handed over to the college authorities. The all-powerful head clerk of the college instead of handing over the goonda to the police, let him escape from the back door.

This head clerk openly and shamelessly sided with the SYS candidate. Sensing the overwhelming popularity of the KSU candidate among the general run of students, all sorts of restrictions and formalities were imposed in issuing the identity cards for the ordinary students while the same were completely waived in case of the voters and workers of SYS candidate. (The election rule is that a student cannot vote unless he shows his identity card.)

Had all the 6,000 students of the college been given iden-

tity cards, the polling would have been heavy and the KSU candidate would have won with a still bigger margin of votes.

Against our meagre monetary resources, the SYS candidate had a jeep at his disposal and had pitched a camp outside the college gate on election day.

Anti-Communism was the main tactic of the opposition. Slanders were hurled and all sorts of dirty leaflets were brought out against us. When they found that anti-Communism did not pay off, they pasted a poster at night, which shrieked in bold letters that Pratap Trivedi was a Jan Sanghi! It was a most calculated and shrewd move to spread confusion among the

Osmania's Victorious Strike

From Our Correspondent

THE 15,000 students of Osmania University had to resort to a 12 day-strike when the University authorities enhanced the fees. It was not the first time that the authorities took recourse to this measure. They had done it previously in 1958 and 1960. This time they increased the fees so as to bring them in parity with the other Universities in the State.

This third attempt to increase the fees created a lot of resentment among all sections of students and people. The Andhra Pradesh Students' Federation and the Hyderabad Students' Union (an affiliate of the AISP) issued press statements condemning the fee increase.

Other student organisations also came out against the move leading to the formation of a high power committee with P. Krishnamurti (Congress) as its chairman and P. Nageswara Rao (APSF) as its secretary.

The Committee drafted a memorandum and submitted it to the University authorities and Ministers and distributed it among the public.

The memorandum pressed the following demands: (1) Stop enhancement of fees; (2) Abolish General Education as it imposes unnecessary burden on the students; (3) Remove discrimination that students who failed in Part I of the three years Degree Course cannot appear for Part II without completing Part I and attend both parts at a time or separately; (4) Open a night college for M.A. classes in Public Administration; (5) Provide adequate hostel facilities for the students. The authorities did not pay any heed to the demands of the students but on the other hand justified the fee increase.

The students were compelled to resort to picketing at the fee counters, so that the new entrants did not pay the

general students. But at the same time it shows how contemptuously the students treat the RSS and Jan Sangh.

All these manoeuvres miserably failed and in triangular contest Pratap Trivedi was elected. He got 45 per cent of the total votes cast while his opponents could get only 37 per cent and 18 per cent votes respectively.

Along with Trivedi our entire panel has won without any exception. This year we have an overwhelming majority with only three against us in an executive of 32.

The DAV election outcome has been widely commented upon in the political circles of Kanpur and Lucknow, and in the press. A notorious anti-Communist press correspondent helped the SYS candidate in many ways, including money. This man while conceding victory in a lukewarm manner in the local

supplement of the Hindustan Times, said that the KSU won the presidentship for the first time because of a rift in the SYS. In this way, he tried to minimise the organisational work and the strength of the KSU.

With this victory and the new confidence attained, the KSU is extending its sphere of activities in other colleges, too. Within the last three or four days the KSU has reached to three Inter Colleges and in the Christ Church College; the second biggest degree college of the city, too, our candidate has won in the Union election.

The KSU is now making preparations for the forthcoming Jubilee Session of the AISP scheduled to be held in Kanpur in the last week of October. These new victories will redouble our enthusiasm for the AISP Conference here.

enhanced fees and, thus, create two categories — one of those who had paid and others refusing to pay.

The Vice-Chancellor, instead of looking into the students' demands went away to Vizag on some tour.

The Students' Committee gave a call for a strike. The students came out on strike on July 11 and 12. On July 12 a largely attended public meeting was held where the students decided to give a final representation to the authorities. The authorities, instead of taking a favourable view, issued a press-note condemning the students and justifying the enhancement of fees.

NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEED

This was followed by negotiations started by some leading citizens and political workers. Due to the efforts of Ahmad Ali Khan, MLC, (Congress), Raj Bahadur Gour, MP, (Communist) and Mir Abd Ali Khan, editor of a local daily who belongs to the Osmania Graduates Association, an agreement was finally reached. Although not all the demands of the students have been won, important concessions have been gained.

According to the agreement, students whose parents' income is below Rs. 1,800 per annum will be awarded free-ships, bursaries and scholarships. The elected president and secretary of the college students' union will be members of the selection Committee.

Sixteen parts out of the 24 parts of the General Education syllabus in the three year degree course will be removed and only eight parts will remain. Discrimination against the three year degree course students regarding Part I and II will be removed and they will be permitted to appear for both parts simultaneously or separately.

The University authorities have agreed to open M.A. evening classes in Public Administration from the current academic year. They have agreed to construct well-furnished hostels for students in the city and also in the rural areas in the near future.

The glorious strike of the Osmanians ended with this agreement.

Berlin— More Hope For Peace

As the days pass, it becomes ever clearer that the Berlin border control measures of the German Democratic Republic have struck a powerful blow for peace. A major Western defeat has again proved to be a victory for the relaxation of international tension.

THAT the Western imperialists were planning a big provocation may have been said earlier to have been the product of Communist "propaganda" by interested quarters. But the spate of reports and speculations now appearing in the Western press prove this to be not "sheer propaganda" but a simple statement of reality.

To present only one piece of evidence. Just a few days before the measures were announced the Time (dated August 18) came on the newsstands. It ran a story, with the usual Goebbelsian technique, on the scurrying away of some disgruntled and some unsettled elements from the German Democratic Republic.

not a flicker

Yet, there was not a flicker either in Democratic Berlin or in the entire Republic. Nothing would have pleased the Western imperialists, to say nothing of the Bonn servants of democracy, no matter how tiny, of support in even the most obscure part of the German Democratic Republic. However, quite literally, nothing happened and nobody irred.

This failure of the "uprising" to uprise represents a shattering blow to the political prestige and moral position of the Western powers. It effectively silences their sneers about the so-called "discontent" in the Socialist sector of Germany.

western game

It goes on to write sanctimoniously about the "unfortunate" consequences of such an uprising. One of these "unfortunate" results, it says, would be that the West would have to "intervene in favour of any East German rebels". It even gave some hypocritical advice to the citizens of the German Democratic Republic. "East Germans had the prudent alternatives of flight or putting up with it".

Time could not, however, keep up this pose for long. It gave the whole game away in the last sentence of its despatch: "The uncertain factor was whether, as the tension over Berlin increased, prudence would prevail". But now a week has passed and the Western powers are plainly dismayed that complete calm reigns. Where is the uprising they so fondly hoped for? Where the rush to the closed frontier?

K. S. Shelvankar reported from London: "According to reliable reports, East Berlin civilians are going about their business in the usual way and do not look like men and women close to an emotional boiling point...."

"The special correspondent of the Evening Standard (a Tory paper-M.S.), for instance, reports that there is 'something phoney' about this crisis, because the Berliners themselves are not particularly interested in the fate of Berlin...."

"He adds: 'When I went along for my interview with Herr Brandt, I was told on all sides that there was going to be a big demonstration in front of the Town Hall. In fact, it was

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

He concluded by stating that "the main task for us is and remains the preparation of a peace treaty as well as the bringing in of a good harvest and further increases in industry."

Not only were these new measures a great aid to peace they also showed how peace is to be preserved and extended. The method is — sound initiatives. Nothing would better suit the book of the Western imperialists than passivity in the face of their hectic intrigues and manoeuvres. But no sooner is a sound initiative undertaken than they are sent helter-skelter. In recent months one such initiative was the reopening of the German question by the Soviet Union and the other was the sealing of the Berlin borders.

This observation finds confirmation in the comment on the action of the Government of the German Democratic Republic — quite a hostile and "angry comment at that — by the London Economist (August 18). It says: "If this week's work is to be final, the West has to face the fact that West Berlin's role in the world has been brutally cut down.... Willy-nilly, the West cannot avoid dealing with East Germany. The boycott kept up for the past 12 years is one form of dealing; it is not a form fruitful in diplomatic or political success".

NEUTRAL SUMMIT

THE date for the opening of the Neutral Summit is very close. The officials will soon be meeting in Belgrade to work out the last technical details and to prepare the items of the agenda. A most important trend in world politics is gathering all its leaders and its strength to deliberate upon the outstanding international issues.

Contrary to what has been appearing in the monopolist press, the Belgrade meeting is not going to be a mere wrangle. Contrary to all the views (and desires) of so many of the political commentators in the daily press, the neutralist nations do agree on a lot more than what they disagree about. The Neutralist Summit has a big role to play in the present troubled world scene. What is more important is that it has the capacity to play this role.

The two biggest socialist States — the Soviet Union and People's China — have welcomed the Belgrade Conference and expressed the hope that it will exert a most positive influence to relax world tension. It is of significance to note that both countries expressed their hopes for a fruitful outcome of the Belgrade Conference in the communiques they signed with President Nkrumah of Ghana.

The communique signed in Peking also expressed the common view that a second Afro-Asian Conference would be of great value in the struggle for peace and against

colonialism. This would seem to indicate that some of the neutralist States do not see Belgrade as an alternative to Bandung.

It should be remembered that President Sukarno and President Nasser have also expressed themselves in favour of another Bandung and they are also fervent votaries of the Belgrade Conference. This idea of complementarity needs to be further explored and carried forward.

At Belgrade itself momentous issues will be discussed. First and foremost, will be the German Peace Treaty and the demilitarisation of West Berlin.

After the Prime Minister's speeches on foreign affairs in Parliament, it is likely that the stand that India will and should take on this issue will greatly help the other neutralist nations to correctly approach the problem. It should be noted that the views of Yugoslavia, which are definitely going to be influential, on this question closely approximate to those of the Soviet Union.

Even if no formal resolution is possible — although this cannot be ruled out — still an exchange of views and an expression of opinion by the neutralist countries would help the solution of this most explosive problem of international relations. It is unlikely that any other neutralist State will have an opinion on this question, which will be further away from the Soviet Union's than India's is.

"Some provisions of the declaration on the neutrality of Laos have not yet been agreed upon and the Conference will have to approve the declaration finally after a solution, satisfactory for everybody, is reached on the remaining articles.

"It should be pointed out that the Geneva Conference could have worked out the text of the declaration much quicker but for the Western powers resorting to tactics of deliberate protraction.

"This was demonstrated for instance by the United States' efforts to get Laos attached to the notorious 'defence zone' of Seato at any cost, to keep Laos within the orbit of this aggressive military bloc by hook or by crook. It is quite clear that the task of such attempts was to create a situation in which the Seato top leaders would be able to interfere in the internal affairs of Laos.

"The attempts of the Western delegations to keep for ever the French military bases in Laos also hampered the work of the conference. Their striving to put off as long as possible the withdrawal of foreign military personnel from Laos also became clear in the course of the conference."

LAOS—SLOW PROGRESS

BOTH at Geneva and at Na Mon very slow progress is being made towards solving the Laotian problem. That progress at all is being made is due to the alliance of the socialist and neutralist states at Geneva and the leftists and neutralists at Na Mon. The snail's pace is due to imperialist obstruction at Geneva and the corresponding behaviour of their rightist puppets.

On August 22, the restricted session of the Geneva Conference

ference on the whole approved of the declaration on the neutrality of Laos. As pointed out by the TASS commentator:

"It envisages a solemn commitment by the countries participating in the conference to respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, to abstain from any direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of Laos and attach no political strings to any assistance to that State.

"The document also points out that the countries participating in the Conference will not draw Laos into any military alliance or other agreements, be it military or otherwise, which are incompatible with its neutrality, and shall not urge Laos to join such alliances.

"The participants in the Geneva Conference, the declaration reads further, declare that they will not introduce to Laos, assist in introducing, or put up with introduction to that country of any foreign troops or military personnel, shall not establish in Laos foreign and military bases, strongholds and the like.

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Similarly, at Na Mon the rightists are doing their best to prevent Souvanna Phouma from becoming the Prime Minister of a Coalition Government.

A very happy feature of the Geneva Conference is the mutual attitude of understanding and appreciation between the Chinese and Indian delegations and their sharp disassociation from the US position.

This could be an augury of fruitful collaboration on other problems as well.

—Mohit Sen

the politics behind dark deeds in h. m. t.

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

Any management these days knows that if an indiscriminate use of the big stick is resorted to, and the tactic of union-busting unscrupulously pursued, a judicious supply of the traditional carrot has also to be ensured. The union had demanded a revision of the wage-structure ever since January, 1959, but the management paid no heed.

This problem of fixing proper wages had already been successfully settled in the Hindustan Aircraft, Bharat Electronics, Indian Telephones, all public sector projects, and through the effort of independent TUs as in the HMT, and headed by the same M. S. Krishnan as their President.

Wage Concession

The HMT management realised that the goonda gangs were very useful but not all. It was, therefore, compelled to announce a new wage-structure which the mass of the workers thought was in some ways better than in the other public sector enterprises in Bangalore!

There were cunning calculations behind this move. First, it was designed to score a point over the management of the other three public sector units, that the HMT management was able to put the union in its place and yet increase production!

Secondly, it was designed to boost up the INTUC type unions, like the Karmika Sangh, in the other enterprises as well. They have begun campaigning; the Reds have already been beaten up in the HMT, why don't you also leave their union, you can also have a better wage structure!

These servile unions had nothing to do with any wage structure. They went in for no wage negotiations, they organised no campaign for wage increases. The wage increase came because of the efforts of the union which they are out to smash. It was done from the top by the management to help disrupt the fearless independent union.

This is not all. The conflict inside the HMT was also a reflection of the conflict inside the Indian Government, between the Manubhai-Morariji wing vs. Krishna Menon and the like.

As the Defence Minister Krishna Menon got the wage structure in Hindustan Aircraft and Bharat Electronics settled, through negotiations with the employees and their union, over a period of three months. The Indian Telephones under the Communication Minister Subbarayan followed suit. The HMT, however, comes under Manubhai as the Minister of Industries.

The HMT workers are not only highly skilled technically but also very well equipped politically. They knew the

political set-up in New Delhi and could relate it with amazing realism to their own bitter experience from stage to stage.

Let me quote the concluding words of one of them. "In this battle of the giants above we workers below have to suffer". Another immediate intervention, "we are not that helpless. It is not our battle alone—Manubhai wants to prove that public sector enterprise can be successfully operated by keeping the workers down and running the show with a toady union plus the danda. We have not taken it lying down".

Reactionary foreign agencies like the USIS and other US officials have also become interested in Bangalore, where four very important public sector industries are located. The US Labour Attache goes to Bangalore very often.

PL-480 counterpart funds are very generously gifted to the local "Labour" leaders and the like. These US "experts" in consultation with reactionary INTUC leaders have evolved two slogans to implement their disruptive, union-busting, public-sector-damaging aims.

The first is anti-Malayalee. Bangalore is in Karnataka while the advanced union militants are Malayalees. They hope that the "hound on the Malayalees" appeal would help to stir up local chauvinism, and appeal to the local unemployed.

The existing trade unions are all independent but the reactionaries' propagandise that they are led by the Communists. This is designed to appeal to the anti-Communism current among influential circles inside the INTUC, Congress organisation, the State and Union Governments and, of course, press.

These reactionary elements, both foreign and indigeneous, have found a ready tool in Union Minister of Industry and Commerce, K. C. Reddi. The whole area in Bangalore where the HMT and other public sector plants are situated is in Reddi's Parliamentary constituency. The Kolar Gold Mines TV chief Govindan fought him on the Communist ticket last time and the margin was not much. Govindan is a Malayalee and a Communist and so the anti-Malayalee and anti-Communist slogan suits K. C. Reddi very well. He is, however, taking no chances.

K. C. Reddi's Game

D. Rajgopal, the personnel-manager in HMT, is the chief organiser of the dirty game against the workers and their union. He was formerly personal assistant to K. C. Reddi when he was the Mysore Chief Minister. He acts loyally on his instructions and has been doing his best to ensure "good voting" from the HMT for his master in the coming general elections.

Yeshwanthpur is the nearest police station for the HMT and Rajgopal's brother-in-law

has been planted there as the Police Sub-Inspector. The moment the K. S. group rings up the police station they come in their trucks to terrorise the workers, and are feasted free in the HMT canteen in return.

K. C. Reddi's nephew, R. K. Prasad was similarly put as the Personnel-Manager in Bharat Electronics. He has political ambitions too. Last November he resigned his job to contest an Assembly seat from Bangalore and work for his uncle this other way. He is, however, not known to the people. Hence, he is being brought into the lime-light as a "labour leader" by being made the organising Secretary of the labour wing of the State Congress.

INTUC leader Thimayya is also in the set. He began his career from the Kolar Gold Fields from where he had to flee in disgrace. He suddenly shot up as a great friend of the Americans and attended a MRA assembly abroad. The American labour set-up, for the South East Asian region, with its headquarters in Malaya, made him their labour organiser for the plantations etc.

He acquired a jeep, was flush with funds, and thought he would conquer the Bangalore working class as well. He went too far himself, had also rivals inside the Congress camp, and has recently retired to become a planter and owns an estate!

Explosive Situation

The Union Deputy Labour Minister, Abid Ali is a frequent visitor to Bangalore both on official and non-official visits. The persons who come to meet him are from the K.S. group headed by Rajgopal, and labour leaders like Prasad and Thimayya who are cast in his own image. What they all discuss and plan is left to the intelligent readers' imagination. I dare not put in print all that I have in my note-books about the plots they hatch.

All together this gang seeks to play up anti-Communism inside the plant to terrorise the workers and paralyse honest elements at the various levels of the management.

Outside they tried to stir up anti-Malayalee sentiments among the local citizens. One anti-Malayalee riot has already been staged and the tension is being kept up.

The agents for this anti-Malayalee jihad are the HMT contractors who do this disruptive work to earn more contracts for themselves as the expansion plans come into operation.

Thus, an explosive situation is gathering steam in Bangalore while political dirt is being spread from above to keep it covered up.

The situation can only become more and more dangerous if the present drift is allowed to continue.

The recent move to have a permanent Parliamentary Committee to investigate into the affairs and progress of the major public sector projects is very timely. The situation in HMT Bangalore is over-ripe, for public and Parliamentary intervention.

SCRAP-BOOK

KAIRON'S PUNJAB

EVERYTHING is usual in Kairon's Punjab. Kairon has his own set of problems. Challenged by the growing Akali influence and increasing mass dissatisfaction against Congress misrule he has to reckon with various groups inside his Ministry and in the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee. But for all these problems he has his pat solutions.

For example the Punjab Chief Minister takes recourse to danda methods whenever faced with a popular movement. He has not the slightest pretensions about saving civil liberties and the freedom of the press. Everybody is punishable in Punjab on some or the other pretext.

Kairon knows how to deal with any high official of the State if he refuses to obey his dictates. Of late the Punjab Chief Minister has also evolved new ways of tackling those in the Congress who call themselves "dissidents".

When his own partymen and others started accusing him and his supporters of misusing their high positions for their private ends and groulism he called it a bluff. He picked up a vocal ex-Congressman and appointed a vigilance committee under him. But when many headlines were being made regarding the cases before the Committee and important Congress leaders became apprehensive of troubles in store for them, he surprised everybody by dissolving the Committee.

This, however, is nothing in comparison to the latest news from the Punjab. Kairon has shown how to kill two birds with a stone. One of the Punjab Ministers, obviously not in the good books of the Chief Minister, has been removed from the Ministry, mind you not because Kairon has reshuffled the Ministry, but directly by the Governor himself.

It is being said in circles close to the Punjab Chief Minister that it is not a case of "political vendetta". They say that their were charges of abuse of power against the dismissed Minister. Because he refused to resign the Punjab Governor had to take this unusual step of dismissing the Minister, Rao Birendra Singh.

The dismissed Minister had complained that "for some time past differences had cropped up between me and the Chief Minister inside the party" and charges brought were "flimsy and baseless".

Without going into the factional explanations of the episode it can be clearly seen that Congressmen today not only abuse power but can remain Ministers as long as they are useful to the ruling faction. Honest Congressmen who cannot make any contribution to the various factions are in a sorry position in the Congress today.

DHEBAR'S SOMERSAULT

REPORTS from Gujarat indicate that the tussle over the ten-year rule is still not over, although a new element has changed the balance of forces between the protagonist and antagonist sides. The ten-year-rule controversy.

According to the IPA: "U. N. Dhebar, who is a member of the Central Election Committee, and who has played a significant role in the Gujarat tangle is reported to be having second thoughts. It is well-known that Dhebar had first suggested application of the ten-year-rule, but subsequently opposed it and sided with the Gujarat Ministers, thus offending Morarji Jhal."

"Now, once again, Dhebar is reported to have changed his position. Though he maintained silence and declined to say anything to pressmen in Rajkot regarding the controversy, his recent utterances at a Congress workers meeting in Jamnagar is taken here as significant pointer to his latest thinking on the subject."

Dhebarji has once again changed sides. How unpredictable are the Congress leaders? Dhebarji has proved it again.

JUSTICE DENIED

HOW is it possible to secure justice when the judge is prejudiced? This problem is a very real as far as the Labour Department of the Maharashtra Government is concerned.

Recently Bapurao Jagtap, MLA, wrote a letter to the State Deputy Labour Minister which shows how the Labour Department of the Maharashtra Government refused to do what was done by the Labour Ministry in Madras.

He pointed out: "An industrial dispute regarding additional bonus between the East Asiatic Co. (India) P Ltd., and its workmen was in conciliation. This industrial dispute was not referred to the tribunal vide under-secretary's letter No. A.J.E-2259-M dated 16/11/59...."

"In the meantime the workmen of the East Asiatic Co. (India) P Ltd., in Madras had raised a dispute similar to that raised by the Bombay workers (regarding additional bonus for 1958) which, however, was referred to adjudication by the Madras Government on the basis of the same balance sheet profit and loss account, etc., which were the subject matter of dispute in Bombay."

The workers of Madras got the bonus and on the same basis the workers in Bombay received it later.

The question, however remains, the letter asks "On what basis are bonus disputes referred to the Tribunal?" in Bombay.

How thinly veiled is the pro-employer policy of the labour department of Maharashtra Government is clearly visible from this letter.

—Agradoot

Lok Sabha Debate

THE Lok Sabha on August 19 endorsed and adopted the Report of its Privileges Committee, which had found the Editor of Blitz, R. K. Karanjia, and its New Delhi Correspondent, A. Raghavan, guilty of a breach of privilege of the Lok Sabha in consequence of the despatch appearing in the paper's issue of April 15, attacking Acharya Kripalani's performance in the debate on the demands for grants for the Defence Ministry.

Editor Karanjia has been ordered to appear before the bar of Parliament on August 29 to receive a reprimand, while the Lok Sabha press gallery card and the Central Hall pass of A. Raghavan has been taken away. Raghavan held the Press gallery card on behalf of the London Daily Worker.

CONFUSION REIGNS

Immediately Sarvashris Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Jan Sangh) and Ram Subhag Singh (Congress) came forward to state that the Deputy Speaker should be "allowed to withdraw" his proposal of giving Karanjia a chance to make his submissions before the House. Despite the precedents cited the day before by Sardar Hukum Singh, Sri Asoka Mehta denying any intention of coming in the way of unanimity stated: "We are not denying anyone any right that should be given. Let us see whether such a right exists in this case or should exist."

Confusion continued as another PSP member Sri Nath Pal insisted that the Deputy Speaker had withdrawn his proposal, while the Speaker continued to rule that there was no formal motion for withdrawal.

It was at this stage that the Leader of the House Jawaharlal Nehru intervened. As it was not so much to the procedure, which was then under discussion, but more to the substance of the matter that his intervention related, he prefaced his remarks by wondering whether what he was going to say was immediately relevant. He said that, while the original offending article "may not be a matter of privilege, yet it was an exhibition of vulgarity which often occurs nowadays" but "something else" had happened in the meanwhile, which was much more important, he said, than the original thing. He referred to what had appeared "I believe in the last issue of Blitz"—namely reproduction of a part of the offending Editor's reply to the Privilege Committee.

Even at that stage the Prime Minister left no one in doubt that he viewed this reproduction as the considered "response" to the Privilege Committee's verdict on the part of the offender and as immensely accentuating the offence. He mentioned the possibility of the Privilege Committee being revived to consider the matter afresh and as a whole.

NEHRU ENDORSES HUKUM SINGH

The Prime Minister, who is the Leader of the House, hardly spoke on the first day. His only comment, nevertheless, on the apparently procedural debate then was in approval of the proposal made by Sardar Hukum Singh, namely to give the offending editor an opportunity to make his submissions before the House. Said the Prime Minister: "I should imagine from what I heard this morning that the proposal made by the Deputy Speaker is probably the correct course to adopt."

The first day's discussion thus ended with the House adopting the Deputy Speaker's proposal as the motion moved, which it decided to debate the next day.

The next day's (19th) proceedings began on a hesitant note on the part of the Deputy Speaker, who said he was not clear as to how he was to proceed in a situation where, contrary to earlier such occasions, there did not seem to be a unanimity on the proposal made by him. He wondered whether it would not be better for him to withdraw his proposal.

The House now reverted to consider the original motions—the first moved by the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party—Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, accepting the Privileges Committee's recommendations. The Congress Secretary said that the despatch that appeared in Blitz about Acharya Kripalani's speech in the Lok Sabha on the Defence Ministry's demands had stated that the speech was delivered in a "hysterical manner of a violent epileptic" and it was an "impotent appeal". Dr. Singh said it was a "scandalous, scurrilous, wild way of representation" of the speech delivered by Acharya Kripalani. He accused Sri Karanjia of disputing—through his reply—the sovereign character of the Lok Sabha. He said, throughout his reply the Blitz editor had argued in an offensive language....

Communist member K. T. K. Thangamani then moved his motion that the House disapproved with the recommendations of the Committee relating to the punishment both

of the Editor and the Correspondent. He said that the recommendation relating to the Correspondent was out of order inasmuch as such punishment was not contemplated either in May's Parliamentary Practice or in other standard text books. The only punishments contemplated were fine (which had gone out of use) reprimand or committal. The power to give a Press card to a correspondent or to withdraw it was vested exclusively in the Speaker.

COMMUNIST DISAGREEMENT

"I have to say this with some hesitancy," said Thangamani, "that there has been a certain—because of the way in which the entire matter was referred to the Privileges Committee, the Privileges Committee was also in a hurry to get at certain things—there has been a certain colourable view of certain things. Otherwise they would not have rushed to this type of imposing punishment."

Dealing with constitutional aspects of the issue, Thangamani said that the Editor of Blitz must have consulted legal opinion before submitting his reply to the Committee and the opinion as given by some judges of the Supreme Court like Mr. Subba Row could not be easily brushed aside. (A voice: It is only a minority judgment). Even the majority judgment in the Searchlight case said Thangamani, had obliquely stated that so many years after Independence, Parli-

AUGUST 27, 1961

from our parliamentary correspondent

ment had not come forward to define precisely what its privileges were.

PLEA FOR PATIENCE

The Press Commission too had made certain observations on the subject. "They mention all these things and then they say that a distinction may be drawn between our Parliament and the British Parliament and they say it would be difficult to define exactly what privilege is.

"Now, here, a question has arisen as to what privilege is which can be invoked when it concerns the Press. This is the specific question. I can well imagine what would happen if this is applied to many of the vernacular newspapers in Tamilnad like the Ananda Viketan or the Kumudam which publishes a lot of caricatures which sometimes are not at all palatable. I can also well imagine how a journal like Shankar's Weekly also may get into this. So I want to know how far this can be extended," asked Thangamani.

The Law Minister intervening said that he had told the Privileges Committee that it was not necessary to go into the question whether the majority or the minority judgment in the Searchlight

case was correct. The whole question according to him was whether the legitimate freedom which every man enjoyed including the Pressman had been exceeded or not, and the Privileges Committee's answer was that it had been.

THE "BLITZ" REMARKS AND PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE

Thangamani continuing said that in the past Government had referred certain issues like that of Berubari to the Supreme Court. As in the present case too some of the constitutional questions were involved it might be considered whether they could be referred to the Supreme Court for its opinion.

Thangamani further said that courts had expressed differing views on what constituted fair comment. "Even in this case with due respect to the Committee of Privileges, it is necessary to examine in great detail whether there has been fair comment or not."

Thangamani said that some members of the House had gone and given evidence before the Privileges Committee. "I do not know how they are experts in the law of privilege?"

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: He has no right to say so.

K. T. K. Thangamani: So I am beginning to have my own suspicions. They may be right or wrong. Probably it would be right if some member of the Committee explained to us whether that particular member offered to give evidence or he was summoned because of his experience, because he is an expert.... That is why I feel that there

has been a certain colourable approach to this whole question. Otherwise, normally when a Report of the Privileges Committee is before the House I would not have come forward with a motion completely disapproving or disagreeing with the findings of the Committee."

Braj Raj Singh (Socialist) speaking on his motion suggested that two persons should not be punished for one offence and the right of the correspondent not to disclose his dispatch should be respected.

P. M. ASTONISHED

The Prime Minister intervened again to say that he had heard the two previous speakers with "mounting astonishment". He said he was particularly pained and slightly angered "at the way our Deputy Speaker was dealt with in that article (presumably in the latest issue of Blitz)—the person whom we know and who occupies a high position in this House and whom we all respect!" He said the House coming at this stage in the way of the conclusions reached by the Privileges Committee would be a very serious thing. "Situated as we are" he said, "the least we can do—we might have done more—is to accept the recommendation of the Privileges Committee."

Hiren Mukerjee cited a similar case of 1901 in which the Leader of the House of

Commons had finally said that though the privilege had been attracted the kind of punishment suggested, i.e., calling the person to the bar to reprimand, was not correct, and had treated the matter as closed. He asked the Leader of the Lok Sabha to do the same in this case.

Asoka Mehta supporting Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's motion felt "happy and proud" that it was the Secretary of the majority party in the House who had moved it.

Dr. Singh's motion was then passed with a voice vote with Communist members dissenting.

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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HOW LONG ? HOW LONG ?



release long-term prisoners!

On August 18 in the Rajya Sabha Bhupesh Gupta made a stirring speech on his Constitution Amendment Bill. The Bill sought to amend article 72 so as to enlarge the powers of the President in regard to the granting of pardons, reprieves, remissions and commutation of sentences. It sought to bring in to the purview of this clause political cases as well. To explain his Bill Bhupesh Gupta took up the cause of the long-term prisoners. Extracts from his speech follow:

TWO years ago, 74 Members of Parliament, belonging to many parties — I do not think the Congress Party people signed it because they had some technical difficulty but all other people signed as otherwise it would not have come to 74 members of Parliament — demanded in a joint appeal that long-term political prisoners in West Bengal, in Madras (Tamil Nadu), in Andhra, in Bihar, in Punjab and other places should now be released because they had already spent long long years in prison.

Nobody bothered to look at it and we could not approach the President with this petition because the President would naturally ask what he could do.

Let me first give the case of one Member of the other House, Kansari Halder, who now sits in the Alipore Central Jail under a sentence of transportation for life.

What is his offence? The offence related to certain charges in 1947 or 1948. These were the charges. The charges did not relate to a period of the present political situation in the country.

They relate to certain other periods when the political situation was entirely different, perhaps in many ways, and on those charges he had been recently convicted and sent to prison and for life imprisonment.

Even after the charges had been framed and some of his colleagues had been tried and sentenced to life imprisonment, Halder contested the last general elections as a Communist candidate in the same area, the Diamond Harbour area, where he is supposed to have committed all kinds of crimes and there he was elected and he received 2,47,785 votes and topped the list of all successful candidates.

I am not going into the merits or demerits of the case but there are two points here. One is that the case relates to a period 12 years ago and the second even after the people knew that there were charges against him and that he was being hunted, they elected him to the Parliament.

People sent him to the Lok Sabha to represent them, giving him their support and a court of justice sends him to the Alipore Central Jail. There is a conflict between the larger interests of democracy and the people on the one hand and the narrow rigid penal processes of law on the other.

In the same case of Halder, there is one Gajen Mall, who was convicted in 1953. Since then he has been in jail. Gajen Mall, Bhusan Kamila, Sujoy Barik were all convicted long ago and also Dwijen Dinda, Bejoy Mondal, Bhim Ghorai, Manik Hazra, Tarani Sahu Kishore Bora and Kansari Halder.

Kansari Halder, of course, was convicted in 1960 but the others were convicted as far

Independence Day. Then there are Rajkrishna Chakraverty, Saraswati Tewari, Ramjatan Singh, Hirimukund Ram, Makhan Bose, Anwar Ali, Kartic Dhara. They were sentenced under the Dum-Dum Basirhat and Jessop Cases.

We are not going into the cases. They are political cases and they belong to the RCPI. But they have now spent something like thirteen years in prison.

Pannalal Das Gupta wrote to the Prime Minister. He does not belong to our Party. He has been a veteran Congress worker. He was in what was called terrorist movement of the thirties. He participated in the 1942 movement and he had been absconding since then.

After this case, he wrote to the Prime Minister and some arms were also surrendered, to show that these people did not believe in that sort of thing. Now they have been in prison for 13 and 14 years and still they are languishing in prison.

Then we take up Tamilnad, where you had the case

tical prisoners, all those who had been sentenced in the Telengana case and other cases. That was a good gesture. Has the situation become worse because of those releases?

... Then in the Punjab you have Teja Singh Swatantra, Madan Singh, Pakhar Singh, Kehar Singh, Pritam Singh and Nasib Singh are in jail as lifers. There again, I must say that some of these well known leaders are still absconding because cases were not withdrawn against them, though many years have passed since the charges were framed.

Thus, Teja Singh, Raja Ram, Darshan Singh Dakhla, Inder Singh Murari and Sardha Singh are absconding. Teja Singh has been a well-known figure in Punjab. He has been a great leader of the revolutionary movement during the old days, a great leader and Congressman who participated in all the legendary struggles that took place in the Punjab. Today he is a fugitive from justice. Why? Can't we do anything about it?

tions. So these kinds of things are there and we stand for strengthening the parliamentary institutions.

By and large, all the major parties in the country have accepted that they should function under the system of parliamentary democracy and indeed, they are working for strengthening it in their own way. Such is the position now.

If the political situation has changed so vastly, compared to what the position was in 1947, 1948 and 1949 is that not a material factor for giving new thoughts to this matter of political prisoners and for considering their case...

I know how the families have been suffering. Young people went to jail and they have now become old. These people belonged mostly to the lower middle classes and the working classes, peasants and so on. Their families are starving.

I would again appeal to the Prime Minister of the country, Jawaharlal Nehru, who himself has spent many years in prison and who once himself tried to secure the release of political prisoners even though he did not believe in their political philosophy or thought.

Today, as the Prime Minister of the country, as the leader of the nation, can I not expect from him that he would ask the State Governments to set this matter right and see that these long-suffering prisoners are no longer made to suffer incarceration behind prison bars?...

These are selfless political workers. According to you, they may have been misguided, they may have done wrong things. But they did not do anything for their personal gain. They did something which they believed to be in the interests of the country and the people. You may think that they were wrong. That is a different matter. Such is the position. Now, here all these lists will convince you that these are not ordinary people...

I have brought forward this Bill to place it specially before my Congress colleagues here. The case from our side involves not only Communists but other people also, other political workers of the Opposition and I would expect some measure of generosity, sportsmanship and largeheartedness from them in a case like this before they make up their mind.

Bhupesh Gupta's Passionate Persuasion

back as 1953. They had been undertrials much earlier.

They have already spent some eight or nine or 10 years in jail, except Kansari Halder who was underground. All the names that I have given are the names of political workers. Some of them had participated in the struggles against the British. Some of them were in those days Congress workers and they were engaged in the peasants' movement and in the peasants' struggle.

Then from West Bengal you have the Dum Dum Basirhat and Jessop Cases. A number of persons were arrested and the dates of their arrests were in 1949 in some cases and in some cases a little later.

These are Bindaya Singh, Mukunda Gupta, Sanat Dutta, Dinabandhu Kundu, Pritish Dey, Hiranmoy Ganguly, Fatik Pan, Kalidas Chakravorty, Amiya Chakravorty, Biswanath Das, Prasad Mukherjee, Bireswat Bhattacharji, Bikram Shaw, Tara-pada Roy, Pannalal Das Gupta and Amar Raha. Amar Raha was released recently on

known as the Tirunelveli Conspiracy Case. In that case again, Meenakshinathan, K. B. S. Mani, V. Alagumuthu and K. Baladandayutham are lifers. They were convicted in 1953 and so they have spent eight or nine years in jail.

Then there was the Kathalambatti Case in which M. V. Sivaswamy, M. V. Vairavan and U. Veerannam have been sentenced and they have been in jail since 1950, that is to say, for eleven years.

Then again, there is the Shenbagan Serval Madurai Case. In that case K. Marudhai, C. Mottayyan, P. T. David Rajamani, Joseph, Veeraya and C. A. Balan have been in jail since 1950 as lifers. Four more were recently sentenced a year ago for life. They are kisan leaders from Pappan Kulan and Tirunelveli.

Then in Andhra Pradesh there is the case of two persons. I must say about Andhra Pradesh that Sanjiva Reddy, now Congress President, when he came to office, released all the poli-

In Bihar also there are these long-term prisoners. Nakshatra Malakar was arrested in 1951 and is still in jail. Biswanath Bhuiya arrested in 1952 is still in jail. Sadhan Gupta arrested in 1952 is also still in jail. Bodi Alam, arrested in 1954 is still in jail. Panchanan Jha arrested in 1954, is still in jail. Giri Jha arrested in 1955 is in jail.

So also Baleswar Jha arrested in 1955 is still in jail. Jag-dhar Jha arrested in 1955 is also in jail still. Dr. Brajanandan Jha is in jail since 1955. Suresh Bhatt arrested in 1955 is still in jail. Bahoo Lal has been in jail since 1955....

You have every right to condemn what they did. But the political situation has changed. Are we living in the days when we had the uncertainties that prevailed after the liberation of this country?

No. Today things have changed. The political set-up has changed for the good, and we are settling our political controversies through the process of elec-