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**NEW AGE**

**REPUBLIC DAY SPECIAL**



# SOCIALIST WORKERS — REAL MASTERS OF CULTURE

On this Republic Day I would like to share some pleasant memories with the readers. I take myself back a few months—July 1961. How fortunate to be able to spend some holidays in Gulmarg once again. I have loved this place since my childhood. Every part of it is full of memories for me. And I am not the only person who believes that Gulmarg is one of the loveliest places on earth.

AS I lie basking in the sun in the lawns of my hotel a happy accident enlivens the day. The postman brings a little packet containing photographs which has come all the way from Czechoslovakia, sent by my very dear friend Dr. Edward Hais.

Edward and Thelma, the handsome and talented couple, left India by sea only a month ago. For six years Edward represented the Czech-Export film in Bombay.

He worked hard, with tact and perseverance. He may not have succeeded in bringing the excellent films of his country to us on a commercial scale, but he succeeded in making the Bombay film-goer aware of them.

## Joyful Reminder

Some time ago, joining hands with a distinguished distributor, he was able to arrange a Festival of Czech films at the Opera House which was very successful.

But by nature and upbringing Edward was more of an artist, a sensitive and cultured human being. The Hais' added sparkle whenever they were in company. They had become part and parcel of our little film-world.

It was a joy to receive them and be received by them, not because they had tactfully adjusted themselves to their Indian environment but because they had made sincere efforts to study, understand and appreciate our way of life.

They had travelled extensively through the country and that's why perhaps they always appeared to be so genuinely at home. The climate never bothered them, and the sea near my house was their constant adventure.

How difficult it is to part with such friends, and how nice of Thelma to have sent us a picture post-card from each port they touched on the way. And now this very exciting souvenir from Edward!

My mind travels back to the time when these photographs were taken. That was last year, at this very time. I was attending the Karlov Vary Film Festival. My film Heera Moti had been entered there by our Government. The Delegation included celebrities like Raj Kapur, Nirupa Roy, Krishan Chopra (Director of Heera Moti), J. C. Jain, Gajanan Bijur and several others.

There was something about Karlov Vary which reminded me of Kashmir and particularly Gulmarg. Whenever I got an opportunity I would climb up the surrounding hills and wander through the dense pine forests in an ecstasy of recognition.

Karlov Vary has been considered one of the finest health resorts in Europe for many centuries. Great artists like Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven

and Chopin visited it again and again and did much of their creative work here.

One forest road which was called "Beethoven" had a special charm for me because of its name. And here during one of my walks I met Edward coming from the opposite direction. The first thing he said was "Isn't this like Gulmarg, Balraj?"

These words were sweeter to my ears than Beethoven's music. I learnt from Edward that he and his wife were fond of Gulmarg because it reminded them of Karlov Vary, where they had their honeymoon. And now I had fallen in love with Karlov Vary because it reminded me of my Gulmarg!

A new bond was created between us and from then onwards we began to share our wanderings. We would walk for hours, silently enjoying each other's company, lost in our own thoughts. A glass of beer at the road-side bar of a sunny village would add to our pleasure.

Edward informed our Delegation one day that alongside of the International Film Festival at Karlov Vary, the annual workers film festival was being held all over Czechoslovakia, and its organising committee had extended us an invitation.

We were to go by car to Pilsen and Ceske Budevice, two of the major industrial towns of Western Czechoslovakia and we would also get a chance to see the Bohemian country-side which was famous for its beauty.

We were rather reluctant to agree. The festivities in Karlov Vary were in full swing. Our film Heera Moti had been appreciated and several countries were offering to buy it. We had made many good

friends. The thought of getting away from it all even for two days was not pleasant.

Besides, anything associated with workers had a political tinge about it. It reminded us of processions, Red flags, fiery speeches and slogans. It did not seem an attractive proposition.

But we did accept the invitation out of respect for the feelings of our hosts. Krishan Chopra, Bijur, a young lady journalist from Egypt, Edward, and myself formed the party which started off in two cars the next afternoon.

These photographs which Edward had now sent me were taken during this very trip, which turned out to be delightful beyond all our expectations. Workers are the new boss class in Czechoslovakia and they gave us a grand time.

For instance, at Ceske Budo-



Young Czech pioneers honour Balraj.

ces, heads of wolves, boars and other wild life hunted down by the fiercely moustached gentlemen dangling alongside their victims in huge oil paintings.

Superbly furnished Gothic halls with highly polished wooden floors may not have been haunted, but there was every chance of ourselves inadvertently "haunting" each other by making a surprise ap-

pearance, like visitors often do at Madam Tussaud's in London.

The room occupied by me opened on the main courtyard below, where Knights in armour must have charged at each other on white steeds in the days of yore.

In the morning, as I stood shaving nonchalantly in one of these windows I began to imagine how the Lady in White must have stood at this very spot, coyly waving her silken handkerchief to her chivalrous Knight down below.

## Workers' Audience

Both in Ceske Budevice and Pilsen the workers film festival was being conducted in open air theatres. The one in Pilsen accommodated fourteen thousand people.

There was a full moon when we arrived there, and this made the amphitheatre, esconced in a pine forest, extremely pleasant. The host was full. This audience of workers and their families was in no way inferior to assemblies of the upper class anywhere, either in appearance or conduct.

The stage was a plain big platform. The screen, which seemed to act as a sort of back-drop was also exceptionally large, much larger than a cinema-scope screen, it seemed to me. Obviously, they were going to use a special type of projector to suit the needs of this large audience.

As we stepped on to the stage young pioneers carrying flags of all nations lined up behind us to the accompaniment of a fanfare. Some of these chubby children we had already met earlier in the day when they took us to see their electric railway. That too had been fun!

The track ran in a circle of about two miles. There were three stations, quipped with all the gadgets and the usual staff, all kinds of course. The train itself was small in length, but in size it was the same as any railway used by adults. They had a workshop too!

Except for one adult who sat idly in the driver's cabin as a sort of necessary nuisance, the driver, guard, conductor, ticket checker etc were all young boys and girls. And they took their jobs so seriously that we too had to behave like real and earnest passengers....

Edward stepped forward and introduced us to the audience. We were greeted lustily with cheers and bouquets of flowers. From our side the first speaker was Miss Gamal, the Egyptian journalist. I was the second.

Edward had told me in advance that a light-hearted speech was the kind Czechoslovakian workers appreciated most. I did my best, but was greeted with an applause

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Ajoy unveils the memorial to Lumumba at the Vijayawada Party Congress, April 1961.

# RECOLLECTIONS

By A. S. R. CHARI

It was in 1936. The Kher Ministry, the first Congress Ministry was formed in Bombay. So though the British had banned our Party, the Communist Party in 1934, the Party Centre was functioning openly in Bombay. The office of the National Front was the rallying centre.

It was there that I first met Ajoy. I had heard of him as an inveterate revolutionary, a comrade-in-arms of Bhagat Singh and Chandrashekhar Azad.

He was lank and long limbed. His face was granite, even a bit cruel at first sight, but when he smiled—a shy, apologetic warm smile—his whole face was transformed. That smile and that heart of his no one who knew Ajoy can ever forget. Both were lustrious and of gold.

It was 1939. I was a rising young lawyer, close to the Party but not in it. In my flat at Neelam Manzil next to the police Station on Lamington Road we had organised a study group. About 30 youths attended. They were all of a fine mould. Hate for foreign rule, love for freedom and hunger for a speedy road to a socialist India, were their driving forces.

Our Party was a constituent part of the Congress then. The Party decided to put up N. L. Upadhyaya, a young little known Communist (he is now the Party Secretary in Karnataka) for the elections to the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

The whole study group went into feverish action. From door to door, from man to man they took their inspiring ideals. They convinced lots of Congress men and women. The result was beyond our wildest dreams. N. L. swept the polls standing second only to S. K. Patil who since 1930 was the undisputed leader of the Congress in Bombay.

We were wild with jubilation. We had a victory meeting in my flat. To it Ajoy came to congratulate these fine young comrades on the

new ground they had furrowed, the new fields they had reaped.

I could see that the Party line then was wholly in accord with Ajoy's basic ideas. Having grown from terrorism in to Marxism he was all in favour of a line of working inside the Congress and with it and pulling the whole democratic movement into the Revolutionary Road to Freedom. This was the Joshi line—P. C. Joshi being the General Secretary then.

It was August 1942. On the eighth night at Gowalia Tank, Gandhiji had given the "Do or Die" message. The patience of the national leadership was exhausted. They had argued and pleaded but to no avail. So they threatened. On the 9th, the nation was beheaded. The entire leadership was stolen away and kept in jails.

Our Party after considerable resistance had only six months before this changed its attitude to the war. We believed that the war of the United Nations against the Fascist Axis, led by the Soviet Union must inevitably lead to enlargement of freedom all over the world.

So we found ourselves against the national current. National indignation broke forth like a cosmic blast. And we the revolutionaries were not leading it. We were not even sympathetic to it.

I remember Ajoy rushing from Lucknow or Kanpur to the Party Headquarters in Bombay. Fuzzled, pain and fear were writ large in his face as he told P. C. Joshi, "How can we oppose it. The masses are all in it".

We were stuck to our line. We were stunned, insulted, called traitors. But because even our

mistake stemmed from ideals we had the strength of spirit to face the people, reason argue and smile at their insults. The Party grew inspite of its unpopular policy.

November 1945. The war was over. The Rashid Day Rally in Calcutta unleashed a new Revolutionary wave. In 1946, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari India was in the throes of a revolution.

Bombay where the heroic RIN boys turned the Ships guns on Admiral Godfrey in reply to his threat. Bharatpur where Wavell's plane was stoned by angry peasants.

The Party was not leading this new revolution either. It was trailing behind it. This was the basis of the throes of rethinking. Ranadive represented this line. Take charge of it, lead it and develop it, he said. It was a correct line for 1946. But it was finally adopted in 1948 at Calcutta.

By this time the national government had been installed at the Centre. Transfer of power had taken place. But because freedom came in a way we did not like, many of us refused to recognise it. We said the old struggle continued. This was the Ranadive line.

At this time I do not know precisely what Ajoy's reactions were till he joined us in Yeravada jail. We were slowly rather painfully not quite clearly realising that there was something wrong.

So came a further change. Ajoy was wholly against the sectarian line. Many of us told him, persuaded him to take leadership of this revolt inside the Party.

And so having gone through two fires, the Party found a General Secretary who would not go too far right or too far left. For 10 years Ajoy was the inevitable choice for General Secretary. The Party was racked with persistent sharp differences, they were hardened attitudes of the two preceding periods. Only Ajoy could keep such a party together.

Always patient to hear everyone, always hesitant to speak out first or lay down a line, Ajoy was the best example of a non dogmatist. He had the unique knack of expounding a line in a form that was acceptable to those who opposed it. He held the Party together for over a decade when its splitting would have been a disaster.

Ajoy went to Jullundur in the first week of January this year. When I read in the papers that he had a mild heart attack I was worried.

When I met Litto, the fine Punjab girl who married Ajoy and brought personal happiness into his life, she had not received any message from Ajoy.

As soon as Ajoy returned he rang me up just saying, "Chari, what are you doing, I would like to come to your place and have a quiet evening".

And so he came with Litto. It was just a week before he died.

He looked in the very bloom of health. I had never seen Ajoy look so fresh and fit.

We talked, as is usual, of the problems of world communism. And in his talk was that quiet conviction that all the troubles that communism faced will be inevitably solved in favour of it. I was happy that I was able to give Ajoy a quiet, peaceful evening. He needed it so much.

# HOMAGE TO AJOY GHOSH

PLEASE convey my condolences to the family of the late Ajoy Ghosh. Ajoy Ghosh was a shining star on the horizon of India. In his death we have all suffered a great loss.

Yours,  
Alguraj Shastri, Minister for Forests, etc., Government of Uttar Pradesh.

PLEASE convey my sincere sympathies to family Sri Ajoy Ghosh.

—Sampurnanand.

THE death of Ajoy Ghosh, only 53 years of age, is a great loss. Having known him for 35 years and worked with him in the labour movement and, for some time in the C.P.I., I am shocked at his untimely and sudden death.

Ajoy Ghosh was an ardent revolutionary who worked day and night for the cause which he found acceptable. It was due to his untiring efforts that the foundation for Leftist influence on Kanpur Labour was laid in 1931-34.

His term as Secretary General of C.P.I. is remarkable because he took over when that Party was severely damaged by sectarian leadership of B. T. Ranadive. Ajoy Ghosh not only brought various groups in the C.P.I. together but led them in a manner which made the Party a force to be reckoned with.

When I first met him in the twenties he was a student in Kanpur's Christ Church College and known for his physique and muscular body than for his political work, which at that time was mainly conspiratorial. It was said to find him a T.B. patient after a few years' hard work. It is sadder to find that he is no more.

We have lost a noble soul, a genial friend and a patriot.

Yours truly,  
Arjun Arora, M.P.

A. K. GOPALAN, M.P., President, Manali C. Kandasami, Vice-President, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, General Secretary, S. V. Parulekar, M.P. and N. Prasad Rao, Joint Secretaries of the All-India Kisan Sabha have issued the following statement to the Press.

With deep grief, the All-India Kisan Sabha has learnt of the passing away of Ajoy Ghosh yesterday in New Delhi after a heart attack.

In the death of its General Secretary, it is not the Communist Party alone that has suffered a grievous loss, it is the loss shared by the vast forces for democracy, Socialism and progress in this country in whose front ranks Ajoy Ghosh has stood ever since he joined the freedom struggle in the late twenties.

In his death, the All-India Kisan Sabha has lost a dear friend and a consistent champion of the cause of the Indian peasantry.

We offer our heart-felt condolences to the Communist Party of India and the bereaved family of its departed leader.

We dip the Kisan Sabha Flag in homage to Ajoy Ghosh.

PLEASE convey my condolences to the family of the late Ajoy Ghosh. Ajoy Ghosh was a shining star on the horizon of India. In his death we have all suffered a great loss.

DEAR Comrades, It is with deep sorrow that we learned of the death of the General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. On behalf of all Albanian Communists, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania send their condolences to the National Council and through them to all the members of the Communist sister party of India for the great loss. fallen on our sister party by the untimely death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

—Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

DEAR Comrades, We have learnt with shock and pain about the sudden death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, outstanding figure of the international working class movement. In the name of Algerian Communists, we express saddest condolence.

Ajoy Ghosh had acquired a great prestige, not only among Indian people, but also among all the peoples fighting for their national independence.

Never flinching in the hard tasks of a responsible militant he fought, at the head of his Party, standing on the unshakable foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

The memory of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh shall always remain engraved in the hearts of Communists and all progressive Algerians who feel with great grief the loss of a great fighter for peace, liberty and socialism.

—Larbi Bouhali.

THE news of comrade Ajoy Ghosh's sudden death shocked us. His untimely death has caused irreparable loss to Indian and international Communist movement. We express deepest regret.

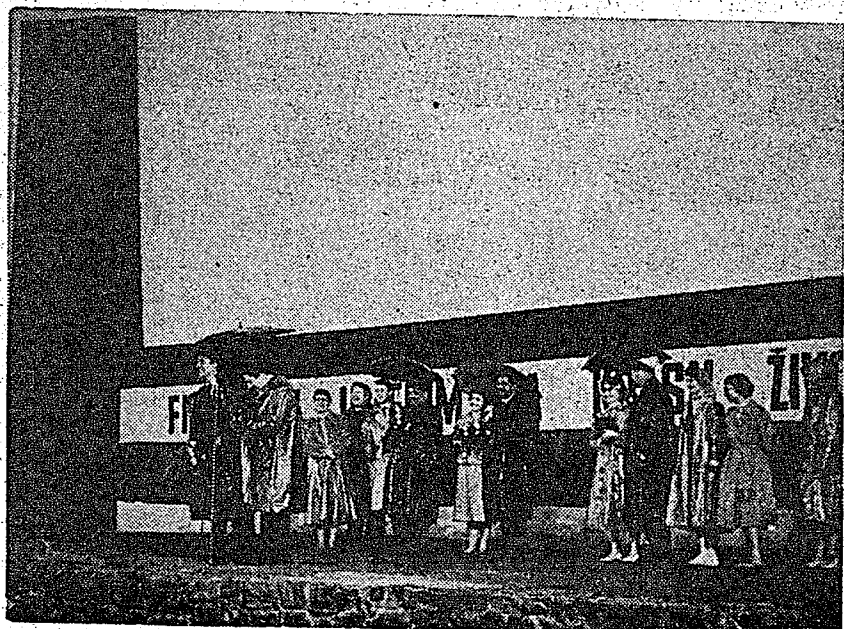
—Shambhuram, Secretariat Central Committee Communist Party of Nepal.

THE All India Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union extend their profound condolences to the working people of India and share your grief at the death of one of the outstanding leaders of the international labour movement, Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh.

Soviet working people have known Comrade Ghosh as ardent selfless fighter for the freedom and independence of his people, unity and solidarity of the working class, peace, democracy and socialism.

By his versatile tireless activities, faithful friend of Soviet people, he has made invaluable contributions to the cause of the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the Republic of India and the Soviet Union. The Soviet people mourn your severe bereavement. The bright memory of Comrade Ghosh will always live in our hearts.

—All India Central Council of Trade Unions, USSR to All-India Trade Union Congress.



Balraj singing in the rain.

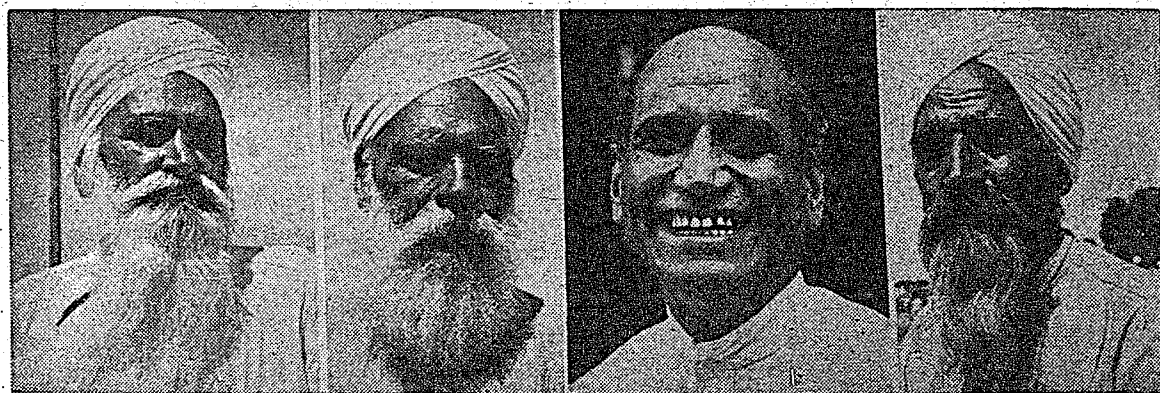
NEW AGE



# GHADAR IMMORTALS



Above: Sohan Singh Bhakna  
Left to Right: Harnam Singh  
Dharmgarh; Bhag Singh  
Canadian; Prithvi Singh;  
Dulla Singh.



While celebrating the festivities of the Republic Day and proclaiming the achievements of our post-independence era, we are duty bound to pay homage to all the martyrs, who suffered terribly and laid down their lives to bring this day of rejoicing for us. Amongst those, the heroes of the Ghadar Party hold a special mention. They raised the banner of armed revolt at a time when our foremost national leaders could not think beyond 'home-rule'.

The foundations of the Ghadar Party were laid in America by the sturdy Punjabi peasants, who had gone there to earn money. There they earned well. Their capacity to work harder and their lower standards of living made them cheap labour as compared to the native workers of those lands. Competitions and conflict inevitably arose.

The circumstances forced them to realise that slavery should be ended. The flame was kindled. Soon Gurdwaras at Stockton in California and Vancouver in Canada became centres of intense political activity.

Sohan Singh Bhakna, working in a timber factory at Astoria, took the initiative to consolidate the awakening. Meetings were organised. Cash collected. And the Hindi Association of America was founded. They also decided to bring out a weekly paper Ghadar, named after the mutiny of 1857, in Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and Gurmukhi. This gave the association its name—the Ghadar Party.

The aims of the party, according to its resolutions, were to overthrow the imperialist domination in India and the setting up of a National Republic, based on freedom and equality. The aim could be achieved only by an armed revolt. Sohan Singh Bhakna was elected the President. He is now an old respected member of the Communist Party of India.

## The Great Start

The first issue of Ghadar came out on November 1, 1913. Party's membership swelled to 15,000. The movement spread to Canada, Malaya, Japan, China, the Philippines, Fiji, Argentina and finally reached India. Shortly, America and Canada had 72 branches. Contacts were established with the brother fighters of Czarist Russia, China, Ireland, etc.

A special ship, the Komagata Maru, chartered at Hong-kong took 400 passengers abroad from various ports and sailed on April 14, 1914 for Canada. In spite of all the conditions of the law fulfilled, the Canadian Government refused the passengers to land and ordered the ship to return to India.

The passengers refused to obey the order. Tension mounted as the days went by. The provisions on the ship were exhausted and even the water began to run short. The Canadian Government threatened to use force. The ship was surrounded by the armed soldiers of the Army, yet the passengers remained firm.

After some time, the Canadian Government agreed to pay all the expenses incurred by each passenger, if they returned. And so the Komagata Maru, which had by now become the ship of revolution, sailed back to India on July 23, 1914. The passengers felt that the Government, that made Kamagata Maru incident possible, had no moral right to exist.

## Komagata Maru

The party felt that the actual fight against the British rule had ultimately to be fought in India. Hence, it ordered all its members to return home.

The British Government was fully informed of this exodus. Its agents were working and the party made no secret of its agitation and aims. At Calcutta the Government was ready to receive them "free of charge" into the special trains under armed military and police escort to various jails.

The Komagata Maru was the first to reach Budge Budge (Calcutta) on September 19, 1914. Its passengers flatly refused to board the special trains. A clash occurred. Armed soldiers opened fire. Eighteen persons were shot dead, 31 were put behind the bars, 60 forced to board the train. Only 31 escaped.

Altogether during the first two years of war, about 8,000 persons returned. Of these 400 were jailed and 2,500 interned. The Government felt it had finished the Ghadar Party. But it was mistaken. More than 6,000 had already returned and the police had failed to keep track of at least half of them.

The party firmly believed that the only way to overthrow British rule was to infect the Indian Army with the idea of revolt. They were the first to take revolutionary ideas to the army and peasantry.

Most important work was done by 19-year old Kartar Singh Sarabha, he would travel hundreds of miles at a stretch on his bike, leaving behind the burning trail of revolt. There was not a single cantonment from Bannu down to Banaras that he had not visited and created revolutionary centres in.

The Indian garrisons at Ferozepore, Rawalpindi, and Lahore promised to revolt. The spark was lighted among the soldiers of Meerut, Lucknow, Faizabad, Kanpur, Allahabad and the flames reached out as far as Jabalpur and Dacca. Even in Burma and Malaya the Ghadar revolt was maturing. February 21, 1915 was fixed as the date of uprising.

But, spies amongst its own ranks let out the secret to the Government quietly. And so, the fatal blow fell. During the night of the 18th February, truck-loads of British soldiers together with police were posted at all possible key-points and started patrolling the streets. In the cantonments, it took over complete charge of everything.

## Death Defied

A last minute bid of the revolutionaries to change the date too could not work. Now the real manhunt began. Over 200 arrests were made. The trial began. Everyone knew where it was leading to six months passby. The accused laughed and joked without paying the least attention to the proceedings. In the end they decided that seven, who had led the struggle, should accept full responsibility for all that had happened. It meant death. And so there was a keen tussle to get on to the list.

Twentyfour were sentenced to death. Twenty-six were transported for life imprisonment. Six others were given varying sentences. Amongst these Baba Gujar Singh, was later sentenced to transportation for life. Of the 24 sentenced to death, 15 were arrested before they set foot on Indian soil. There could be no judicial appeal and very few agreed to appeal for mercy. Each one was eager to mount the gallows first and said, "how better can a man lay down his life than in the cause of his country!"

In spite of the heavy censorship the news reached out, and the protest demonstrations were held. The death sentences of 17 were commuted to transportation for life.

All those transported for life were sent to the Andamans. The prisoners knew that the Andamans meant hell and they had already vowed to fight back. The very first day they refused to be harassed to kolloo—the most brutal type of hard labour.

## Jail Struggle

And, thus, the struggle inside the jail began. They were severely whipped, sent to solitary confinement for months on end, awarded bar-fetters, and standing hand-cuffs. But none of these methods could break them.

They resorted to hunger strikes. The terror increased. Punishment followed in each case. Handcuffs and fetters, gunny clothes, solitary confinements became daily routine. They were severely beaten.

Sixty-year old Baba Bhan Singh died. More martyrs began to die at their posts. Budha Singh, Ram Rakha, Rulla Singh, Nand Singh, Rehar Singh, Natha Singh, Roda Singh—all fell one after another. But they all fought with their backs to the wall.

Prithvi Singh resorted to hunger strike for 155 days and spent 20 months in solitary confinement. It was an epic of superhuman endurance, of matchless heroism.

Then victory came. Through some Punjabi soldiers the news reached India. A storm of protest swept over the land. The British enslavers were forced to close down the Andamans

prison. On July 1921 the homeward journey began. The cold ashes of eight of their comrades remained behind.

The prisoners were now repatriated to India and were received into different jails. During the transfers, Prithvi Singh and Gurmukh Singh escaped from running trains.

Heroic Baba Gurmukh today is contesting the forthcoming elections to the Parliament of India on the Communist ticket. And 15 of their comrades including Baba Wasakha Singh were released in the amnesty granted at the end of the war. The struggle did not, however, end even in the Indian jails.

## New Phase

In 1930 Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna was released when he resorted to hunger strike till death. After serving 20 years in jails these heroes started coming out.

These Ghadarites wanted to play their role in the building up of a new society. However, they now realised that revolt in the army alone could not deliver the goods. It had to be backed by large-scale work among common masses—the peasants and the labourers.

And so, many of them got down to rouse the people towards this end. And no one today can tell that their efforts have gone in vain. Today they breathe in a free India, which has been transformed into a democratic Republic, nearer to their dreams. Even the last shreds of foreign colonialism on this sub-continent have recently been wiped out. Today Goa, Daman and Diu are members of the great Indian Republic.

All those who are alive to this day together are still building up a tradition of patriotism and self sacrifice which any freedom-loving country would feel proud of. And that is the reason that almost all the old revolutionary veterans of the Ghadar Party have joined the Communist Party—the only Party carrying forward the revolutionary traditions. They are the embodiment of our people's unbreakable will to struggle for a better order, who would not bow his head in reverence to them?

—Virendra Kumar

From O. P. MEHROTRA, after his tour of MADHYA PRADESH

# THE GLORIOUS RECORD OF COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

Although the activities of the Communist Party in M.P. are confined to certain working-class centres and some old princely States, the Communists in Madhya Pradesh have earned for themselves the love and devotion of the people. Thus in Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior, Jabalpur and other parts of the States, people look to the Communists as the real champions of their cause.

The Communist Party in Madhya Pradesh is contesting about 50 Assembly and five Parliamentary seats. Besides this, the Party is extending support to five independent candidates for the Assembly and one for the Parliamentary seat from Indore.

In Indore, the election battle is being fought in an entirely different situation than in the rest of the State. The main battle in Indore is against the disruptive and anti-working class policies of the M.P. INTUC and the retrograde labour policy of the M.P. Government. Homi Daji is contesting the Indore Parliamentary seat with the support of the Communist Party, Mazdoor Sabha and other democratic forces. Against him stands Ram Singh Bhal Varma, a sitting MP and the President of the M.P. INTUC. Labour Minister David is being fought by another candidate similarly from Indore City Assembly seat.

In Bhopal the Party is contesting two Assembly seats and one Parliamentary seat. The leadership of the Bhopal Communist Party includes all the old and trusted leaders of the people of Bhopal who once controlled and ran the Bhopal State Congress. Shakir Ali Khan, who is the sitting MLA from Bhopal and is again seeking election from his old constituency, was the first President of the Bhopal State Congress (Praja Mandal) and a member of the working committee of the All India States' People's Conference, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to be President in those days.

Against him is pitted the Congress candidate Mulla Fakrudin, a multi-millionaire. Some disciplinary action was taken by the Congress here against him for not fulfilling the conditions of Congress membership. It is said that Dr. Katju himself proposed his name for this seat. Another candidate in the field is the Hindu Mahasabha's Udhav Dass Mehta. It was pointed out to me here that Udhav Dass is a good friend of a Congress Minister, who is bringing pressure on him to withdraw or else put up some other Hindu Mahasabha candidate, for the Hindu Mahasabha is the main feeder of Hindu communalism here.

## In Madhya Pradesh Communists In Action

It is well-nigh impossible to pack all the facts about struggles led by the Communists in Madhya Pradesh in the limited space here. But some illustrative examples can be summed up as follows:

In Guna, the Communist leaders led a struggle in 1955 for a reduction of the rates for the hiring of tractors. The rate was reduced from Rs. 55 to Rs. 7 per acre. It also led to the exposure of scandalous situation in the Central Tractor Organisation.

In Bilkhera, Communists led the struggle of landless labour for distribution of land. Although the number of people who benefited by this, in the first instance, was not big, it opened the way for further distribution of surplus land. The landless labourers who benefitted by this struggle contributed money for installation of a telephone in the Bhopal Communist Party office. Their gift is still there.

The Communist Party, M.P. TUC and other organisations launched a struggle against three black bills in 1959—the Industrial Relations Act, Essential Services Act and M.P. Public Security Act.

The M.P. INTUC in order to forestall the growing movement against these bills mobilised a force of 5000 uniform wearing persons and brought them in 72 trucks to Bhopal. It is estimated that they spent about Rs. three lakhs on this. The people of Bhopal, however, mobilised in bigger numbers against this "invasion". On a call from all opposition parties a biggest-ever procession of 25,000 wended its way towards the Assembly. But the police had imposed Section 144 near the Assembly area.

The INTUC leader Ram Singh Bhal and one of his associates standing in a jeep, followed by this army of 5,000 mercenaries came towards the area to which the 25,000 procession was also marching.

Near the Assembly building Communist leaders Sarwate and Govind Srivastava were continuing their fast. While the processionists led by the Communist and other opposition parties did not enter the area where Section 144 was imposed, the INTUC leaders did. Their jeep had nearly struck a police superintendent. For the violation of this, the two INTUC leaders were arrested.

While the processionists against these bills raised the slogans "Black Bill Murdabad", the INTUC hoodlums without understanding what they were saying cried aloud "Black Bills Zindabad!"

A Communist M.L.A. in Assembly pointed out to the treasury benches how even the INTUC, which had organised the provocative demonstration, hailed these bills as "Kala Karnoon Zindabad".

Three batches of 100 persons each offered satyagraha against these bills and they were all led by three Communist M.L.As.

Another example that can be mentioned here is about the support given by the Party to the Heavy Electricals trainees' 18-day strike. Naturally, the INTUC opposed this strike, too.

businessmen in the Naya Bhopal constituency. The Congress, through adopting this candidate, also hopes to get a substantial number of Sindhi votes in Bhopal city, too.

I was told by a former Hindu Mahasabha leader that Loku Mal, while he was in Sind was an active worker of Hindu Mahasabha. Naturally the Congress could not have had a better 'secular' candidate!

The Communist Party has put up Kumari Mohini Devi for the Bhopal Parliamentary seat. Like the other two Communist candidates, Mohini, too, is an old leader of the Praja Mandal, now in the Party.

She was the last General Secretary of the Bhopal State Congress (Praja Mandal) in 1950-51. At present besides being the District Secretary of the Communist Party, she is leader of the 19-member Communist Group in the Bhopal Municipal Board.

Other politically important contests are going to take place in Jabalpur and other hot-affected areas of Mahakoushal like Saugor, Damoh etc. In Jabalpur the Party is contesting three Assembly seats, its candidates being comrades S. D. Mukherjee, L. N. Mehrotra and Mahendra Baijal. S. D. Mukherjee, who is a veteran of the national movement and a trade union leader is contesting against Congress candidate Kunjal Dube, present Speaker of the M.P. Assembly.

After a day's visit to Jabalpur, I came to know certain significant developments in the city's politics. The PSP, which seems quite a force here to an outsider is, in fact, a paper party. It has still not decided about putting up any

candidates in Jabalpur City. I was there on January 13 and Mayoral election had taken place there only three days back.

The people in Jabalpur talk about the PSP in most disparaging terms—Bhanumati ka pitara (a motley crowd). It holds the mayoralty in the Municipal Corporation and for the last eight years one of its leaders, Bhawani Prasad Tiwari, was the Mayor of Jabalpur. In the recent elections, Rameshwar Prasad "Guru" has been elected as Mayor, defeating his rival, Bhawani Prasad.

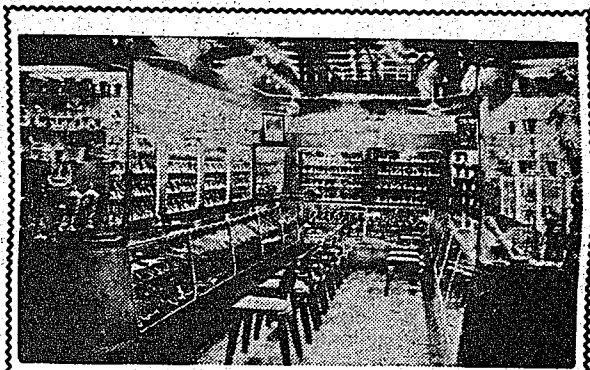
no better "secularist" record than the Jana Sanghis. They have no enviable record as a secular force.

Even Pandit Nehru last year had to speak about them as Purda-Nasin women when the riots were on. It is in this situation that the Communists in Jabalpur who, during the riots last year staked even their lives to save the minority community, although a small force, have been compelled by circumstances to present the only democratic and really secular alternative.

Besides this, the other important election battle attracting attention is in Gwalior. The Communist Party is contesting three seats. Sitting Communist M.L.A. Ram Chandra Sarwate is being opposed by Congress candidates, Prem Kashyap for whom the support of Birlas' tainted silver is assured.

Sarwate is a tried and trusted leader of the people. He fought valiant struggles against the feudal order of the Gwalior Maharaja. He was exterminated by the Maharaja's administration.

The dominant leadership of Jabalpur Congress can claim



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# Battle Of The Ballot IN MAHARASHTRA

The battle of the ballot has begun in full earnest in Maharashtra. The election manifesto of the contending political parties are out. The number and names of most of their candidates have been announced. Near upon two crores and a hundred thousand voters in the State will go to the polls in the second half of February to decide the fate of two hundred and sixty four seats of the Vidhan Sabha and forty-four seats of the Lok Sabha.

THE Congress is contesting all the Assembly and Parliamentary constituencies. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, admitted on all hands as the main opposition front in the state, will contest two hundred and twenty-two Assembly seats and thirty-seven Parliamentary seats.

The FSP and the dissident R. C. Kamble Group of the Republican Party, who have an electoral agreement in Maharashtra, will contest one hundred and twenty-two and sixty-three Assembly seats, respectively.

Similarly, they will contest twenty and twelve Parliamentary seats. The Jana Sangh will appear in a hundred and forty-two Assembly constituencies and twenty-four of Parliament.

The Mahavidarba Andolan Samiti will contest a few seats in Vidarbha. The Swatantra Party has announced five candidates for the State Assembly in Bombay City, and a few more, scattered here and there, besides three for Parliament. The Muslim League has a tiny number of aspirants.

## Issues Of Contest

What are the issues on which the contest is being fought out all over the State? The claims of the Congress, of course, are the same as over the rest of the country. They claim that India has made a magnificent economic and industrial advance under their rule since independence, that they are building a genuinely socialist India, that they are the only party capable of giving the country a stable, progressive and efficient administration.

So much for their printed campaigning literature. In oral campaigning, Yashwantrao the Chief Minister and "saviour" of the Congress in the state, has given the lead in denouncing the Samiti in the most vituperous terms and has come out with the slogan that the key task of the Congress in the elections is "to break the Samiti".

He has attacked it as an unholy, unprincipled alliance, as a malevolent and sinister force and as a stooge of the Communist Party, to mention a few of the choice epithets he has already used to describe the main democratic opposition. The venom—and lies poured out by the Congress dailies is untranslatable within the bounds of public decency.

The official Marathi dally of the Congress Vishal Sahyadri describes Dange as the arch intriguer and disease of Maharashtra, and has called on the people, in an editorial, to "pull out the tongue of Atre".

This "very democratic" attack has not stopped at words. Under the guidance of the Congress leadership (proved by the thinly veiled public utterances of Chavan himself) it is being translated into action. The Achar Samiti (Code of Conduct) worked out by the ruling and opposition parties in Maharashtra in the summer of last year (which, in fact, initiated a similar process in other states) has been already trampled under foot.

## Hooliganism Of Congress

In a number of election rallies addressed by Dadasahib Gaikwad (leader of the Republican Party) Atre and myself in the Nasik and Ahmednagar districts, Congress and Jana Sangh rowdies, numbering barely a hundred in vast gatherings having audiences of over ten to fifteen thousand, adopted the tactic of shouting "China", "China", and "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" combined with pelting stones at the rostrum inflicting injuries on all and sundry, not excluding children.

The police stood by placidly, giving an object lesson of "Congress law and order". To the chagrin of the Congress heroes, so firm has been the audience, that they have not succeeded in breaking up a single meeting till now.

In Satara district, Kisan Vir, the Congress candidate opposing Nana Patil in his parliamentary constituency; Ghorpade, the secretary of the Satara district Congress Committee; and Tushar Pawar, a deserter from the Communist Party, have been deputed to break up the meetings of Nana Patil. Ghorpade actually goes about with a revolver and cartridges slung on his side. Tactics and results are the same as above.

Yashwantrao Chavan has been given an open challenge by the Samiti leaders to reconvene a meeting of all political parties to discuss the question of the breaches of the code of conduct and to work out sanctions for its implementation. He has not yet responded to the call.

Of course, the parties in the Samiti will see to it that this "non-violent hooliganism" in meetings is dealt with as it deserves. The tactics of a discredited and bankrupt political leadership of terrorising the voters and preventing them from going to the polls cannot be allowed to succeed.

One thing proved conclusively by the words and deeds of the Congress leadership itself is that the real challenge and alternative to Congress rule in Maharashtra is the Samiti. Gone are the days after the formation of Maharashtra when the Congress

ridiculed the Samiti as a broken reed, a skeleton, a ghost of its past, and so on. The Samiti began its electoral activity by holding a statewide convention at Bombay in the first week of November last. The Convention came out with the broad election strategy of the Samiti, an election manifesto, a programme, and also announced the names of most of its Assembly and Parliamentary candidates.

Declaring the main electoral objective of the Samiti as the defeat of the Congress by candidates set up on its independent programme and platform, the Convention declared that under no circumstances would the Samiti have any truck or adjustment with the Jana Sangh, the Muslim League, the Swatantra Party and the Mahavidarba Andolan Samiti. It was the task of the Samiti to see that candidates of these parties were defeated in all circumstances.

A vital constituency which became a test issue for the concrete application of this outlook was the North Bombay Parliamentary constituency contested by V. K. Krishna Menon and Acharya Kripalani, who though independent, has been supported by the Swatantra Party, the Jana Sangh and the FSP and others.

The Convention declared that the Samiti would contest the constituency in case it was strong enough to defeat both Kripalani and Krishna Menon. If not, it would consider the defeat of Kripalani as the more desirable alternative.

A concrete study of the situation in the constituency was subsequently made. In the absence of an agreed evaluation of the relative strength of various forces, the Samiti Parliamentary Board decided not to contest the constituency. There can be no doubt that the decision will make Krishna Menon's success a certainty.

## Democratic Samiti

The election manifesto of the Samiti would do credit to any democratic organisation, orientated towards socialism, nationally and internationally.

It opens by pointing out the reason de etre for the continuation of the popular united front represented by the Samiti, even after the formation of the Maharashtra State. The first is the settlement of the question of the borders of the State on a principled basis. The second is the struggle for a broader democracy and socialism for which the Samiti has stood and struggled from its inception.

The agrarian, industrial, fiscal and monetary policies of the Congress Government, generally in India and specifically in Maharashtra, have been dealt with in detail. The growth of monopoly capital, the danger of imperialist capital and the emergence of the capitalist landlord in the

countryside, all resulting from Congress policies masquerading under the garb of advancing towards a socialistic pattern, have been fully laid bare.

The attacks on the living standards of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and the growth in unemployment have been highlighted. The slogans and policies of the Samiti on all these issues have been worked out. A special section deals with the question of democratic decentralisation of power and the removal of regional inequalities.

The manifesto supports a foreign policy of peace and colonial liberation. It contrasts the role of the socialist and imperialist countries in the pursuit of such a policy, and supports the former.

## India-China Dispute

On the India-China border dispute, the manifesto supports the borders as substantiated by the report of the team of experts appointed by the Government of India. It expresses its confidence in a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the question while supporting such measures as are necessary for the defence of the territorial integrity of the country. It exposes the policy of reactionary war-mongers on the India-China border dispute, who, in the name of national defence advocate Anglo-American aid for the settlement of the dispute.

In a separate statement the Samiti has dealt with the question of national integration. Basing itself on democracy and social justice as the bedrock of national integration it deals at length with the question of the defence of the rights of linguistic and religious minorities as also the rights of the Adivasis.

Abolition of untouchability in every sphere of life has always been a vital element in the campaigning and activities of the Samiti. A stirring call has been given to fight all communal propaganda as a poison and danger to the democratic unity of the people.

In innumerable municipal and gram panchayat elections that have taken place after the formation of Maharashtra, all contestants in the field barring the Congress and the Samiti have come out croppers.

The "valiant" effort made by the P.S.P. and the Kamble group, often supported by the Jana Sangh in a clandestine fashion to come out as a third force have also ended in fiasco. No one in Maharashtra is, therefore, expecting these parties to make any dent on the elections worth the name.

One role, of course, the P.S.P.-Kamble alliance is going to play, and in a number of places, most consciously and deliberately. And that is to split by whatever number they can, the Samiti vote, thereby giving a helping hand to Congress candidates. Considering that

the contest between the Samiti and the Congress is more tough in 1962 than in 1957, this danger has to be consistently fought in the ensuing battle. The policy of cutting one's nose to spite the Samiti is being exposed in the election campaign on the basis of the slogan that a vote for the P.S.P.-Kamble bloc is a vote for the Congress.

The story of the bursting of the Panshet and Khadakvasla dams which washed off a quarter of Poona city in July last, is widely known.

The culpable lack of responsibility shown by the Ministry and a number of officials in the construction of the Panshet dam; the same lack of responsibility shown in taking precautionary measures which could have prevented the dam burst; the failure of responsible officials to warn the people of Poona even after they got information that the dam had been breached; and last of all, the reprehensible methods used by certain ministers and connected officials to prevent relevant evidence from being placed before the one man Commission of Mr. Justice Baydekar, which had been appointed to investigate into the causes and responsibility of the disaster—all these crimes have also assumed raging proportions in the election campaign, particularly in Poona and Bombay.

This is not the place to go into details. But a few glaring facts may be mentioned. The Government did not place before Justice Baydekar either the accident report prepared by the F.V.D officer immediately after the burst, or the reports prepared and submitted to the Ministers by Pandit, the Chief Engineer.

It was due to a chance occurrence that Baydekar came to know of their existence. On his demanding the reports Madan, Secretary of the Commission and Damry, Secretary of the Irrigation and Power Department, first of all delayed producing the reports and later, produced copies which had been tampered. Baydekar repeatedly demanded the originals but to no avail. At one stage he warned Damry that failure to produce the proper copy would lead to a summons being issued against him. Nothing succeeded.

Baydekar submitted his resignation to the Government in protest. Thereupon, Mone, Chief Secretary to the Government, brought various pressures on Baydekar to withdraw his resignation.

## Disgusting Atmosphere

It was in this disgusting and suffocating atmosphere that on the night of the 19th of October, the citizens of Bombay suddenly got the shocking news that Baydekar had crashed on the pavement in front of his flat situated on the fourth storey of his residential building.

No one has the slightest

\* SEE FACING PAGE

The State-owned Durgapur steel project in West Bengal provides a classic example of colossal waste of public money. The steel Plant was originally estimated to cost Rs. 132 crores. But, a sum of Rs. 150 crores has been already spent, and nobody knows how much more we will have to pay through the nose before the Plant goes into full production.

THE sulphuric acid plant of the project has been out of commission for the past four months. The plea trotted out for the closure is that the boiler of the plant is being checked up. But, any engineer knows that no more than a fortnight is needed even for a thorough check-up.

## Imperialist Sabotage

India still imports about 80 per cent of its requirements of sulphuric acid from abroad, mostly from the United Kingdom. The deliberate curtailment of production, therefore, serves the interests of none other than a handful of British capitalists.

The benzol plant also has been shut down on the ground of shortage of wagons and absence of a proper marketing organisation!

While it is proposed to set up a number of fertilizer plants during the Third Plan period, for stepping up our food production, manufacture of ammonium sulphate, chemical fertilizers, at the ammonia plant of the steel project has been stopped!

Not only that. Thousands of tons of sulphur, which have been dumped on the ground in the open, are being wasted. The bosses could not find any storage space in the vast area of the project!

Scores of such instances of wastage, inefficiency and bungling may be cited. Little wonder that the project has not only yielded no profit till now; the losses incurred on it are steadily on the increase.

The top-heavy administration itself is costing the public exchequer a good deal of money. For instance, of the 22 persons employed in the automatic control and instruments department, as many as 14 are officers.

Taking the project as a whole, for every 100 workers, there are three British "experts", nine engineers, one superintendent, one assistant superintendent, one general foreman, three assistant general foremen, four assistant foremen and nine chargemen! Perhaps, no other public sector un-

dertaking in the country can boast of such an administrative set-up.

But the main factor that has pushed up the total cost of the Plant and has proved to be a very heavy drain on our slender resources is the brazenfaced loot by British capitalists.

The Plant is being built by the ISCON, a consortium of 13 British firms. Another British monopoly concern, the International Construction Company, functions as technical consultants to the Government of India.

Naturally, the steel project has become a happy hunting-ground for these British monopolists. Many of the "experts", imported from the U.K. and foisted on US had never had anything to do with steel manufacture. Yet, we are made to pay them a minimum basic salary of Rs. 1,350 per month and to provide them with a host of facilities, such as one month's leave with pay in the year, travelling expenses to and

from the U.K. to spend the leave, etc.

Some of these gentlemen possess astounding "qualifications". For instance, one such "U.K. expert" was a traffic police constable in London! He draws a basic salary of Rs. 1,350 per month. Another expert of the same brand was a milkman in the U.K.! But that has not stood in the way of his getting emoluments totalling Rs. 4,500 a month.

A British engineer, who is a real expert, is reliably reported to have admitted before his close circle of friends that these gentlemen did not know anything about steel. They had been brought here to enable them to "gain experience" in the working of a

high blood pressure theory, Naik did not think it necessary to take the evidence of a single doctor!

The crime of Panshet, and the still greater moral crime of preventing the truth from coming into the light of day, are unparalleled in the record, bad enough, of Congress Ministries in India.

No wonder, one of the key slogans in the election campaign is, "Kick out the criminals of Panshet!"

Such is the election picture in the State. There is every ground for confidence that the democratic forces led by the Samiti will emerge from the ballot box as a formidable challenge to the monopoly of power held by the Congress in Maharashtra.

## Maharashtra's Battle

\* FROM FACING PAGE

doubt in Bombay that Baydekar's death was the result of suicide to which he was driven because of the amazing and unparalleled manner in which Government had dealt with him, as a judicial commission.

Subsequently, Government appointed Justice Naik to investigate into the charges made by Baydekar. To add insult to injury, Naik has come out with the verdict that Baydekar's suspicions were entirely baseless and a figment of his own imagination. The tragedy, according to Naik resulted from high blood pressure from which Baydekar was suffering. And even for the

## COSTLY SMOKE!

By Jnan Bikash Moitra

A person driving along the Grand Trunk Road at night will be captivated, as he approaches Durgapur, by a brilliant red glow lighting up the night sky. He will mistake it for the intense heat radiated by the Durgapur steel plant.

In reality, however, it is the glow of coal gas burnt in the air. The gas comes from the coke oven plant set up by the West Bengal Government.

## Government Complacency

But, why is so much of the gas wasted in this way? The projects undertaken by the West Bengal Government have become by words for wastage, corruption and nepotism. Apart from utter inefficiency and bungling in the planning execution and utilisation of the State-owned enterprises, these undertakings have become the "last refuge" of superannuated officials and a source of big contracts for the favourites of Ministers, especially of Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister.

The coke oven plan is no exception to the general rule. It was originally planned to convey a portion of this gas produced at this Plant to Calcutta through a 135-mile-long gas grid. The object was to make adequate quantities of the gas available at cheap rates for domestic and other uses.

The coke oven plant went into production two years ago. But even before the construction of the gas grid was undertaken, the State Government "nationalised" the Oriental Gas Co., the only concern producing and supplying coal gas in Calcutta.

The reason as to why the Government was in such an unseemly hurry to purchase the dilapidated machineries and equipment at highly inflated prices, and that, too, in the face of vehement protests from Opposition MLAs, is another story.

The proposed gas grid has not yet been constructed. As a result, gas valued at Rs. 10,000 per day or three lakhs of rupees a month is being burnt in the air!

Lack of foresight and bungling on the part of the Government has cost the public Rs. 72 lakhs in course of the past two years.

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# DURGAPUR—WASTE, CORRUPTION, LOOT

British "experts", therefore, still continue to strut about like overlords. Our junior engineers, who have obtained engineering degrees of Indian universities and have been trained abroad under the Colombo Plan, have to suffer humiliation at the hands of these insolent Britishers.

Their suggestions and plans for improving the quality of the construction, for raising production and for eliminating wastages are invariably turned down. They are curly told not to bother their heads with such "complicated technical things" or with "matters of policy".

These young engineers have another just cause for discontent. While even a British milkman, masquerading as an "expert", is given Rs. 4,500 a month, most of them draw no more than Rs. 292 per month. They are, of course, supposed to be on the grade of Rs. 350-850.

Thwarted at every step by the British bosses and denied a fair deal by their own Government, the junior engineers feel utterly demoralised.

Can anyone expect the best out of them? The Durgapur Project is unable to attract the best talents in the industry. This is because the earnings of highly skilled hands here are much lower than those in steel plants in the private sector.

To cite an example, a class I Tapper in Tata's Steel Plant earns about Rs. 900 a month; but his counterpart in Durgapur has been placed on a grade of Rs. 250-500. No Class I Tapper is, therefore, willing to come to Durgapur. The inevitable result is deficiencies in the quality of work.

On top of all this, corruption and nepotism is rampant in different departments of the project. Tyros and unskilled hands are prompted to responsible positions.

Such a practice poses a threat to the safety of the steel plant, because its costly machineries and equipment may be seriously damaged as a result of handling by unskilled people.

Despite the loot by the British monopolists, inefficiency of the "experts" and of the project authorities, corruption and nepotism, it is the workers and employees who have kept up production in the plant. But

the reward they get for discharging this patriotic duty is harassment and oppression in various forms.

Only recently, more than a hundred workers and employees were sacked on the basis of secret police reports. The authorities seek to terrorise the employees into abject submission by using such methods.

Such is Durgapur today under Congress dispensation. It could have been a radically different Durgapur if the initiative of our junior engineers and technicians, workers and employees had been unleashed, if they had been made to feel that they were active partners in this national undertaking.

## Communist Party Election Pamphlets

1. Election Manifesto 20 nP
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10. Big Business under Congress Raj 25 nP
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Mr. Prime Minister and Dear Friends, We welcome this Conference which has been convened not a day too soon. We are deeply thankful for the opportunity that has been given to us to place our point of view.

In the recent period, there has been a pronounced growth of the forces that make for national disintegration. The ugly events in Bhopal, Assam, Jabalpur, Saugor and certain other parts of our country have come to many of us as a rude shock and they remind the nation of the supreme need for facing up to this grim challenge. It is but natural that all right-thinking men should be deeply perturbed by these developments.

I have heard carefully the speeches that have been made here. The sentiments expressed are noble. No one can object to them. But I have a feeling that most of them evade points of controversy.

### CONTROVERSIAL SPEECH

This, I am afraid, will not be the nature of the speech that I shall make. It will be highly controversial and many will resent it. Nevertheless, I feel that in a gathering like this which is discussing such a grave issue, I should speak frankly and put forward the views of the Party to which I have the honour to belong.

At the very outset we feel it necessary to emphasize certain contradictory aspects of the present situation. India is to-day, administratively more united than ever in its history. Economic planning is carried out by a central body. Above all, State power is no longer exercised, as was the case in the past, by the British who were interested in keeping up and accentuating conflicts inside the country.

All these are factors favourable for the consolidation of the unity of the country and of the nation. Yet, as would be denied by none, fissiparous and disruptive tendencies have grown alarmingly in recent years. They threaten one of the most precious heritages of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation.

Why has this happened? How has this happened? The subject is too vast and complex to be dealt with in one speech. It is necessary, however, to bring out certain points.

It must be admitted that the ideological basis of our national movement was rather weak and its socio-economic content was never clearly defined. The institution of caste retained its hold over vast mass of people. A good deal of the propaganda and agitation carried on during the national movement was permeated by ideas associated with the Hindu religion.



Ajoy with Nehru and Ho Chi-Minh

Maybe, to some extent this was inevitable. Nevertheless, conscious efforts should have been made to combat this trend, especially in view of the fact that India is a country of many religions. Failure to do this played no small part in helping reactionaries to keep big sections of Muslim masses away from the national struggle.

It also hampered the growth of modern ideas. Moreover, apart from certain resolutions which were adopted from time to time, the Congress which led the movement for national liberation failed to place before the people a clear and concrete picture of the socio-economic changes that would be effected after freedom.

Despite these weaknesses, the national movement gathered increasing strength as years passed. People following different religions and having different views got united in order to achieve a single task—freedom for the country from foreign rule. This unification, however, could be continued and carried forward, after the achievement of freedom, only if two tasks were fulfilled.

### NEW UNITY NEEDED

FIRSTLY, an inspiring objective was placed before the people—the objective of rebuilding the country in such a way as to bring maximum benefit to the vast majority of the masses, the putting of an end to the staggering contrast between wealth and poverty, radical reforms in the economic, social and administrative sphere.

SECONDLY, concrete measures were taken for the speedy realisation of these objectives.

This is how, in our opinion, a new unity could be forged after the winning of freedom—unity embracing hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class people and even small and medium industrialists.

Unfortunately this was not done. Inevitably, something like an ideological vacuum came into existence. Old ideas which stirred those fighting for national freedom, did not have the same appeal now. No new modern idea had taken their place.

In this situation, antiquated and even obscurantist ideas which had never been completely rooted out began to operate on the minds of men. Certain elements made full use of this situation and of the popular mood of frustration and discontent.

# FOR THE UNITY OF OUR MOTHERLAND

It is not possible for me to deal at length with this aspect of the matter. But I would like to stress that national integration, whose need we all feel keenly, cannot be achieved fully unless an inspiring, national objective is placed before the mass of our people, effective measures are taken to realise that objective and a determined and uncompromising struggle is waged against powerful vested interests and against all forces which stand in the way.

In the final analysis, national integration, if we may say so, is a problem of democracy and of far-reaching socio-economic transformations.

However, at this Conference, I do not wish to go into this aspect of the problem. I would like to confine myself to certain urgent questions with which we must come to grips.

I think that it will be conceded by everyone that of all menaces that confront us, communalism is the most serious, above all communalism of the majority community, the Hindus. This menace has grown steadily. In fact, Hindu communalism seems to be gradually permeating our social and political life and what is even more dangerous is that political reaction often operates in this garb.

Apart from the organisations of Hindu communalism whose names are well-known, the Hindu communalists have found their way into many key positions in the administrations. It is no accident that when aggressive Hindu communalists engineer tension and riots, sections of the administration are found somewhat paralysed.

This was witnessed to an alarming extent at the time of recent Jabalpur riots. Such communal forces have even crept into some secular political organisations. There is no need to cite specific examples here. For, these are no longer any secret.

### DEFEAT COMMUNALISM

In our view all democratic forces in general and the organised democratic movement in particular have an important role to play in defeating the forces of communal reaction. Any opportunist association or alliance with these forces on the part of any secular party would be a positive disservice to the cause of national integration. When I say communal parties, I have in mind all communal parties whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh.

Let it not be forgotten that the association of secular parties with these communal organisations brings them some political respectability and enables them to overcome popular revulsion and step up their disruptive activities.

This has been particularly seen in the revival of the Muslim League activities in many parts of the country after the formation of the so-called united front in Kerala. Time has come when secular political parties need to take a very firm attitude towards communal organisations and avoid political alliances with them at all costs.

Opposition to communalism does not, however, mean

ignoring of the genuine difficulties from which certain communities suffer.

### MUSLIM MINORITY

Take the question of Muslim minority. The Muslims are the biggest single religious minority in India with their own historical and political background. Without going into details, it may be broadly said that even in our secular State, the Muslim minority does suffer from a number of disabilities—most of which exist not so much in law, as in facts of life.

It cannot be denied that discrimination is practised against Muslims in many spheres and that many of their grievances are genuine. In many areas Muslim parents find it difficult to get their children learn Urdu in schools. All this demands serious attention from the authorities. This is absolutely essential for building a democratic and secular State.

What, however, has happened is that we have taken our secularism for granted and tended to gloss over the violations of secular principles often bordering on clearly discriminatory practices. Some people even resent the suggestion that such discrimination against the Muslims is practised.

Naturally, this situation has brought grist to the mill of the Muslim communalists, who are today trying to revive their communal activities. Muslim communalism must be fought but at the same time, effective steps should be taken to look into the grievances of the Muslim minority and give them assurance that their rights and interests will be fully safeguarded.

The Central and State Governments should take firm steps to put an end to all forms of direct and indirect discrimination against Muslims in the field of recruitment to services, trade and industry, protection of life and property and their specific cultural and linguistic interests.

Castes and sub-castes have become a dead weight on progress. They are a great disintegrating force in our society. The caste system which perpetuates rivalries and factions and thereby obstructs the cohesion of our society seems to have got a new impetus.

After the achievement of freedom, considerations of caste in setting up candidates and even appeals based on caste are becoming a common feature in elections at all levels.

This applies to some extent to all parties but the responsibility of the Congress in this matter is the greatest—because it is the biggest party in the country and also the ruling party.

Everyone knows how village life is corrupted and degraded by such caste rivalries. At the same time, all caste conflicts cannot be placed in the same category. There is rivalry among members of the different upper castes for jobs, contracts, for patronage and so on. This must be unequivocally condemned.

But we cannot also ignore the fact that even today, in

the middle of the twentieth century, millions of people in our country remain socially oppressed and subjugated by mere accident of birth. They belong to what are called lower castes. And these so-called lower castes are generally comprised of the economically most exploited. In rural areas, most of the agricultural workers belong to these castes.

On the other hand, the majority of the landlords, moneylenders and other exploiters generally belong to the so-called upper-castes.

That is how the question of caste tends to get tied with socio-economic relations. In the conditions of India today, we cannot think of doing away with the caste system without radically changing the prevailing socio-economic relations. This is, in fact, recognised, if only to an extent, even by the Government in its emphasis on the urgency for giving land to the Harijans.

We are of the view that once radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry are carried out, survivals of feudalism eliminated and agricultural workers are enabled to get land, a big blow will be delivered against the domination of upper castes and a big step forward will be taken towards equality.

I am aware of the fact that in some States, several cases

of their long-standing grievances and cry for a fair deal that should not perturb anyone.

This is only a natural process in the making of democracy. Of course, the legitimate grievances of the people should not be distorted or exploited for narrow partisan ends. That would obviously be disruptive and deserve nothing but condemnation.

I have to say this because there seems to be a tendency in certain quarters to denounce even the just struggles and aspirations of the oppressed sections of the people as disruptive of national unity. There is a tendency to tar everything with the same brush. That, I am afraid, does not help matters at all.

Experience has shown that mere enactment of progressive laws or even mere spending on welfare schemes, important as they are, do not by themselves bring about integration. After 11 years of the framing of our Constitution, which enjoined upon us to abolish the practice of untouchability, this evil practice continues in subtle forms in many parts of the country.

The reason why the Untouchability Abolition Act has still not proved effective is not far to seek. The so-called upper castes are dominant in the countryside and they are also largely controlling the

administration and services which are responsible for enforcing this measure. After independence, there has been hardly any powerful movement against untouchability or for the implementation of the Act.

As for the Tribal peoples, they too need careful and sympathetic consideration. Together with scheduled castes they number over eight crores. The tribal people cannot be expected to be content merely with economic benefits that the Plans bestow on them. They are proud of their distinctiveness, their own cul-

ture and they would like to develop them in their own way. Some of them have already begun to demand opportunities for full self-expression. These sentiments and strivings have to be respected if we desire to integrate these neglected but proud people into the texture of our national life.

It may be necessary here fairly large number of tribal people live in a compact area, to allow them regional autonomy so that within their own sphere, they can fashion their life as they like without interference from outside. Not very long ago, it was thought that the Nagas could be satisfied by modifications of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. But ultimately it became necessary to form a separate Naga State and this was undoubtedly a wise step.

As regards the controversy that has developed on the issue of languages, we feel that this cannot be placed in the same category as communalism and casteism. The urge of people speaking the same language to come together in a single State, the urge to develop one's own language fully and give it a rightful place—these are basically healthy and progressive urges.

We differ with those who think that linguistic reorganisation of States was wrong and that this lies at the root of the present language troubles. The fact is that linguistic reorganisation of States has brought about a considerable measure of stability where once instability and tension prevailed. This has definitely helped the cause of national integration.

### PUNJABI SUBA

One State where the linguistic principle has not been applied is Punjab. We know of the complexity of the situation that prevails there and the sharp division on communal lines on this issue. Being irreconcilably opposed to the intrusion of religion in politics, we criticise the Akalis for the way in which they have distorted the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State and the deeply communal nature of their agitation, as well as the way it is being conducted.

But we cannot shut our eyes to the attitude of Hindu communalists who go to the extent of denying Punjabi as their mother tongue. We would urge upon the Government that the principle of linguistic reorganisation of Punjab should be accepted and necessary steps be taken to implement it with full cooperation of all sections of the people in a calmer atmosphere.

In the meanwhile, steps should be taken to enhance the powers of the Regional Committees, to expedite the introduction of Punjabi as the language of administration in the Punjabi region and Hindi in the Hindi region and remove the compulsion to learn Punjabi in the Hindi region.

After the reorganisation of the States on linguistic basis, the problems of the linguis-

tic minorities are naturally more and more coming to the forefront.

In almost all the States, there are linguistic minorities and many of them suffer from certain disabilities. Their rights and interests have not yet been fully acknowledged, much less safeguarded.

Article 347 of the Constitution remains yet to be duly implemented and even the Memorandum of the Government of India of September 1956 in regard to safeguards for linguistic minorities has not been properly acted upon.

### LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

We have stated earlier that pride in one's own language and the urge to develop it is a healthy urge. That does not mean that this urge cannot be distorted and given a disruptive form.

It is quite possible to work up linguistic passions, to belittle other languages, adopt an attitude of intolerance towards them and deny linguistic minorities their legitimate rights.

Carried to excess in disregard of broad national considerations, linguistic chauvinism can work havoc. Such things have already happened. The Assam disturbances of 1960 are a grim warning of this danger and must be taken seriously by all those who cherish national unity.

The question of the language of the minority groups in the States came up before the recently held Chief Ministers' Conference and certain decisions were also taken. Some of the decisions were good but that cannot be said of all the decisions.

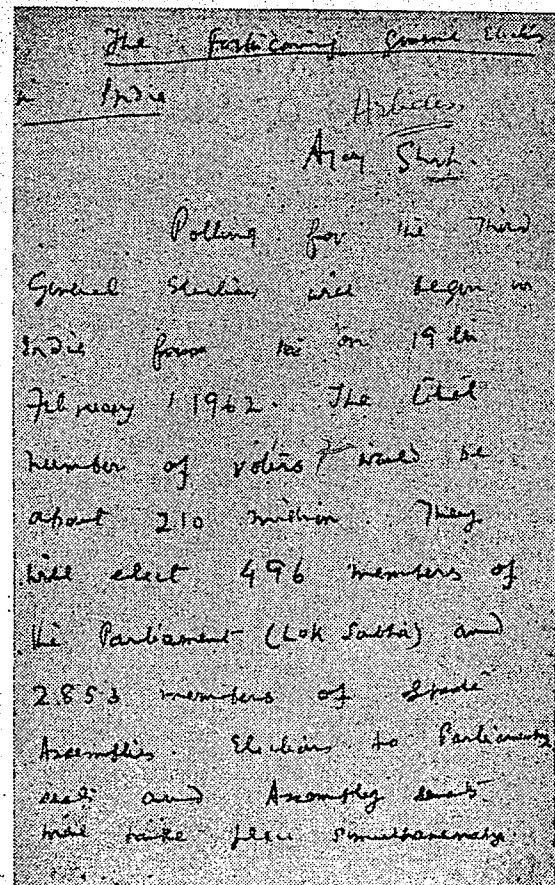
For example, the Chief Ministers seem to think that only when 60 per cent of the population in a district speak or use a language other than the official language of the State should the language of the minority group be recognised as an official language in that district.

May I point out that this percentage is too high and the adherence to this figure will, I am afraid, in many cases, lead to the virtual denial of the minority rights. Hence the percentage has to be considerably brought down.

Our position on the issue of languages has been made clear on several occasions. We feel that for national and emotional integration of the country, as well as for the sake of convenience, there should be one language which the mass of people of our country can understand and in which they can communicate with each other.

English as a highly-developed language with a rich literature on all subjects must continue to occupy an important place in our curriculum. But evidently it cannot serve the purpose of an all-India language as defined earlier. It is understood only by a microscopic minority of our people—mostly belonging to the upper classes.

Moreover, we consider it derogatory to our national self-respect to give a foreign language that status. As a language for official all-India purposes and for communication between peoples and Governments of different



The first page of the manuscript of Ajoy's last article sent to "World Marxist Review."

States, English has to give place gradually and by common consent to an Indian language.

### STATUS OF HINDI

And that Indian language can only be Hindi, which is spoken and understood by more people of our country than any other language—though even then English will continue as an additional all-India official language for some period. We are, therefore, in favour of extensive popularisation of Hindi and of provision being made for teaching Hindi in all parts of India.

But this does not, in our opinion, mean that Hindi is to replace English for all purposes for which the latter is today used. Some of the functions which English performs today will be gradually taken over by Hindi but many of these functions will have to be performed by what are called regional languages. These are languages spoken by vast number of people in well-defined territories. Many of them have long histories and developed literature.

In order to bring the administration closer to the people in all States, we con-

sider it imperative that the change-over from English to the regional languages for purposes of State administration is effected speedily—a task which scant attention is being paid, at least in some States.

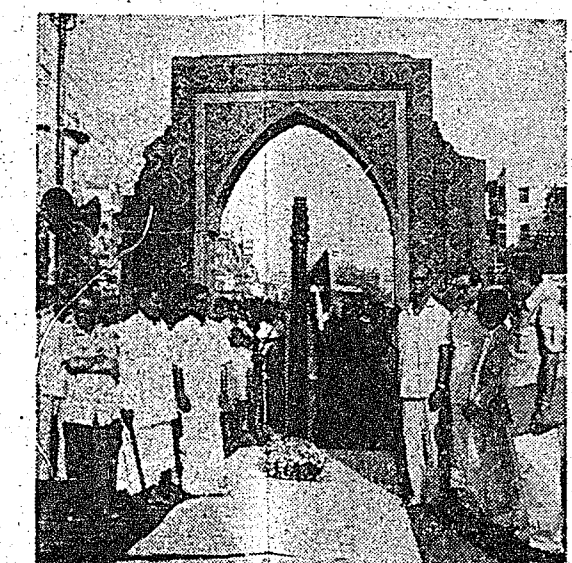
We also feel it wrong to act on the assumption that English must continue as the medium of instruction for higher education indefinitely. Such an assumption and policies based on it will inevitably retard education, hamper the creation of suitable literature in all subjects in the regional languages and thus slow down their development.

We stand for the principle of education at all stages and in every State in the regional language. Of course, it will take time to effect this change.

We would like, as I have already stated, that every Indian should learn Hindi. At the same time, we feel that students in Hindi-speaking areas should learn one other modern Indian language of their own choice. This would not merely widen their outlook but also help to make Hindi acceptable to non-Hindi areas and facilitate the integration of the country.

The suggestion that Dev-

\* SEE PAGE 13



Ajoy pays homage to the martyrs of the 1857 Rebellion.



Ajoy at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI.



## Interview With STRUMILIN

### By A. Vasinsky Of Nedelya

In the evening I walked into the study of Stanislav Strumilin the well known Soviet economist and statistician. A tall, energetic man rose from behind a table, laying aside a manuscript.

THE scientist is the author of about 200 books and articles. He has taken an active part in the revolutionary movement since 1897, was persecuted by the tsarist authorities and escaped twice from exile. This means that his association with communism is not merely along scientific lines.

We sat down at a low table and I placed a stack of letters in front of me.

### Way Of Life

"I would like to tell my interviewers at once," the scientist said with a smile, looking at the letters, "that it is hard to speak of communism in detail not only because it is the future, but also because communism is a constantly regenerating, endlessly improving way of life."

"Our readers are interested not in the remote future. By the way, in this they differ from science fiction writers who like to peer millenniums ahead. Here, for example, is a question put by Sergeyev, a reader from Ivanovo: 'Tell us please what are the scientific foundations for planning the development of the new social system.'"

"A reasonable question. Indeed, it is useless, say, to plan the advent of socialism for some definite years, say, in capitalist America. But it is possible to plan the building of the foundations of communism society in the Soviet Union because, first, communism naturally grows out of socialism as its non-antagonistic basis (socialism, as you know, is the lower phase of communism) and, second, the socialist economy is a planned economy."

Lenin said in his day: 'We value communism when it is substantiated economically.' Many institutes and offices, a whole army of scientists and experts have worked to substantiate economically the future Soviet society.

"Exact mathematical calculations and a strict economic analysis have yielded the following result: the material and technical basis for abundance will be created in the 1980s. And this is the main thing for the victory of the new social system because only the highest economic level will make it possible to undertake the radical communist transformation of society."

"The Programme of the CPSU calls for raising wages in combination with a reduction of prices and also bridging the gap between high and low incomes. But main emphasis is laid on extending the social consumption funds (free maintenance of children in children's institutions, free use of houses, public utilities, transport, gradual transition to free accommodations in holiday homes and sanatoria and free public catering)."

"This is the first step towards distribution according

to needs: when something is free it is accessible to all in accordance with requirements. This is also a just way because the satisfaction of requirements is not made dependent on the position a man holds in society and his income. The range of free services and benefits will gradually be extended."

"There are very many letters about the arrangement of life in future. 'Will there be a delivery service?' a housewife wants to know. 'Will it be possible to change a flat in one commune for a flat in another commune?' Or here is one another letter: 'On what storey will there be rooms for families in a commune?'"

"I see that this letter is written in a neat, probably feminine hand. Have I guessed?"

"Yes, it was written by Soya Sokolnikova of Moscow. As you see, readers ask questions that are too specific..."

"Dear interviewers, such details of our life have not been elaborated as yet. And this is natural. Today it is hard to conceive everything in such minute detail. And so far there is no need for it. One

thing is clear: it will be a life with all amenities as they will be available 15-20 years from now."

"We cannot even imagine how efficiently the future organisation of service will save the time and energy of people. Time and energy will be needed for more interesting and useful occupations than standing in queues, washing laundry or pottering near the kitchen range."

"When people speak of public catering they usually have in mind only dining rooms where they have their lunch. Unfortunately in some of them the appetite does not come with eating, but rather disappears. But in restaurants the food is much tastier and the menu is more varied. Why not assume that under communism the food in any public dining room will be as tasty as it is in the best restaurants today?"

"Here is the task: to obliterate the difference between the public dining room and the restaurant in favour of

others, ever more interesting and attractive, will ease work, ennoble and elevate man."

"You speak of the frequent alternation of labour functions. This presupposes the mastery of several vocations by man. But to be a good specialist even in only one field a man has to devote his life to it. Would not the situation breed dilettantes?"

"May I ask a question, or is this the monopoly of the interviewer?" Academician Strumilin retorted jokingly. "Do you think that one precludes the other? The dialectics of science is such that a specialist cannot be successful in his field if he ignores other fields. Cybernetics, astrogeography, biochemistry, geophysics—each of these is a synthesis of many sciences. A specialist in cybernetics, for example, cannot help being a specialist in many fields!"

"The automated technology of communism will introduce a new division of labour, already chiefly not between men, but between machines. We must not forget, however, that the very position of workers in future production will require versatility."

"With ten hours of leisure every day man will be able to try his abilities in any sphere and choose two or three or even four or five occupations which will appeal to him most and in which he will perfect his knowledge and skill."

"Tell us please, what contradictions will be inherent in communism? There can't be non-conflict development..."

"Classless society will be endlessly moved forward through overcoming the contradiction between the aim—to achieve the ever fuller satisfaction of requirements—and the real possibilities of attaining this aim. Human ingenuity is boundless. However, many million years people live, they will never fathom all the secrets of nature."

"How do you picture to yourself the daily round of the man of the future?"

"I need not go into a discussion of whether he will rise at noon or at one in the afternoon. And so, he will spend at work not more than four hours. This will be joyous labour, the work he likes and which gives him pleasure. If we set aside ten hours for sleep, meals and personal care, this leaves as much time at his disposal."

"Ten hours of leisure! Four hours, say, will be devoted to reading, experiments in a laboratory, in a word, to any occupation of man's own choice. Another four hours will be given over to sports, artistic and public activities. Two more hours remain. Well, I would go visiting or to a concert, watch TV or hear a lecture—in a word, would yield to the ennobling influence of the public around me and the worldwide contacts of mankind."

"A constant alternation of occupations, the switch-over in the course of one day from some labour functions to

some other, will be the field of his activities!"

"What about happiness? Is it possible in general for all people to be happy? This question is put by Alla Medvedeva, a student of a textile technical school."

"Happiness is a very whimsical thing. I do not at all assume that absolutely all people will be happy, but almost all will have the maximum of happiness possible with the given nature of man. Communism will eliminate all misfortune and suffering resulting from the im-

perfecting of human society—inequality, poverty, ignorance, lack of culture, restriction of freedom, etc."

"Such misfortunes are in the majority. By abolishing them, communism will make happiness incomparably more accessible to all."

"I understand happiness not as a cloudless idyll. A pleasure is appreciated only when it has its antipode, and joy presupposes many privations and failures, of which man will be rid. In any case, no one will take away from the man of the future the romanticism of surmounting difficulties."

### Splendid Vistas

"We simply cannot imagine now what tasks life will set before them and what secrets of the universe and matter they will tackle. Limited requirements are a sign of limitedness, while the future man will be rich spiritually. Our planet—aim higher!—the entire Universe will be the field of his activities!"

"What have bourgeois scribblers not imputed to communism! In my article I said that the family will be sufficiently strong because it will not be bound by any ties except love."

"Some parents think that public education under com-

munism will also be as obligatory, say, as secondary education under socialism."

"The new Programme specially stipulates that free maintenance of children in children's institutions and in boarding schools will be optional, as the parents wish."

"You see, nature has so arranged that a child, from the most tender age, is eager for the company of co-evals—in a kindergarten, Young Pioneer camp, in a comradesly collective. In a good collective all the inborn instincts and sympathies of the child are stimulated and developed while in a bad family they are stifled and blunted."

"But will not the early separation from the family be too grave a trial for the parents and for the children? Moreover, it cannot be said that a home upbringing is in general inferior. We know, for example, what influence on the development of Pushkin's poetic gift was exerted by his home environment, his uncle the poet, his nurse Arina Rodionovna..."

"You speak about Pushkin, but think of the savage Stalychichs or the mother of Salytkov-Shechdrin who was known for her brutality. Public education will protect the child from chance influences which might be in the family. By far not in every family are there gifted teachers and educators. No doubt, there will be many cultured and gifted women who love children and are prepared, following their inclination, to devote them-

selves to bringing up children, without confining themselves to their own nursery."

"There was a time when parents were not very willing to send their children to boarding schools. And now? You see how the sentiments changed. Of course all parents will more readily accept the idea of public education if there are no poor boarding schools and no bad teachers."

"How do you picture to yourself the daily round of the man of the future?"

"I need not go into a discussion of whether he will rise at noon or at one in the afternoon. And so, he will spend at work not more than four hours. This will be joyous labour, the work he likes and which gives him pleasure. If we set aside ten hours for sleep, meals and personal care, this leaves as much time at his disposal."

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# SLANDERS ANSWERED WE STICK TO PRINCIPLES —NEHRU CALLS US "RIGID"

Referring to the "Communist brothers" in his speech at Patna on January 4, 1962, Prime Minister Nehru observed that "their minds were rigid and they had no flexible approach. They were like mere soldiers who had to obey blindly an order given by an officer. This was a wrong thing. The result was that many good people who went to the Communist Party and sacrificed developed rigid minds. They had no relationship with facts, especially with facts of a complicated country like India. They just viewed things on the surface". (Times of India, January 5, 1962)

WHENEVER our Prime Minister is hard to find some fault with the Communists, he takes recourse to an old stand-by—the rigidity of their minds. This entire accusation is in fact based on two fallacies. First of all, he confuses adherence to principles and clarity and continuity of thought with rigidity, and secondly, he mistakes political discipline for blind obedience.

Now, the Communists do possess a world outlook—the scientific philosophy of Marxism, and they always try to study the political and economic condition of our country with the help of this philosophy. In this manner they determine their political programme and guide their political actions. Everybody knows this.

They would be rigid if they were to use Marxism as a formula. But then Marxism has never been a set of rules but a philosophical guide and approach. The history of the CPI bears witness to this.

The past policies of our Party have often been rigid, however, sometimes events have proved them wrong. But in each and every case they had been determined after prolonged thought and discussion. Which other political party in our country has had such thorough-going discussions of its policies as the CPI has had ever since its inception?

Always the Communists have, to the best of their ability, tried to study the concrete conditions in India and to evolve their political policies accordingly. The Amritsar Resolution of our Party is the latest example of this approach.

Moreover, it is even against common logic that the Communists of all people should forgo to their own thinking. Who are the Communists in India? None of them was born a Communist.

They are people who by using their critical faculties succeeded in rejecting the all-pervading feudal and bourgeois outlook and politics of their surroundings and in adopting a view and way of life which are by no means the dominant ones in this country yet. Is it believable that such people would give up their highly developed critical faculties as soon as they have joined the Communist Party?

NEHRU'S CONFUSION

We may note here a recent example of Nehru's "flexibility" or confused thinking as others would prefer to call it. While the anti-colonial peoples and government of the entire world including the Communist Parties in the imperialist countries, viewed the liberation of Goa as a victory of the anti-imperialist forces over the forces of imperialism, the Prime Minister was distressed to note the so-called division of the world between the White and the Black.

But in no way can Pakistan, Turkey, or Japan, whose governments sided with the imperialists on the Goa issue, be described as White, nor can the Russians, the Poles or the Czechs, or the millions of Communists all over the "Western" world, who supported us, be called Black.

To confuse anti-imperialism with racialism certainly represents not flexibility but confusion of thought—a product of the eclectic approach of Nehru.

Please, Panditji, do not confuse adherence to principles with rigidity, and do not hide confusion of thought, lack of consistency, and surrender before political expediency under the garb of flexibility.

Secondly, the Prime Minister mistakes discipline for blind obedience. This is, indeed, surprising coming as it does from a political leader who is always appealing to his partymen to be loyal and well-disciplined soldiers of their party.

But they do believe that essence and definition of so-

cialism has to be the same for all, that socialism cannot mean anything else but nationalisation of the means of production and the rule of the working masses.

In this respect, the Communists are like any good scientists who must start by accepting the established scientific truths and then discover new truths.

The Communists are not, thank God, flexible enough to believe that growth of monopoly capitalism means socialism, that the fattening of Tatas, Birlas, Jains, Singhania, and Goenkas can possibly mean "democratic development", that surrender before landlords means kisan raj, or that brutal firings upon the people represent ahimsa parmo dharma in practice.

To a flexibility that can be stretched to the extent of including the Muslim League and Catholic communalism in a "nationalist" coalition, maharajas and jagirdars in the party of "anti-feudalism", big business in the camp of "socialist pattern", American imperialists in the front of anti-colonial people, the British Tories in the "Commonwealth of Nations", and Kasavubu and Mobutu in the ranks of the nationalists, we Communists can only say—No, thank you, or door se salaam.

Our Party leaders obey the proper Party committees and conferences and in turn the Party members accept and obey their leadership in the day to day political work.

If we obey orders from above in such a disciplined manner, it is because the

orders have been in the ultimate given by ourselves. In our Party, no leaders are imposed on the rank and file undemocratically and from "above" as is done in the Congress almost everyday.

To take only one of innumerable recent instances, after all it was the Congress leadership that brought the thrice-defeated C. B. Gupta back to U. P. Chief Ministership without any mandate from the Congressmen or even the Congress legislatures.

Nor was A. P. Jain imposed upon the Congress as a result of rank and file demand.

But then why waste space in going into all this? Is it after all not true that, in 1951, the duly elected President of the Congress, the venerable F. D. Tandon, was unceremoniously made to vacate the Congress gaddi just because he disagreed with the "uncrowned king" of the Congress?

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the Communist Party and made sacrifices in the cause of our people.

In fact, it appears as if he looks at our Party ranks with wistful eyes and wishes that, in place of so many job hunters and careerists, his party, too, had attracted good people like these Communists, minus their "rigidity" or faith in socialism, of course.

The truth, however, is that his party does not really consist of job hunters only. We are sure there are many a good and true man in the ranks of the Congress Party even today. Only these good men feel lost in the maze of intrigue and corruption in the ranks of the higher leadership of their party.

The Prime Minister would do well if he was to rally round these healthy elements of his party and with their help fight the agents of big capital and the plainly corrupt people within his party hierarchy instead of giving a false direction to his own as well as their energies by repeatedly tilting his lance against the good men of the Communist Party.

—B. K. MITRA

## RADIANCE OF COMMUNISM

thing is clear: it will be a life with all amenities as they will be available 15-20 years from now."

"We cannot even imagine how efficiently the future organisation of service will save the time and energy of people. Time and energy will be needed for more interesting and useful occupations than standing in queues, washing laundry or pottering near the kitchen range."

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"You speak of the frequent alternation of labour functions. This presupposes the mastery of several vocations by man. But to be a good specialist even in only one field a man has to devote his life to it. Would not the situation breed dilettantes?"

"I understand happiness not as a cloudless idyll. A pleasure is appreciated only when it has its antipode, and joy presupposes many privations and failures, of which man will be rid. In any case, no one will take away from the man of the future the romanticism of surmounting difficulties."

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COMMUNIST PARTY, INDIA

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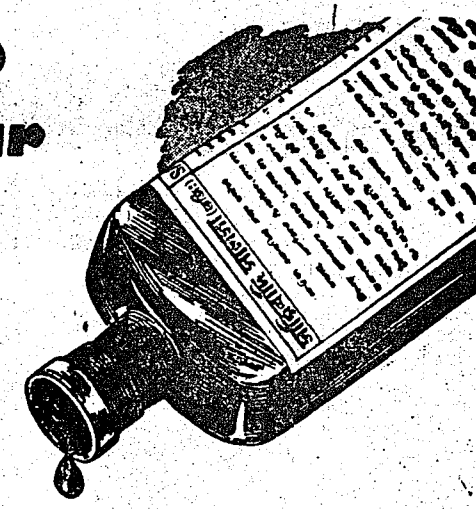
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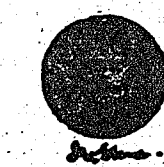
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NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN



# Disarmament And Ending Colonialism—Our Peace Movement's Twin Targets

When the National Campaign Committee for the Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu raised the slogan "Freedom for Goa in 1961", there were several sceptics who smiled in disbelief. But the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the All-India Peace Council took up the slogan with an enthusiasm, born of the conviction that Goa's liberation in 1961 was not a day-dream but corresponded with the realities—making it both possible and at the same time, necessary.

**T**HE Campaign Committee rightly saw that there was only one way to end Portuguese colonial rule over Goa in 1961 and called for military action by the Government of India; without beating about the bush. This call for military action won the active support of millions in our country; it became a necessary part of the speeches of the leaders of various political parties; it found its way into election manifestoes.

## Intensive Campaign

One year's intensive campaign under the leadership of the Campaign Committee and its determined and indefatigable Chairman, Aruna Asaf Ali, put an end to all the vacillations and hesitations of the Government of India. And our army marched.

As we honour today the martyrs who gave their lives for Goa's liberation, as we thank the countries, big and

small, which supported India in its struggle (above all, the Soviet Union without whose vote in the Security Council the imperialists would have had their way), as we congratulate the lakhs of Indians of different parties who participated actively in the campaign for Goa's liberation—inevitably we ask ourselves: What are the targets of the Peace Movement in India for 1962?

The World Council of Peace at its meetings in Stockholm in December decided to prepare actively through National Committees for two important international assemblies to be held during the year:

- The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace.

- The Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Conference which would have its powerful theme, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence and peace.

For the peace movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the preparations for these two international meetings cover the most crucial questions which concern their peoples and which can draw into action the widest sections of the masses of their countries: General Disarmament and National Independence.

Inevitably the preparations in the three continents will go on simultaneously with the two key issues inter-related and linked together.

## Key Task

The events of 1961, the coming into existence of more powerful weapons of mass destruction, the increase in the war budget of the USA and other imperialist countries, the war cries of the West German militarists and the unparaleled violence and treachery of the imperialists (evidenced so vividly in re-

gard to Algeria, Angola, Cuba, Congo, South Africa, etc.)—all call aloud for common action by all peoples on a scale greater than ever before to compel the imperialists to agree to general controlled disarmament without delay.

It is for this reason that the World Council of Peace believes that the struggle for disarmament has become more than ever the key task of the entire world peace movement in all continents. It is for this reason that the World Congress will be titled "World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace".

Saying this does not mean and can never mean that the World Council of Peace seeks to "subordinate" in any way the struggle for national independence. It does not mean and can never mean that at the World Congress questions of national independence will be relegated to the background.

Only a glance at the resolutions adopted at the World Peace Council Session in Stockholm in December make this absolutely clear: here are completely unequivocal resolutions on all the urgent questions of the representatives of and to the complete satisfaction of the representatives of the peoples actually involved in the great battle against imperialism and colonialism in Algeria, Angola, Cuba, the Congo, South Africa, West Irian, Goa, South Vietnam, South Korea, the Camerons, the Rhodias and Nyasaland Kenya, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, etc.

These resolutions in many cases drafted by the representatives of the countries concerned themselves are proof positive, if proof were needed at all, of the fact that the World Council of Peace does not "subordinate" or place on an "inferior level" the struggle for national independence. At times, it is argued that countries like Algeria, Angola or Cuba, which are engaged actively in the struggle against imperialism, have no need for disarmament; they need more arms to fight the imperialists more effectively.

## Stupid Argument

This "argument" is, to say the least, underrates the political understanding of the people fighting with arms against imperialism today. At Stockholm the answer came effectively from the representative of Cuba himself.

When we speak of the struggle for general disarmament, we do not ask the Algerians or Angolans or Cubans to disarm and surrender to imperialism. Everyone understands well enough that any agreement for disarmament concerns, in the first place, the powers with nuclear weapons and great stockpiles of the most modern armaments.

And when the Algerians or Angolans or Cubans support the struggle for general

disarmament, they are not disarming themselves, but on the contrary, fighting for the disarmament of the imperialists.

There is nothing contradictory in the Algerian people working together with the rest of the world for general controlled disarmament agreement, and at the same time strengthening their own armed struggle for liberation.

And the politically mature people of Asia, Africa and Latin America do not succumb to the demagogic and national chauvinist propaganda that they should not be concerned with the vital problem of universal disarmament and peace, because they themselves are conducting an armed struggle for liberation.

For them to work for general disarmament and peace does not and can never mean the toning down of their own struggle for liberation.

On the other hand, the work for general disarmament and peace assists their struggle for liberation, just as the struggle for national independence is a vital contribution to the struggle for world peace.

**India's Experience**  
For us Indians, the position is clear from our experience of 1961. The Government and people of India worked indefatigably for general disarmament and the voice of India was raised again and again in this cause in the councils of the world. But we find no contradiction between this and our armed liberation of Goa.

We contributed to peace by the armed liberation of Goa. And at the same time, we can never forget that the great common struggle of the whole world for general disarmament and peace helped to weaken the imperialists and, thus, assisted the struggle for national independence, everywhere, including our struggle for Goa's liberation.

It was the imperialists and their henchmen who pretended they saw a contradiction between India's appeals for disarmament and peace and their own military action in Goa.

The World Council of Peace has grown in its maturity and understanding in its universality in the last few years sufficiently to refuse to be misled:

- Either by the reactionary argument (which seeks to confuse some of the peace movements of Western Europe and North America) that the peace movement must not in any way give its active support to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

- Or by the national chauvinist argument (which seeks to confuse some of the peace movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America) that the national independence movements of the three

\* SEE FACING PAGE

## AJOY GHOSH'S SPEECH

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

Nagari should be the common script for all Indian languages is totally misconceived and has caused adverse repercussions in many parts of the country. One wishes the Chief Ministers had not rushed to make a proposal of this kind.

Of course, the Chief Ministers have not proposed to implement this proposal immediately. They merely want that "this objective should be kept in mind and worked for."

But even then, this cannot but rouse suspicion and irritate people who are using scripts other than Dev Nagari. We would earnestly urge that this proposal be dropped. Of course no objection can be taken against the proposal made by Indira Gandhi that valuable books in regional languages could also be brought out in the Dev Nagari

script. In fact, we welcome the proposal.

The rights and interests of linguistic minorities is another important matter to which adequate attention has not yet been paid. We are aware that Article 350B provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities and the President has powers to give directives for safeguards.

But it is well-known that the Special Officer has no power at all in any matter of decision or execution. This office is a mere reporting agency and is totally inadequate for the purpose. It is common knowledge that the Special Officer is all but ignored by the State Governments.

Not only for the linguistic minorities but for all other minorities such as Muslims and Christians, the State must fully and effectively discharge its responsibilities and there must be effective machinery for the discharge of these

responsibilities for the protection and safeguard of minority rights.

We are firmly of the view that a permanent Minorities Commission, invested with all requisite statutory authority should be set up. I am afraid that if things are left to the State Governments as at present, the legitimate interests of the minorities will not be adequately protected.

It has been seen how the State Governments lose the larger perspective and fall prey to local parochial pressures. Such Commissions may also be appointed at State levels to keep in close, day-to-day touch with the problems of the minorities and see that their interests and rights are, in fact, safeguarded. We maintain the future of our democracy depends in no small measure on how we handle the minority problems. Solution of these minority problems have become very urgent today for national integration.

Let us now come to another important question, namely, regional disparities in economic development. Under the British, the economic development was not only generally retarded but it took place in a particular way.

Industry and business got concentrated in a few select places like Bombay and Bengal. Wide gaps exist between the States in economic development and there has been no significant change in their relative positions even under the two Plans in free India. Naturally this gives rise to discontent.

## UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Lately such discontent has been expressed in more than one State which is sometimes utilised by reactionary elements. It goes without saying that a steel plant, for example, has to be guided, above all, by broad national considerations—for no part of the nation can thrive if the nation as a whole remains backward. At the same time, we feel that inadequate attention is paid to the task of reducing regional disparities, and that these disparities, instead of getting reduced, are even widening.

This yawning unevenness of development has got to be rapidly reduced if we are at all serious about national integration. Our planning needs to be given a proper orientation for this purpose.

We would like to refer to another matter. Ours is a secular State and it becomes the bounden duty of all who stand for secularism to see that there is no intrusion of religion into the affairs of State or the political life of the country.

But in practice, the principles of secularism are often tampered with and compromised not only by non-official agencies but even by officials, and some Ministers.

Quite often, ceremonies of a pronouncedly religious character, associated with Hinduism, are performed in public functions presided over by officials and even Ministers.

Non-Hindus cannot but resent this, though their re-

sponsibilities for the protection and safeguard of minority rights.

I understand that only the other day, the inauguration of an IAC Service at Palam was accompanied by religious rituals, conducted by no other person than the high priest of New Delhi's Laxmi Narayan Temple. One comes across many similar instances in the States. Such practices, we feel, should be eschewed.

## SECULAR PLEDGE

We have also seen how religious authorities, whether in temples, mosques or churches, are publicly wooed and drawn into politics even by secular political parties. Article 25 of the Constitution envisages restrictive legislation to prevent intrusion of religion into politics, but unfortunately no such legislation has been passed in spite of our repeated efforts in Parliament to create necessary restraints.

Religious orders freely interfere in politics and even compel their followers to vote or not to vote in a particular way. In the recent period, the Catholic Church in Kerala and Tamilnad has gone even to the length of using ex-communication to influence the votes of its followers for the nominees of the Church.

The secular parties must pledge themselves to do everything in their power not to mix up religion with politics under any circumstances and on any plea.

Administrative and legislative measures are of importance for combatting gross manifestations of communalism which sometimes take a heavy toll of life and cause untold suffering.

We are firmly of the opinion that officials and other public servants found guilty of communalism and similar other evil practices or propensities must be dealt with severely.

Mere transfers are not adequate. People who permit communal considerations to sway them especially in periods of communal tension and disturbances should have no place in administration and they must be promptly suspended, demoted and even dismissed. Any tendency to shelter them instead of giving them exemplary punishment should be given up.

A proposal has come that collective fine should be imposed on the community which commits aggression. We do not agree with this proposal. We feel that far more effective results can be obtained if the officials are held responsible for the safety of minority communities and drastic action is taken whenever they fall in their duty.

While stressing the need for deterrent action against those who incite communal hatred, we would like to point out that the problem of curbing communalism and casteism is essentially an ideological and political problem. It is a problem of reeducating the masses and in this, political parties and their leaders have to set the example by their deeds.

Education plays a vital role in bringing about national integration. But our educational system is still in many ways

defective. Education must be reorientated and brought in line with the requirements of modern times.

It must promote a scientific and progressive outlook towards life and society. Proper types of cultural activities should be encouraged by the State for, cultural resurgence is essential for promoting national integration.

As regards the relation between political parties, we think that it should be regulated by a code of conduct arrived at after proper discussion and strictly adhered to by all. Such a code has already been evolved in Maharashtra and in Uttar Pradesh. In a Parliamentary democracy like ours, it is inevitable that there would be several parties and it is also inevitable that they would oppose each other on many issues.

Nevertheless, the evolving of a proper code of conduct would be useful so that controversies between political parties take place in a proper manner and also on issues on which unity is possible, such unity is achieved.

I also welcome the proposal for setting up a Continuing Committee after this Conference.

These are our views on some urgent aspects of the problem of national integration. We would be glad to discuss these and other related matters with all those who stand for freeing our national life from the growing menace of communalism, casteism, separatism and other fissiparous tendencies.

As I have said at the beginning, there is a broad area of agreement among the secular forces. Conferences of secular parties should, in our opinion, be convened in States as well. But it is not enough that we merely exchange our views occasionally at conference. Nor is it enough to enact certain laws from time to time.

In the period after the winning of national independence, the dominant tendency has been to rely exclusively on such laws. This has not had the desired result. Very often the laws have remained on paper.

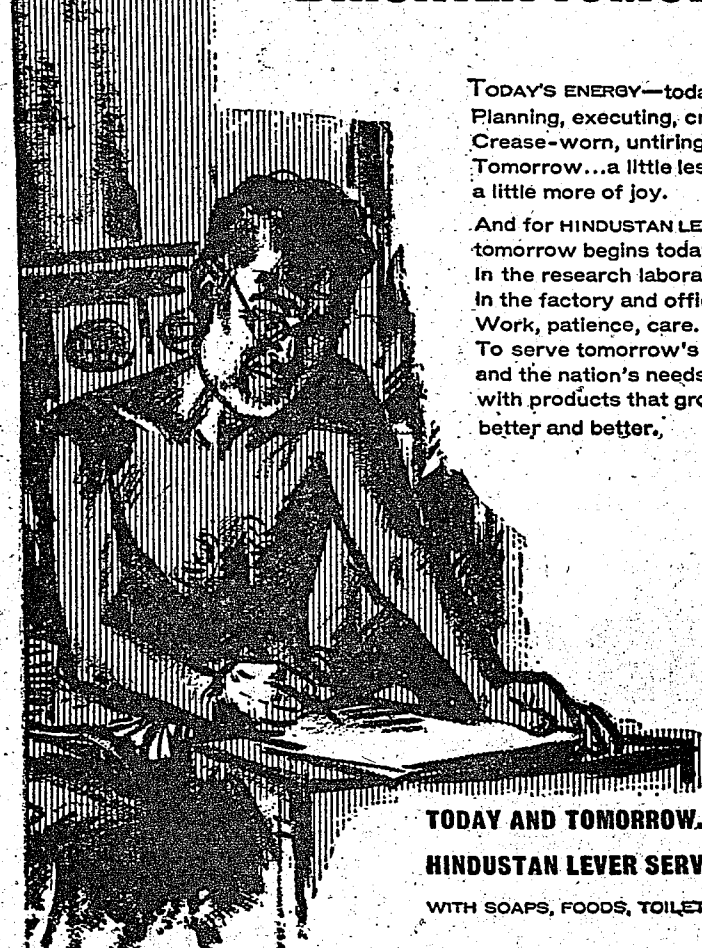
This is not surprising if one bears in mind the deep roots that casteism and communalism have in our country and the way they pervade our social and political life.

## NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

What is needed is a nationwide campaign against these evils, a campaign to rouse the masses to fight and eradicate them. This is a herculean task and cannot be carried out by any single party. It demands united action by all secular parties.

We know there are deep political differences among secular parties on vital questions. But we are of the view that despite these differences, we can unite on many issues in order to combat and defeat the forces of dark reaction which are striving to take our country backward and destroy all the precious heritages of our national movement. We hope that the deliberations of this Conference will be fruitful and will constitute a major step towards national unification.

# THE DAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW



TODAY'S ENERGY—today's ambition, Planning, executing, creating. Crease-worn, untiring into the night, Tomorrow... a little less of care, a little more of joy.

And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too, tomorrow begins today. In the research laboratory, In the factory and office. Work, patience, care. To serve tomorrow's homes, and the nation's needs with products that grow better and better.

TODAY AND TOMORROW... HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME WITH SOAPS, FOODS, TOILET PREPARATIONS

FR. 36-X13



# Balraj Sahni On Workers' Festival

\* FROM PAGE 2

which would not come to an end. That made me apprehensive and I asked Edward what was wrong.

He laughed and said that my speech had been appreciated so much that now the audience wanted me to sing. I must not refuse, he said, because there was a precedent. Nargis and Sunil Dutt had visited Pilsen during the previous festival and they had sung Hindi songs.

Obediently, I did, as I was told, with the good old Sare Jahan Se Acheha Hindustan Hamara which is a perennial standby for every Indian who goes abroad.

Later we were seated among the audience. The hosts knew that their summer was more like winter to us and so they provided us with blankets to cover our knees.

The first film was a documentary in colour, showing the mountainous regions of Slovakia. The scent of roses from the bouquet lying in my lap, and the sight of snow-capped mountains on the screen sent my mind back to the Himalayas once again.

This was followed by an exquisite Italian comedy film; produced, directed and acted by Vittorio Grassman. We laughed our sides out and wondered if it was not among the very best films we had ever seen.

But I must get back to our royal abode in Ceske Budovice. Having seen all there was to see in this castle we drove to another one about thirty miles away, called Ceske Krumlov.

There was a seventeenth century theatre in the castle, excellently preserved. It was well-planned and intimate. On the stage the old curtains and scenery were still hanging. And in the retiring rooms on both sides of the stage we could see costumes and wigs worn by the actors and actresses of those days.

In a park across the river we were also shown a modern theatre, of an entirely new kind. Till then we had heard of a revolving stage, but we had not heard of a revolving auditorium.

In this one the audience is expected to sit on galleries built on a platform which can make a full circle on wheels. About five hundred people can watch the play in comfort. The entire park is meant to serve as a stage for the artists. The action moves from place to place without any break and the auditorium revolves imperceptibly, to suit the needs of the audience.

This arrangement is especially suitable for pastoral plays. Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* had already been performed. Kalidas' *Shakuntala*, we were told, was another one on the list!

We drove back again through the magnificent countryside. Central European landscape is indeed very beautiful. It has all the beauty of the green and undulating English countryside, with the added advantage of being far less rainy.

For miles on end the road was lined with fruit-laden cherry trees on both sides. On this evening, when we got ready to attend the festival in Budovice it started raining cats and dogs. We drove to the open air theatre, but were almost sure that the show would be cancelled.

We were surprised to find that it was not. Everything went as usual, in spite of the pouring rain. We were ushered into raincoats and umbrellas as soon as we stepped out of the cars and then taken to the stage. The theatre here was much smaller than the one in Pilsen, but it was full.

At least two or three thousand people sat patiently, their plastic rain coat and umbrellas shining grotesquely in the strong lights. Krishan Chopra was expected to speak, but he backed out; because he was shivering with cold.

I stepped into the breach and tried a light-hearted speech once again. That was a mistake. A light-hearted speech is not the thing when your audience is sitting in discomfort.

I tried to make amends by bursting forth in song. I can't say how successful that was but true enough I could make my voice quiver like that of any classical singer. For this the rain water running down my spine was of immense help.

# greetings to nazim hikmet

Writers, poets and journalists of Delhi gathered on Sunday, January 21, 1962 in the hall of the Institute of Afro-Asian Studies, to pay homage to the great revolutionary poet of Turkey, Nazim Hikmet on the occasion of the poet's sixtieth birthday.

THE meeting was presided over by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand and held under the joint auspices of the Progressive Writers' Association, Delhi and the Indian Writers' Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

"Nazim Hikmet", said Mohammed Qasim, a young Urdu writer, "has written poetry of the highest quality; he is a beacon of light not only for the Turkish people but for progressive writers and poets all over the world, particularly Asia."

"He identified himself completely with the struggle of the Turkish people for democracy, peace and socialism and was in the vanguard of Turkish people's revolutionary movement."

"He had to suffer long years of imprisonment at the hands of the reactionary rulers of Turkey. But when in prison, the flame of his poetry burnt even brighter; and some of the poems he wrote there are powerful indictment of all oppressors, full of hope and noble courage and of exquisite beauty."

"They represent the re-surgent spirit of Asia in its finest aspect. We greet Nazim Hikmet on his sixtieth birthday and wishing him long life, hope that more of his works would be made available to us in our own Indian languages."

Qasim then recited Urdu translations of two of Nazim Hikmet's best known poems: *Your hands and their Lies* and *Angina Pectoris*. Sajjad Zaheer, speaking on the occasion, pointed out that it was significant that precisely when the reactionary ideologies of bourgeoisie were talking about the decay of poetry and attacking progressive writing as devoid of artistic qualities, in many countries of the world progressive poets have produced works of the highest quality which has been accepted as such even by the reactionary critics.

Thus, Nazim Hikmet in Turkey; Paul Eluard and Louis Aragon in France; Bertolt Brecht in Germany; Nazval in Czechoslovakia; Mayakovsky in the USSR, have achieved international eminence.

Sajjad Zaheer then recited a translation in English of Nazim Hikmet's poem *Microcosm* which the poet wrote in 1934, saluting an Indian revolutionary Bhanerji, who had been thrown in prison by the British imperialists.

The meeting decided to send on behalf of Indian writers a letter of greetings to Nazim Hikmet on his sixtieth birthday.

# Andhra Congress—Unseemly Sight

Six months of continued wrangling for Congress tickets, scores of trips to Delhi and back to complain one against the other, repeated postponement of Pradesh Election Committee meetings due to inability to select candidates, and to top it all the unseemly public controversy raised by Congress President as to who should be the next Chief Minister—it is in this background and with this sort of preparation that Congress has entered the election arena in Andhra.

WHEN the Congress list of candidates was finally published, the Swatantra Party felt very sore with it, for they could not get a single maharajah or zamindar or a big landlord to be put up as a candidate of their party—all the zamindars and ex-maharajahs, many contractors and ex-Justice-ites have been monopolised by the Congress.

The selection was so much on the wrong side that many honest Congressmen have started resigning from their responsible posts.

For instance, in his resignation letter to the president, the

Secretary of West Godavari District Congress Committee said: "In the selection of candidates, not only honest and selfless Congressmen have been neglected, but even people who had no belief in prohibition who make money on illicit distillation, who provoke clashes among people in villages and those who have no belief in

From  
**V. Hanumantha Rao**

Congress' ideals have been set up as candidates. I could not swallow this, after my 32 years of Gandhian way of life."

Earlier, the Joint Secretary of the same district committee resigned.

Thus, packed with rajas, big landlords, contractors, black-marketeteers, Razakars, the Con-

gress list hardly inspires the people.

But the Congress, which is in power, is trying substitute methods to secure votes for their candidates.

The Congress, having failed to deliver the goods as has been amply demonstrated in the Andhra Communist Party Election Manifesto and the analytical article by its Secretary N. Rajsekhar Reddi (published in an earlier issue of *New Age*), it is bringing the administration to its aid to promise favours, to offer posts of power, to assure this or that project, to announce some concessions.

While governments in other States have taken decisions not to lay foundation stones or use government vehicles and so on, the Ministers of Andhra are all too busy laying foundation stones for projects.

For instance, the foundation stone for Kasali Canal in Nellore district, inauguration of work of restoration of breached Thimmaraju tank in Information Minister's home constituency, foundation stone for Varadarajasagar project by the Chief Minister in his home district, foundation stone for Pampa project by PWD Minister in East Godavari, distribution of clothes to Harijans and starting of sewing centres by the Social Welfare Minister in constituency.

This is a clear case of attempt to influence the electorate, but fortunately for them, in the eyes of Election Commission, it is not a sin.

While this is the story at the provincial level, at district and Samiti levels, the chairmen of Zilla Parishads and Presidents of Panchayat Samitis go in jeeps, accompanied by district engineers, social welfare officers, make enquiries about requirements of people in villages, make note of them and in the presence of people, order accompanying officers to make a note of their requirements and undertake them immediately.

Official Interference

When I was recently touring Nellore district, practically in every village, I visited I was told about these promises. For instance, in my tour of Kondapi constituency, I was told that the Chairman of Nellore Zilla Parishad came and assured that the ayacut for Rallapad project would be increased despite the statement of the engineer to the effect that it is impracticable to extend it.

This kind of vote-catching

promises on a wide scale has replaced the public meeting programmes. This, in another way, is an indirect admission that they did much less during the last seven years and given another term of five years, they would do this or that.

But this kind of promises is not cutting much ice among more conscious people and in advanced area.

For instance in the Davai constituency in the same district when a peasant was promised a loan of Rs. 750 for digging a well, pat came the reply: Firstly, I cannot dig a well with this paltry amount. Secondly, I have to spend a hundred out of it, by way of bribes. Thirdly, for this "great" benefit, I have to salute you every-time you come and go this way. I would rather not have the well, rather than undergo all this!

The third weapon in the armoury of Congress is caste and communal feelings. While selecting candidates itself, candidates of that community only were chosen, who constitute a majority in that constituency so that he can secure votes at least on the basis of caste and community.

Vicious Slander

Meetings so far held by Congress can be counted on one's fingers and that, too, only when ministers and leaders from outside attend.

The pattern of speeches is invariably an attack on the Communist Party for its pro-China policy and its failure to condemn China as an aggressor!

Communists, in reply, point out to people how during the period of Rajaji regime in the erstwhile Madras State and then during Prakasam regime in Andhra State, many concessions were won, the Nagarjunsagar project and even Andhra state could be achieved, thanks to the existence of a strong opposition.

The Communist reply apart, the level of Congress propaganda could be imagined from the above.

To crown it all, the Congress president announced his decision to stage a comeback to State politics and indicated that he is coming so to become a Chief Minister again.

This has raised a dust storm inside Congress and many Congressmen bemoan that this controversy about the next Chief Minister even before elections have started, would seriously jeopardise the chances of Congress at polls since people would look upon such controversy with disgust.



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# FOR EVER GREATER GLORY!

On this auspicious day we salute the Republic ever more proudly, and humbly pledge anew to give our all to enhance its glory and strength. It has been the grand year of Goan liberation, completion of the epic battle of India's liberation itself. It is on the eve of the decisive third general elections when the collective verdict of our ever-maturing people will decide the future of our country.

**W**E dedicate ourselves to our great people whose ceaseless struggle and heroic sacrifices have kept the Republic on the historic course of onward march towards the destined goal.

We embrace our fellow patriots, with whom, despite differences, we have worked together to defend India's independence and ensure a better life for our people, to rid the world of the scourge of colonialism and save world peace.

## GOA'S LIBERATION

The living experience of our country, as also of the world we live in, underlines the imperative necessity of all the healthy forces of the Indian Republic getting together against its enemies, internal as well as external, in defence of our national heritage and for the successful fulfilment of our historic role abroad.

Indian action for the liberation of Goa revealed in a flash who are with India and who against and should end the illusion that all the countries are friendly to India just because India is the friend of all.

The experience over Goa, as also now Kashmir, should teach us all that India's good and true friends are the anti-colonialist countries of the Afro-Asian-Latin American world and the socialist world, headed by the USSR, while the countries of the imperialist West though they wear the thin hypocritical veil of friendship remain India's arrogant and intriguing enemies.

Defence of India's national interests demands that we know our friends from our foes. Fulfilment of India's world role demands that we unite ever more closely with Afro-Asian-Latin American and Socialist countries against the imperialist powers.

African liberation struggle is calling aloud for active Indian solidarity. Indian troops in Congo should not serve as a cover for the arrest of Gizenga, Lumumba's political heir. India's influence and weight must be exerted in full to ensure the independence and unity of Congo and democratic rights for the Congolese.

The patriotic forces of Latin America are rising in solidarity with Cuba, threatened with new invasion plots by USA. India must proclaim its national support to Castro's Cuba and warn the US rulers against their aggressive plans.

India shoulders a big responsibility as the Chairman of the International Control Commission in Vietnam and Laos, where there is crying need to show less tolerance to Western imperialists and their local stooges and give vigor-

ous support to national patriotic forces in the name of Asian liberation and peace.

It is not enough to go on finding fault with China. Good-neighbourliness and restoration of Asian solidarity demands that the principles of Panchsheel guide us to unfold irresistible initiatives to achieve a peaceful solution of the border problem.

It is not enough to say that peaceful solution of the German problem is necessary to pull the passion out of the cold war. It is necessary to end the scandal of Indian recognition of Fascist-led Western Germany which was against India over Goa and non-recognition of Communist-led German Democratic Republic which was with India over Goa. Indian recognition of GDR will help introduce the element of sanity in the German situation and con-

Sensing the discontent of the people and seeing it go Left, the Indian vested interests unleashed forces of Indian reaction to attack the very progressive principles of Indian planning from outside the ruling party, while they relied upon reactionary elements within the Congress to give them the concessions at the cost of the people.

To the great Congress sin of failing to implement its pledges to the people has been added the sin of conceding to the demands of the vested

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
\* P. C. JOSHI \*  
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interests and ignoring those of the working people.

The Communist Party has not only defended the progressive features of the Plan against reaction but also pressed for a big plan to end the backwardness of the country and minister to the greater welfare of our people. The Third Plan is bigger but the policies behind it need radi-

cal change in the interests of the people.

ple and not the exploiting few.

It is the damnation of those who rule our country today that 15 years after Indian independence, Indian unity itself stands threatened.

Our Party can proudly state that though the ruling party to overthrow the Nambudripad Ministry relied upon the Muslim League and, thus, strengthened the rise of communalism and reaction throughout the country, we did not ask the Congress to face the consequences.

## NETAJI'S BIRTHDAY

New Age joins the millions of our fellow patriots in paying homage to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on the occasion of his sixty-sixth birthday.

Netaji has left behind an imperishable legacy of fiery love for the Motherland, of radical democraticism and of complete self-abandon for the flag of freedom.

## SAFEGUARD UNITY

When the orgy of communal riots began last year, our Party was the first to give the constructive call for a get-together of all the secular forces. When the Prime Minister did call the National Integration Conference, our late leader Ajoy Ghosh made his widely welcomed contribution.

We have no doubt that from their own experience, our people see that strengthening the Communist Party is their best investment against the rise of disruptive communalism and casteism in our fair land and that wiping out the parties of communal reaction, separatism, etc., is the common national task during the coming elections.

The ruling class has tended to transform the Republic Day into a grand ceremonial during which the Congress claims the credit for all the achievements and puts the blame for the continuing evils on the other parties and even on the people themselves. This is the vital election year. It is the chance of the people to act.

We have no doubt that our wise people who have been acquiring newer experience will adequately punish the ruling party for breaking its own solemn pledges to the people and producing a national situation in which the forces of evil, darkness and greed, linked with the Western Powers stalk our country, and for its continuing to slander our Party when it should know better.

## CALL TO THE MASSES

We have no doubt that our patriotic people will give a through trouncing to the parties of the Right as representing selfish, anti-national and anti-popular interests.

We have no doubt that our ever grateful people will award our Party with greater confidence as the one most dedicated to the defence of secular democracy, rights and welfare of the people, organiser and leader of their just struggles, ardent champion of India's independence and its rightful anti-colonial and

## FROM THE EDITOR

We thank Paritosh Sen for the cover design of this issue.

We request our readers to send us by Registered Post any pictures of Ajoy Ghosh they may have with them, especially of the early period of his life. The memorial volume being planned will badly need such pictures.

A limited number of copies of the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Number is still available.

# Salute Our Republic!

tribute to its solution. A constructive and helpful Indian contribution for the solution of concrete problems that threaten world peace will weaken and isolate the forces of colonialism and war and enhance India's influence and prestige to work for a world without wars through the discussions on disarmament.

## STRENGTHEN FREEDOM

India's independent foreign policy is the nation's pride which has made India a great peace power. The Communist Party has been the foremost in defending it against the onslaughts of the pro-Western Indian Right, despite all the slanders and calumny. We have also been rightly critical of the illusions and equivocations inherent in the Government's policy.

In the name of strengthening the spirit of Panchsheel and Indian contribution in the struggle against colonialism and for world peace, we have no doubt that the wise Indian people will help make the Communist Party a stronger force in our national life.

We celebrate the Republic Day in the first year of the Third Plan.

Our people have had long years of experience under planning as it is being carried out by the Congress rulers, their universal experience is that while promises to the people have not fructified, the threats to the vested interests have proved empty, that the gains of planning have been garnered by the greedy few, while the labouring millions have continued to suffer.

cal change in the interests of the people.

The Communist Party has been in the forefront of the progressive forces demanding policy changes in the Plan, to make it serve the interests of the people instead of the selfish, exploiting classes.

While the First and Second Plans promised land distribution, the Third is virtually silent. The Communist Party rallies India's peasantry to demand land to the tiller so that Indian planning can rest on suitable foundations of a strong agrarian economy based on liberated peasantry.

The Communist Party demands the curbing of the big monopolists of the private sector instead of strengthening them as it is happening under the present dispensation. The Communist Party works for the further expansion and consolidation of the public sector as the commanding sector of Indian national economy, democratically operated by its workers, technicians and engineers in the interests of the entire people, who repose their hope of a better future on its contribution and example.

In the name of preserving the independence of our national economy, the Communist Party has been warning against the danger of inviting foreign private capital.

Socialist aid has been universally welcomed in our country for it has strengthened the public sector and supplied the machines and means to advance industrialisation.

The Communist Party demands that Socialist aid be used as a lever to enforce fair terms of aid and trade on the capitalist countries