

THE LAST FEW DAYS HAVE WITNESSED AN ORGY OF COM-MUNAL VIOLENCE INFLICTING TERRIBLE DAMAGE TO HUMAN VA-LUES. HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. THERE WERE LARGESCALE ARSON, LOOT AND OTHER CRIMES. NORMAL LIFE IN SEVERAL PLACES CAME TO A STAND STULL ECONOMIC ACTURITY SUFERIED A SET ACK TO A STAND STILL, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY SUFFERED A SETBACK.

HE most shocking aspect of these distress ing events has been the spread of communal poison in the working class areas -Jamshedpur, Rourkela, Raigarh etc. where, so far, it could not take hold of the toilers' mind and drown their class solidarity and brotherhood in the blood of fratricide. This was a new development and the most dangerous one at that.

Political pundits have as-cribed these incidents to a chain reaction of what has happened in East Pakistan. But that is not the correct answer. What about the r cause of these commun cause of these communal flare ups Who organises these slaughters? Certainly, the ordinary people busy in earn-ing their daily bread by ar-duous labour do not jump duous labour do not jump into the fray all by themsel-ves just by habit or seek to glorify their misdeeds in the name of dealing a retaliatory blow?

of common people are deli-berately worked up to a fever pitch where basic human values are lost and man turns into a feroclous and bloodthirsty animal to be led into acts of massive carnage. All this at whose behest and why?

The riots, government says, have subsided and the situa-tion has been brought under have control. Army had been called in, firing had been resorted to, and police is "alert" against possible breach of peace that has been established for the time being. The trouble has been quelled. But it may not be the case everywhere.

GRIM

REMINDERS

Assuming that the situation is under control, we shall ask: is this enough? Will government after this temporary solution again put on that expression of smug complaexpression of smug compla-cence on its face for bring-ing back peace? The demon

Sympathy and sentiment of communalism has been raising its ugly head time and again in several parts of the country for quite some years now. Jabalpur, Calcutta etc. are places that remind us of the horrors in the near past, perpetrated under the very nose of government.

This is a recurring pheno-menon. Efforts at national integration did not bear the desired fruit, and the tree of our secular democracy under Congress rule did not thrive. Despite the plethora of promises and platitudes, sections of political parties continue to nurse commu-nal hatred, openly preach violence and incite people

violence and incite people to fratricide. Well-known goonda gangs hold entire , society to ransom. How long will such things be allowed to happen? Are we not a civilised nation? A tem-porary soutching of riots here and there of few armote and and there, a few arrests and launching of some criminal cases that would drag on for years, and half-hearted puni-tive measures cannot stamp

out the cancer from our body. politic.

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ELIMINATE ROOT CAUSE

What is needed is a firm step definitely aimed at end-ing the root cause of organised vandalism and mass mursed vandalism and mass mur-ders. Those leaders and orga-nisations, like the RSS, the Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh, Muslim League-irrespective of their religious faith—who provoke communal passion must be put down wthout any hesitation. Peddling of communal poison, openly or otherwise, in our country must be banned, however powerful the traders may be. This is the responsibility of the ruling party. Any wavering in this regard can only be taken as a betrayal of national ideals.

The Communist Party and several mass organisations have already been at the forefront of the battle against the communal fren-. zy. They have called upon the people to exercise maximum vigilance against the activities of communal elements and resist their ma-noeuvres at all levels. The menus and resist their ma-nocurres at all levels. The conscious sections of the people will have to combat the menace and make it a priority task.

25 nP.

The demon of communalism must be destroyed, once for ever, and only an all-out effort of the community as a whole can ensure that <u>com</u>-munal harmony will not only have to be maintained at all costs, but it will also have to be ensured that it is never disturbed again.

CARNAGE AT JAMSHEDPUR

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

JAMSHEDPUR: Jamshedpur, the steel city which had the proud tradition of maintaining amity between Hindus and Muslims, between Biharis, Bengalis, Oriyas and Punjabis, men of all religions, communities and provinces even in the worst days of 1947 has fallen a tragic victim to communal frenzy.

OR the last ten days special trains carrying East Pakistan Jams carrying basis rikistan refugees were passing: through Jamshedpur and halting at Tata-nagar station for hours together. The citizens: of Jamshedpur had been organising relief to the refugees in the special trains.

reingees' in the special trains. But soon communal elements entered the scene. Rumours were set afoot in the town giving harrowing and exaggerated stories of the atrocities committed on East Pakistan refugees.

In the background of the worst passions aroused by largescale and organised rumour-mongering, which went on for days, three well-known goonda gangs of the city soon assumed control of the situation.

The first attacks were aimed notably at their rivals of the Jamshedpur underworld who be-longed to the minority com-munity. From this point, the goonda gangs were able to spread out to the various parts of the city.

city. They succeeded well in inciting the factory workers concentrated in Telco, Tube Co. and Cahle

Co. — workers who were new, direct from the villages, without the glorious traditions of the Jamshedpur working class. In the largescale communal carnage that shook Jamshedpur to its very marrow, manuge-ments of certain factories also played the role of agents provocateur. Weapons were often found to have been manufactured or stocked in factories and groups sent out to augment the ranks of the rioters. rinters

RESCUE WORK

In the midst of this communal In the midst of this communal frenzy and madness which over-took Jamshedpur, leaders of the District Congress Committee, the District Community Party and the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union have worked untingly to bring back sanity, evacuate members of the minority community to camps and to rescue Jamshedpur from the hideous grip of the communal goonda gangs acting in league

with the RSS and som of the which are not some of the employers. The car of the Jam-shedpur Mazdoor Union' with its red flag became the symbol of unity, courage and secularism.

Kedar Das, Ramavtar Singh, Satyanarain Singh, Barin De and U. Misra MP who rushed from Delhi, besides dozens of devoted cadres and leaders of the JMU and the Communist Party, along with Chotelal Vyas and Bhuva-neshwar Tewary and other leaneshwar Tewary and other lea-ders of the District Congress Committee, moved from bustee to bustee and area to area.

NOBLE **EXAMPLES**

been lost.

There have been also noble examples of class unity and solidarity. Many a family of Tisco workers and middle class and anonempatic and government employees gave shelter to Muslim families. Businessmen like Murti Agra-wal, Manikant Thakkar and others worked day and night to provide relief to members of the minority community. Their self-less and untiring work has kept alive the faith that all has not

The most deplorable aspect of the situation, however, was the total collapse of the ad-ministration in the face of this challenge to communal and in-dustrial peace, in the face of a dustrial peace, in the face of a reign of wanton mass murders

which was let loose by goonda gangs and RSS organisations.

The same administration which banded over the city to the Army to crush the 1958 strike of Tisco workers and mobilised hundreds of magistrates and armed per-sonnel a week before the one-day strike, was hesitant whether to

sonnel a week below a strike, was hesitant whether to call in the Army or not. And even when the Army was called in, all that it was asked to do was to march on the streets, the moles taking cover only when it preced

The Chief Minister's visit to Jamshedpur has given hope and confidence to the minority com-munity and he has taken some firm steps including the arrest of a personnel manager of a leading company in Jamshedpur.

One however wonders what impediments he is facing in taking firm steps against the known leaders of goonda gangs in lamshedpur who enjoy the patronage of some very high-ups in Bihar and who were the moin complexe of the commain organisers of the com-munal holocaust.

munal holocaust. Twenty thousand Muslims of Jamshedpur are today huddled together in a few camps-men, women and children without any food and medicine, without any sanitary arrangements. If the present situation continues, hun-ger and disease may start taking their own toll.

Communal reactionaries' have not yet drawn in their talons. The city is full of all sorts of rumours and attempts are being made to whip up more frenzy, directing it against the camps which have been set up.

It is therefore urgently necesary that firm steps are taken against the known goonda leaders who are still at large and the management and officers who have fanned the communal fire and acted as agents provocateur. The Army should be given speci-fied responsibilities at key points and more camps should be open-ed with the minimum food and sanitary arrangements.

SOUL OF STEEL CITY

But what is even more urgentbit what is even more urgent-ly necessary is to rescue the soul of Jamshedpur, that glorious city of Hazara Singh and Ahdul Bari, from the deadly grip of commu-nal frenzy and revanchism.

Not only the Communist Party, not only the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, not only a handful of Congress leaders, but the entire working class and the people need to be roused to realise the grim tragedy that has occurred in Jamshedpur.

All democratic and secular parties, all trade unions, all patriots must unite to keep India's fair, name untarnished and fight against the demon of commu to see that Ayub's game played ever again in India. nalism is not

I&B MINISTRY

Propaganda Machinery **Sharply Criticised**

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The AIR's bureaucratic set-up and functioning formed the main theme of criticism by the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha last week when the demands for grants of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was discussed. S. K. Pottekkat who initiated the debate described the work of the I&B Ministry as "routineridden" and "unimaginative" and said that unless this was changed the Ministry and its adjuncts would become carbon copies of other government departments like the PWD or Finance.

ple of what happened after the Chinese aggression. He said that the reaction of the Ministry to the event was the reaction of bureaucracy. The mass upsurge in the country was not reflected through the great media of publithrough the great media of publi-city under its disposal. An attempt was made to make the best of the existing machinery and exist-ing personnel with the result that there was quantity hut, not quality in its work. And gra-dually people got frustrated and bored with the programmes. He referred to our failure to

He referred to our failure to make an impact on our neigh-bouring countries and said that it arose from the way external publicity was handled. Edited, censored and touched up, all life and vigour are taken out from our broadcasts and external publicity material. This "anae-mic stuff" fails to move people. And the result is that the very best of our intentions are misbest of our intentions are m

inderstood or not just carried Criticising the AIR's hand-ling of literary men, Pottekkat iterary men, Pottekkat that it should have

observed that it should have striced to keep a continuous flow of fresh talents to enrich its work and maintain a high standard of broadcasting. He criticised the composition of Advisory Committees as lifele filled with 'yes' men of the officials.

Discussing the deficiencies in the work of the news division of the AIR, Pottekkat referred to le WOTK on AIR, Pottekkat reneration he delaying of news as a result of waiting for a clearance from Weternal Affairs Ministry or He made a External Affairs Ministry or Home Ministry. He made a grous plea for hetter treatvigorous plea for t for the Indian language s in the AIR. He said that Indian language units of the s service division are comnews service division are com-pletely neglected and urged the appointment of editors and assis-tant editors in all language units. Another point in his criticism

was the treatment meted out to the staff artistes of the AIR. While poets, composers and authors etc. could be placed on a separate list and their services called for occasionally, transfor occasionally, trans-news readers etc. should lators, news readers etc. should be taken as regular government servants.¹ They do virtually the same work as sub-editors and yet they are discriminated against.

AIR's Role

PAGE TWO

Referring to AIR's role in national integration, be said that it should not be satisfied by holding an annual kavi sammelan. Efforts should be made to introduce the should be made to introduce the various geographic and linguistic regions of this vast country to one another through useful broad-casts. He also suggested for the AIR a national programme of short stories, a national pro-gramme of biographies of great Indian men and women and a

POTTEKKAT cited the example of what happened after the Chinese aggression. He said that the reaction of the Ministry of the government or the ruling party and demanded that its studios be thrown open to all representatives of thoughts and opinions, barring outright

Pottekkat said that in ublications Division also, Indian languages, except Hindi and Urdu, are "absolutely neglected". All good publications are in English and Hindi only. He referred to the overlapping in the work of the Press Information referred to the overlapping a survey work of the Press Information Bureau, Publications Division and DAVP and suggested that to coordinate the work of these,

COMMUNISTS IN PARLIAMENT

there should be one Director General of Publicity and Infor-mation for the news service divi-sion of the AIR, PIB, Publication Division and DAVP.

The sector of the promise and backmarketers. But "Films are works of art. Cut be works of art." He criticised the mascetic and their quality as works the past one year. **Failure To Failure To Failure To Failure To Keep Promise** Another dangerous situation has been created by the uncheck-ed blackmarketing in foodgrains by lig traders and hoarders. The workers are indignant at the failure of the government to protect them from the angle of a scetic and they cease to be ministry withdraw the newsreel on the Great March. On the Partisan attitude which inde the ministry withdraw the newsreel on the Great March. On the Enumerating some of the proh-

Enumerating some of the prob-lems in his own state, Kerala, Pottekkat. pleaded for a 50 kw short-wave transmitter at Kozhi-kode and more regional offices of the PIB in the state. Ile also urged the inclusion of a Malayaoffices Ile also lam programme in the extern services of the AIR from Delhi. external Renu Chakravarity who spoke on the demands for

Renu Chakravartty who spoke on the demands for grants of the I&B Ministry referred to the occruding powers of the Director General of the AIR and said that he has become almost a Mughal Emperor. She referred ta com-plaints of corruption and nepo-tism in the appointments and promotions and signing of con-tracts and said that the AIR has become "Augean's stable"

General

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Unless Grievances Are Redressed Strikes Will Be Inevitable

Labour Ministry Asked to take Immediate Steps

-Communist member Dinen Bhattacharya speaking in the Lok Sabha last week when the House discussed the demands for grants of the Ministry of Labour and Employment warned the government that unless it took positive steps to bring down prices, correct the fradulent index and increase the wages of workers by at least 25 per cent to meet the increase in cost of living, situation on the labour front will not remain what it is today and strikes will become inevitable.

organisations for unity in the fight to win the demands of

ar the AITUC to all trade union organisations for unity in the fight to win the demands of binen Bhattacharya squarely blamed the government for failing to keep its promise to hold the price line given at the time when the Industrial Truce Resolution was adopted immediately after emergency was proclaimed. The prices of all essential commedities have gone up since then. nodities have gone up since then. It is estimated that the rise in prices is to the extent of 15-40 per cent all over the country in the past one year.

He pointed out that even the promise made in the last Standing Labour Committee to open cheap grain shops had not been implemented. The report of the Ministry shows that the violations of Industrial Truce Resolution by employers was more than its violation by employees. Yet the promise of referring disputes to arbitration for speedy settlement has not been carried out. In this connection he referred to the

tracts and said that the AIR has become "Augean's stable" which required cleaning. The powers of the Director not been done. Not even the Seneral should be curbed. An adependent inquiry committee the Class IV employees of the

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He said workers are already agitated by the rise in prices and cost of living and they are getting ready for a fight. He referred to the countrywide bun-ger strike of 50,000, workers last month and recalled the appeal of the AITUC to all trade union organisations for unity in the fight in win the democile of the dem

It is a good thing that the government has now come for word with a new series of CLI and they are going to change the method of compilation. But before that the old series must be rectified. Dimen Bhatacharya demanded that workers organisations should be taken into confidence while compiling the cost of licing Referring to the series of licing

Referring to the boycott of the last meeting of the Standing Committee on Industrial Truce Resolution by the AITUC, he said that the INTUC too, if they wanted to do any good to the workers, will have to get out of it. Workers, will have to ger our or ir. He urged an immediate increase of at least 25 per cent in the present wages of workers and said that if this was done it will create an atmosphere in which the workers will be enthused to work and produce more. If this is not done, there is no alter-native before them except to go on strike on strike.

The report of the Ministry shows that the violations of Industrial Truce Resolution by employers was more than its violation by employees. Yet the promise of referring disputes to arbitration for speedy settlement has not heen carried out. In this connection he referred to the strike of 7,000 workers of the strike of 7,000 workers of the gay Engineering Works in Cal-cutta since December last and urged the Union Minister to intervene in the dispute at least at this late stage. He them referred to the government's assurance to link powerment's assurance to link proverment's assurance to link proverment's assurance to link present session itself. DA with cost of living and point-

wage board. Many mills in West Bengal had only partially implemented its recommenda-tions. He also urged the early setting up of a wage board fo the textile industry. He also demanded the remo-

Workers

Vimla Devi speaking on the Labour Ministry's demands for grants laid special stress on the conditions of women labour in

opportunities for women, jobs must be reserved for and also they_should be some assured equal wages. They should also be provided with training facilities.

facilities. Vinila Devi urged the go-vernment to interfere where unmarried women were forced to resign their jobs if they got married and said that women's right to marry and keep their jobs should be protected. Maternity benefits should be provided to women workers in all sectors of industry. She also demanded that

all sectors of sectors of sectors of sectors of the sectors of the sector should be pro-accommodation should be pro-when they went vided to women when they

Another point she made, was about the non-implementation of the recommendations of the Jute Wage Board by two jute mills in Andhra Pradesh and she said that the Labour Commissioner was trying to compel the workers' unions to accept the low offer of the management and increased present session itselt. On the question of wage boards. Bhattacharya renewed the plea for a wage board for the, engineering industry and full implementation of the recommendations of the jute was implemented in the tobacco industry in Andhra. SHILLONG: Following repeated questions in Parliament, often angry interpellations and persistent reports in the press about the vulnerability of Assam's internal

"We Communists, fully alive

masses of the people.

H E was accompanied by the the critical situation created by the aggressive designs of Pakis-other officials including the Direc-tor of the Central Intelligence Bureau, giving the visit more indulged in by interested quarters than ordinary significance. During his visit the Home people over rising cost of living, Minister received memoranda said: Minister received memoranda from about 50 organisations in-cluding the Congress, the Com-munist Party, the Praja Socialist Party and other political parties. Besides bolding lengthy dis-cussions with the government offi-cials and Ministers, Nanda met 200 ments of different political 200 people of different political views and non-political leaders.

The main issue that was dis-cussed by the Union Home Minister was that of internal security in the context of Assam's geographical position and the recent developments on the context bodges instion the state's borders, parti-cularly Pakistan's aggressive postures.

The issue of Pakistani infil-The issue of Pakistani infli-trators into the state figured prominently in these discussions. The memorandum submitted by the Pradesh Congress Com-mittee — whether this was a unanimously agreed one is not known — demanded a dateline of known, — demanded a dateline of March 31, 1965 for clearing the state of all infiltrants. It opposed the appointment of tribunals for examining the cases of suspected infiltrants who claim to be Indian

infiltrants who craim to be means The setting up of such tribu-nals was originally suggested by the Union government and accepted by the state government. The Chief Minister had, while the suggestion declaraccepting the suggestion, declar-ed that the determination of the nationality of a person could not be left to the police. But some sections in the ruling

But some sections in the ruling party seem to have not accepted this position and they have kick-ed up a row over the provision. They allege that this is an attempt to circumvent the popu-lar demand for the deportation of the infiltrants expeditiously.

Just as on this issue, on many other aspects of the problem also there were differences in the approach of the CPI and other

approach of the CPI and other parties and sections. It was the Communist Party alone that ex-pressed fully dispassionate views on the problem and demanded absolutely non-communal reme-dies to them.

The CPI memorandum to the

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PRESS WORKERS'

LIBRARY

THE Workers' Com-mittee of the New

Age Printing Press has

started a Library and

Reading Room, with the

full support of the managemen

in the press premises. The Library and Readin Room were declared open at function held on March 9 b

tunction field on Marca 5 b the manager of the press. D. I Sinha. The Secretary of th Committee explained the rule and regulations as well as th aims of the Library and Read

and journals, and workers my

ons as well as the

Home Min

ster. after de

The Communist Party had supported the setting up of the tribunals when it was origi-nally suggested and is still supporting it as a check against harassment of innocent neonle. From S. SHARMA

innocent people

Union Council.

Balachandra Menon charged that the Minister was incapable of compelling the plantation bosses to open fair price shops in the plantations. They had countered the government with the demand of guaranteed sup-ply of requested foodgrains at fixed price. S EEKING to raise an ad-journment motion, Bala-chandra Menon termed the Labour Minister and his depart-ment as "handmaids of planters and industrialists." d indus. He charged partment for deny... tion to majority unions a... couraging splinter unions with ... view to refuse the just demands of the workers. ... metion to the struggles of the state transport workers and going to both cases, the government was the employer and were the closers in the plantation industry had, during the meeting ' plantation labour com-' on March 21, main ' mu prac-of '' during the meeting ' plantation labour com-' on March 21, main '' workers, permanency of '' u main ''

POLICY ASSAILED

and industrialists." He charged the Labour De-partment for denying recogni-tion to majority unions and en-couraging splinter unions with a view to refuse the just demands

continue the unfair labour prac-tice of unilateral fixation of workload, contrary to even the provisions of the Industrial Dis-putes Act. He said that further changes in the conditions of the planta-tion workers were being imple-mented through the introduction of ladder tapping. The workers were heing deprived of their legitimate share arising out of increased production. reased noduction.





From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYYA

"We Communists, fully alive to the realities and dictated solely by the interests of the people and the country as a whole, are in this situation firmly of the opinion that our needs at present are three-fold, nomely strengthening of the We are fully prepared to share our responsibilities in doing everything in defence of our territorial integrity, our frontiers, and for that we are combatting and shall continue to combat the enemies of our independence, and sovereignty, irrespective of whether they are from within or from outside. "We fully believe that national unity is much more needed today than ever before. Forces of com-munalism, separatism and exnamely, strengthening of the defence potentialities, unity and integrity of the nation and strengthening the base of our strengthening the base of our national economy on modern industrial basis for the improve-ment of the material and spiritual conditions of the vast

unity is much more needed today than ever before. Forces of com-munalism, separatism and ex-No Contradiction munalism, separatism and ex-treme chauvinism constitute the

No Contradiction In National Needs The memorandum asserted that "there can he no contradiction in these national needs as some peo-ple in high places of society and administration want to suggest, on the cheap plea that every one must suffer for the defence needs of the country. We totally reject such cries, coming from the profit-greedy monopolist sections, as untenable". It added: "We are all for constantly strengthening our de-fence potentialities so as to be able to meet the eventualities that may he created by the hos-tile neighbours both in the north-eastern and south-western sectors of our borders so long as a peace-if u neighbours to the defence needs of the country. We totally reject that may he created by the hos-tile neighbours both in the north-eastern and south-western sectors of our borders so long as a peace-if une eighbours is not

of our borders so long as a peace-ful neighbourly relationship is not established with them, for which munists are fully convinced that we always stand.

"We therefore believe that the struggle for the cause of the people against high prices, heavy tax burden and such other matters is essential and legitimate in the existing con-ditions of today since it can make the government alive to these vital problems." → The comparison of the sector of the cause of the people against high prices, heavy tax burden and such other matters is essential and legitimate in the existing con-ditions of today since it can make the government alive to these vital problems." → Covernment should under-

Sings of the people are: → Organisation of a people's militia, over and above the armed forces and the police, in the border areas. Recruitment to this should not he made a parti-san affair of the ruling party. H, NEFA and Nagaland. Since there are a lot of com-mon problems for the states of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Nefa and Nagaland, some sort of a coordination machinery in which the people are also asso-

KERALA GOVT'S LABOUR not to harass innocent people. More tribunals should be set up to dispose of cases of suspected infiltrators.

as 25 per cent reduction in prices of essential commodities increase in wages and dearness allowance should be immediately

these oital problems." Among the measures suggested by the Communist Party to the Union Home Minister to meet the threat to the security of the country and to alleviate the hard-ships of the people are: - Overmment should under-take a planned rehabilitation programme for the refugees from East Pakistan. Tribals among them might be resettled in the hill areas of Assam, Mani-pur, NEFA and Nagaland.

A sizeable area all along the border with Pakistan to be vacated of habitation to make it easier. for patrolling and for checking infiltration.
 Thorough weeding out of infiltrators, while taking care not to harass innocent people.

gency has now become un-necessary and therefore it should be withdrawn. All political dete-nus should be released forthwith. Pakistani elements whose existence was amply proved by Assam state council of the CPI, shouting of pro-Pakistani slogans. Suren Bhatta, Arabindo Ghose A good network of intelligence and Dhireswar Kalita.

TRIVANDRUM: The partisan and reactionary labour policy of the Congress government in Kerala was exposed in the state Assembly on March 23 by P. Balachandra Menon, secretary of the Kerala State Trade

As a result of all these, a worker double and a high serious situation was develop-ing on the labour front, Bala-chandra Menon said. In many On the question of dearne allowance the report regretter

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Steel Workers' Special Meet

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BURNPUR: A special convention of the workers of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. and the Indian Standard Wagon Co. was held at Burnpur on March 7 and 8 to discuss the workers' demands to be placed before the steel wage board.

The convention was called by and ISWCO were not getting the United Iron and Steel DA in accordance with the award Workers Union. It was attended of the West Bengal Major Engi-by a thousand delegates. The neering Tribunal, though both total labour strength of the two were major engineering con-establishments is 25 thousand.

chandra Menon said. In many On the question of dearness allowance, the report regretted *ON PACE 17 that the workers of the IISCO

The report further character-ised the price indices prepared by the West Bengal govern-ment as grossly erroneous. The union had collected the mar-ket prices at Bumpur in August 1963 and computed the index with 1949 as the base year. It showed the index number to be 220 while the governmen was only 136.

was only 100. The IISCO management has so far not implemented the in-terim relief recommended by the steel wage hoard. The workers have already shown their feelings have already shown their feelings

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PACE THREE

Who Backs Pakistan on Kashmir Issue?

The tremendous goodwill that India continues to enjoy in the councils of the world, despite the sustained efforts to denigrate and malign her, should help us to fight the disruption and defeatism that is being fostered nowadays inside the country to facilitate the sell-out that imperialism has long been preparing for this country.

of this goodwill was of this goodwill was seen in the session of the UN Security Council last week. Reconvened at the demand of Pakistan with the ready support of Britain and America, all set to put India in the dock, the session ended up by refusing to oblige Mr. Bhutto. India's firm stand, backed by the appeal by Czechosl and the Soviet Union for equity and fairplay, had its effect. The consideration of the matter had to be postponed till May 5.

India, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union made it clear that they regarded this as an unconditional adjournment regardless of British and American ma noeuvres to impose on Inome kind of a con sus", limiting India's freedom of action, at least for the intervening period.

Soviet Stand

The Soviet delegation chief told the Council that "any attempt to exert any pressure on the delegation of India in order to make it accept certain conditions before agreeing to an adjournment is completely unjustified. Such previous condition would be tantamount to an intervention in the substance of the matter... and would go be-yond the procedural question".

While recognising sincerity in the anxiety felt by Brazil and other nonaligned coun-tries on the Security Council malise the situation in Jammu to help achieve "mutual un-and Kashmir. It is recognised derstanding between the interested parties", the chief Soviet delegate pleaded convincingly that, "this was possible only if there is full par-ticipation of both parties and the Council taking into account their positions and showing equally fair treat-ment to both countries."

Britain's and USA's whole game behind this reconven-ing of the Council was, by utilising the confusion among the nonaligned memutilising bers of the Council and th subservience of its stooges on it, to put India in the wrong and compel her to accept a "consensus", to start with.

This attempt was substan-Nevertheless, Brazil was persuaded to sponsor a statement "on behalf of all non-Communist members" which visualises recall of the Council even before May 5 if any political or military development takes place in the meanwhile "which in the view of the Council might alter or worsen the situation now prevailing in Jammu and

It is necessary for us at this stage to draw the attention of the Afro-Asian and Latin nerican nonaligned countries to the fact that India

PAGE FOUR

would be the last to seek a worsening of the situation as prevailing now in Jammu and Kashmir. It is only the rulers of Pakistan, aided and abeted by her old allies and new-found friends who are interested, all of them for their

powerful Pentagon supporters in the Congress as Senators Stuart Symington of Missouri, Richard B. Russel of Georgia,

and Strom Thursdon's Could Carolina, have taken the posi-tion that an ally is' an ally and you do not question it.

The Pentagon values its

Far from that and on the

very contrary, as any impar-tial observer who cares to acquaint himself with the facts of the situation will

easily find out, it is India which has been making the

on all hands that after pass-

ing through many trials and tribulations, Kashmir today

has a government presided over by a man known for his

integrity and honesty, keen

on cleaning the Augean sta-

bles he has inherited, respon-

tions of his people, keen 'on finding practical and accept-able solutions to the difficult

problems that face the state.

It is not the possible wor-sening of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir but

the trend towards improve-

ment and normalisation that give the jitters to Pak-

They are haunted by the

fear that if the Sadio gov-

ernment gets the time and peace to tackle the problems

facing Kashmir, it would cer-

tainly restore the unity of the people that had admittedly

suffered a shock at the hands

of intrigue and corruption. The state would then be irre-trievably lost to Pakistan and

its bosses, a precious prize

they have set

over which their heart.

istan and its mentors.

Jitters to

Pakistan

sive to the urges and aspira

licy to worsen the situation in the state or the region.

From Horse's Mouth !

It is this fear that prompts Pakistan to indulge in the present series of her intensified border raids and clashes, homb explosions and attempts at sabotage. It is this concrete and real worsening of the situation,

being hourly engineered by Pakistan, rather than any Pakstan, rather than any imaginary "alteration" in the position of Jammu and Kashmir, supposed to be sought by India, that world opinion and the Afro-Asian-Latin American nonaligned countries much bring on and countries must bring an end rested, all of them for their countries must bring an end own separate reasons, in to. It is towards this end that bringing about a worsening all friends of the people of. of the situation in Jammu India and Pakistan must and Kashmir. It is neither direct their efforts.

annoys a good ally like Pakis-tan, then the United States,

priority interest lies, as always, with its military ally.

(ATLANTIC MAGAZINE,

March 1964

rowing magnitude. In this dangerous situation, world opinion to whose bar Pakistan keeps rushing, must persuade the Ayub government to accept India's proposal for an immediate meet-ing of the Home Ministers of the two countries "to discuss the necessary steps for the restoration of communal the necessary steps for the restoration of communal peace in the sub-continent." While no government can be absolved of its own responsibility of assuring security of and property to its own life even though they may be of the most elementary nature— have become urgently necessary. If there is the slightest sincerity and honesty in the proclamations of the are at the helm of affairs in Pakistan that they desire peace and tranquility to re-turn to the sub-continent they

Pakistan's Blackest Dav

The people of Pakistan are engaged, in the midst of the present turmoil, in a most crucial battle for their elementary right to have a say in the affairs of their coun-

would not off-hand brush aside India's call for a Home

sters' conference.

try. Even while' Mr. Bhutto was entering anew his pleas for "self_determination" to the people of Kashmir, the entire opposition in the Pakistan National Assembly as staging a protest walk out against the bill brought by Mr. Bhutto's governm pulation of about a hundred

blackest day" in the history of Pakistan by the leader of the opposition. "The peo. ple have been totally disen-franchised", he declared.

rallies attended by tens of thousands were held on

The Indian Scene

Border

On D M K

PL 480 Imports

Campaign

D.A. and Workers'

Contemporary Epoch

.ng Power Politics Over

Annual.

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communal pogroms of har-rowing magnitude. call of the National Democra-tic Front the entire province In this dangerous situation, observed the day as the "Adult Franchise and Direct Election Day". The resolution adopted at the Dacca rally winced "the undemocrat constitution promulgated by an individual". It demanded "the restoration of the sove-reign rights of the people of Pakistan to give a constitution to themselves" and "a fully democratic constitution. wherein the supremacy of the people shall be guaranteed."

Warning to Avub Govt.

The Dacca rally further put on record "its deep sense of resentment and regret that the present regime is trying to ride rough-shod over the unequivocal declaration of the hundred million people of Pakis-tan favouring immediate introduction of universal adult franchise and a sys-tem of direct election at all stages of elective bodies of government."

Warning the government that they would be denying the people "their birthright at its own and sole responsi-bility", the meeting proclaimed its resolve to carry on a relentless, peaceful struggle for the restoration of people's sovereignty. It called upon the people to prepare them-selves "for a decisive struggle for democracy and freedom.

All lovers of democracy and national freedom all over the world will salute the people of Pakistan fighting against tyranny and autocracy and voice their solidarity with them.

We in India. in this hour of trial and peril for the peo-ples of the whole subconti-nent, extend to these our brethren the hand of solida-rity and friendship. We are confident that no provocation will deter these heroic fighters from the supreme duty of defending the minority com munity in their part of the land.

(March 25)

-ZIA-UL HAO

CPI CENTRAL SECRETARIAT'S CALL

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the folloying statement:

this.

THE Communist Party of India views with grave concern the serious communal incidents which have taken place during the past few days in Bel-ghoria (West Bengal), Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Raigarh resulting in loss of lives

Newspaper and other reports would show that the communal tension is being deliberately created and spread in certain parts of the country now West Bengal. outside

One noticeable feature of the present disturbing development is that these tensions and incidents are occurring in industrial centres. There is every reason to believe that reactionary

The communal incidents in India in the present context of the insidious moves by the Pakistan government, backed by the **US and British imperial** can only go to help their designs on Kashmir and malign India in the eyes of the world.

vested interests are behind

Further, they are bound to place the minorities in East Pakistan in still granter danger and also disrupt the resistance to communal forces which the democratic and secular forces are now developing there. Communal incidents

within India are the greatest imaginable disservice to the cause of the minoservice

Following the discussions held between the representatives of the central trade union organisations and the Union Home Minister on March 22 regarding maintenance of communal harmony in the industrial areas of the country, the All-India Trade Union Congress in a circular on March 23 to its affiliated unions said:

HE AITUC views with grave concern the outburst of communal riots specially in working class areas and cen-tres. We have already appealed through the press to the unions and our functionaries to make all-out efforts to improve the situation in these centres and take preventive measures in others.

In this connection, the AITUC welcomes the initia-tive of the Home Ministry in setting up tripartite machinery for maintaining commupeace and amity in working class centres and for taking effective and timely steps against communal disturagainst communal bances.

The AITUC considers that it is the first and foremost duty of every trade union to fight against the spread of communal noison in the working class. If the ing class falls a prey to the dark forces of communal reaction, the very basis of the trade union movement is completely knocked out in a country like ours.

Reactionary and communal forces in our country are try-ing to justify these communal disturbances as some sort of a natural reaction to what is happening in East Pakistan. Communal passions are being roused and workers are being told that retaliation is the

Emergency, But Workers Retrenched

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

ASANSOL: Two hundred and thirty highly skilled and skilled workers of the New Damagoria colliery have been served with retrenchment notices. They have been stopped from joining their duties from March 9.

MONG the retrenched 123 Other colliery owners, tak-are miners, 48 wagon ing the cue from the Chan-loaders, 39 trammers and 20 chani group, have also startunloaders. Reasons given by the ma-

nagement for this anti-labour step are stagnant market condition, poorer demand, de-cline in despatches of coal and heavy accumulation at the pithead

That the management is bent upon more retrench-ment is clear from the retrenchment notice. The no-tice says that "stocks have accumulated considerably ecessitating substantial reduction in coal raising".

The Damagoria colliery belongs to the Chanchani group which is one of the biggest producers of coal in the producers ountry. It has got 15 big and iddle-sized collieries spread all over India.

Communal disturbances in India not only do not help the minorities in East Pakistan, ed threatening the workers with mass-scale retrenchment they actually strengthen the Pakistani ruling circles in their attempt to crush the on the same alleged reasons. of fall in demand and stockpiling of coal. widespread democratic and secular movement in Pakistan The Colliery Mazdoor Safor such demands as the inbha has already moved in troduction of an adult franthe matter of these retre chise.

chments. It has served a strike notice on the mana-gement of the New Damagoria colliery, demanding withdrawal of the retrenchment notices. The Industrial Truce Reso-

lution of November 1962 had provided that no retrench-ment of workers should take place. Despite the blatant violation of this provision by

NEW AGE

that he is visiting London again for further talks with the British government on current problems of the region, "which include Indo-Pakistani relations." The counsellor of the US embassy and the head of the British Defence Services Liaiso n Staff in Delhi are also participating in these talks. New moves in the "Operation Joint Pressure Against India" are to be work-

ed out in these talks. For the Anglo-American masters too the prospect of peace and normalcy return. ing to Jammu and Kashn is a nightmare; that is why they have set their well-laid-out network of agents in India in motion to diligently organise the current

NEW AGE

and are being all the while regaled with a surfeit of noisy propaganda from the other side skilfully utilising the universally lauded principle of self-determination, the imperialist mentors of Pakistan continue to be hard at work to bring about a sell-out of Kashmir which will give them

a decisive voice in its affairs Undeterred by the failure of his recent mission and unmindful of the rebuff at the Security Council the US As-

Security Council the US As-sistant Secretary Phillips Talbot is soon embarking another mission. The T of India reported last Sunday

March 15 to protest against this massacre of the people's democratic aspirations. At the

(Monthly)

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APRIL 1964

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Leontiev

It must also be noted that All over East Pakistan prowhile these friends are han-dicapped in their efforts by lack of information on Kashmir from India's anti-imperialist democratic movements

N Washington there have been two re-actions to Pakistan's China policy. The White House and the State Department have been outraged.... But the Pentagon, and such powerful Pentagon supporters in the Congress as Senators Stuart Symington of Missouri, anovs a good ally like Pakisseeking to restrict the fran-chise in Pakistan to a mere 80.000 people in a total po-It was described as "the

ORGANISE RESISTANCE TO COMMUNAL FORCES

rities in East Pakistan and f our own country. The situation today

one which calls for nost vigorous and resolute measures on the part of the central and the state governments. Preventive measures must be taken well in time so that no communal incident can at all take place.

The entire administra tion at all levels must be geared up for this purpose. The instigators and organisers of communal riots must be firmly dealt with and put down.

It is also essential for the authorities to take their bit of the initiative in activising the public in the fight against communal forces.

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India earnestly appeals to all democratic and secular forces in every part of the country to exercise the ntmost vigilance and unitedly work for maintaining communal peace and harmony

The central secretariat particularly calls upon-every Party unit, every Party member and every friend of the Party to take their due part in organis-ing united people's resistance to communal forces and to every form of munal provocation.

AITUC STATEMENT

K. G. Sriwastava, secre-

tary of the All India Trade Union Congress, has also issued a statement which

says: "Reports of recent happenings in certain centres indicate that the commu-nal demon has begun to raise its ugly head, threatening national and class unity in these industrial

"Vested interests are obviously behind this orgy and it is necessary that the organised working class movement should be vigilant, intervene in time and devote all its energies to defeat communal reaction.

"The AITUC appeals to all workers and trade unions to unitedly strive to isolate the communal re-actionaries and the antisocial elements, to organise peace squads in affected areas and preserve communal harmony.

"The ATTUC hopes that the working class in this country which has had a proud tradition in upholdcommunal harmony will rise to the occasion and in alliance with all democrats, decisively in-tervene to foil the attempts of communal reaction'

FIGHT AGAINST SPREAD OF COMMUNAL POISON AITUC Circular To Affiliated Unions

only way to help the minori-ties in East Pakistan. De-mands are being raised even for an exchange of population as a solution to the communal problem.

The AITUC calls upon all its affiliates to fight against such propaganda and see that it is not able to mislead the working class. The minorities in India are as much a part of the Indian people majority community and not hostages to be held responsible for the misdeeds of the Pakistan ruling circles.

The working class has to be made aware that just as in Pakistan the Ayub regime is resorting to communal disturbances to suppress the democratic movement, so in India communal disturban ces are a weapon in the hands of Indian reaction to suppress, divide, disrupt and defeat the growing working

Minorities In Pakistan

It is therefore the sacred duty of every trade-unionist in every part of the country, to mobilise the entire strength of the working class move-ment to defeat the reaction-ary designs of dark forces of communal reaction and maintain and build the unity of the working class. At the same time, the ATTUC demands *ON PAGE 13 and effective steps against

groups and newspapers who have been spreading communal propaganda in the country.

.Trade unions in disturbed areas should immediately form committees, move in the areas (wherever necessary with passes from the authorities concerned), issue leaflets and posters and take every conceivable method to bring the situation to normaley.

The Home Ministry had a liscussion with representatives of central TU organisation yesterday and agreed to give facilities to such Regular reports should be sent to the AITUC office and difficulty, if any experienced, immediately informed

The TUs should also at-tend to the immediate ques-tion of relief in the riot-affected areas

In ALL industrial centres, the trade unions should actively campaign for com-munal harmony and class unity and in apprehended trouble spots, utmost vigil-ance should be exercised to isolate the trouble-makers and with the help of the and with the help of the authorities, take prompt action against anti-social elements before they could do any mischief.

This work should be treated as part of the campaign of the tollers. Only by maintain-ing class unity, irrespective of caste, religion and colour can we move ahead.

THIS IS A PRIORITY TASK.

Defeat Communal Designs BIHAR STATE CPI'S STATEMENT

The secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the CPI in a statement on March 21 called for maximum vigilance against communal elements to thwart their designs.

HE statement, refer-ring to the deep concern and anxiety caused to all democratic and pa-triotic sections of the people at the news of co nal disturbance in Jam-shedpur, stated:

"Coming in the wake of the recent communal orgies in East Pakistan and the recrudescence of communal violence in a number entres, from Calcutta to Raigarh, these disturbances must be viewed as a grave menace to the peaceful life of our people, to the secular character of our state. to the developing campaigns

and struggles of the toiling

masses and last but not the least to the united national opposition to imperialist machinations in Kashmir."

.The secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the CPI appealed to all secular, democratic and patriotic elements in Bihar to join hands to exercise maximum vigilance against communa elements in their respective areas and thus nip the communal menace before it causes further suffering of the people and brings further disgrace to the country.

Does CPI Advocate Unity With Congress?

Why does the CPI emphasise so much the question of unity with the Congress and not equally stress the need for mass struggles? (S. MISRA, Cuttack).

A. The CPI has never advocat-ed, much less emphasised, unity with the Congress as a whole. Rather than making sweep-ing allegations it would have been much better to produce some quotations from the official policy statements of the CPI or from the speeches and writings of its offi-cial spokesmen to that effect. Obviously such quotations cannot be produced since they do not

A comprehensive statement of the position of the CPI towards the Congress is to be found in the unanimously approved speech of Ajoy Ghosh at the Vijayawada Congress, 1961.

"The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising in view of the poincai inte or our country. This is not surprising in view of the role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate ence under Nehru's lead-

"The influence of the Congress The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes—including big sections of the working class. It extends to the reserver the articars the the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We can-not build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of, the Indian situation.

"That is why the Fourth Con-gress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow the parties of masses that follow the parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp. Does that situa-tion continue? It does. And in some states, with the decline in the influence of the PSP, the most nportant division has become the important division has become the division between the mass follow-ing the Congress and the CPI. I have in mind the states of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal.

No Wholesale Unity With Congress

"Does it follow that a general mited front with the Congress is possible today? — that is with the Congress as it is? No. Our relations inevitably will be one of mity and struggle. The Congress is the organ of the national bour-geoisie as a whole—including its Rightwing. Moreover, after inde-pendence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces—landlords and others. Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business. Many new peo-ple have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its governments.

"At the same time it would be a big mistake to equate the Congress with parties of Right reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of the measures are, in today's context, progressive—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on....

".... an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen to-wards their organisation and their centiments. Time and again direct

PAGE SIX

appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congress-men but also to Congress Commit-tees-taking into account the issue Moreover, these movements and the united front manner in which they were conducted had a big impact on the Congress itself. It is no accident that the vigorous concerned and the concrete con-ditions in the locality" (emphasis

in original). activity and bold policy battle of Congress "Left"—which was wel-comed by the last meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI—center to the Thus, the CPI's attitude of unity-and-struggle towards the Congress is determined by its class character, its policies and mea-sures, its mass influence and above the CPI-came in the background of these movements. Convergent action by different segments of the national democratic frontall, by the national democratic stage of our revolution.

Those who oppose this dual policy of the CPI, whether from the Right or the "Left", have to give us a total and compre-hensively different analysis from the one outlined above. It will India in the recent period. As Ajoy Ghosh put it: "Inde-pendent mass activity of the Party combined with fratemal and genuine united front approach so that on each issue the maximum possible support is mobilised—such has to be the tactics. For such not do to simply express resent-ment by making sweeping ment by allegations.

No Obstacle

To Mass Movements

Now for the question of strug-gles. Has the dual policy of the CPI towards the Congress prevent-ed the conducting of mass strug-gles? Life itself provides the answer. Apart from countless local struggles and scores of election contests, in the recent period the CPI and the mass organisations led by it have carried out unprecedent-ed statewide and nationwide mass movements and struggles. ements and struggles.

Whether it is the Great Peti-tion and Great March of last September or the present Na-tional Campaign of Toilers or the great satyagraha struggle in Andhra; in sweep and scope these struggles are reminiscent of the glorious days of the national movement.

Every Communist and sincere democrat should feel a sense of pride that the working class and its vanguard Party have played the leading role in all these move-ments, raising the whole level of the political consciousness and struggle of the Indian people.

An important reason for the suc-cess and tempo of these move-ments is that the CPI, implementments is that the CPI, implement-ing the tactical line unanimously laid down at the Vijayawada Congress, did not make unity or an united front a precondition for launching them. It went ahead on its own and independently mobi-lised the masses and drew them into action.

Another important reason for the success and tempo of these movements is that the CPI, again implementing the tactical line laid down at the Vijayawada Congress, adopted such slogans and forms of action, picked up such issues for the movement as would secure the maximum support of the masses, especially of those follow-ing the Congress. Another important reason

The form of petition to Parlia-ment, of national demonstration, of hungerstrike, satyagraha and general strike; the issues such as of innigristic, batyagana and general strike; the issues such as abolition of the CDS or reduction of land levy or nationalisation of banking; the appeal to Congress-men and Congress committees to stand by the traditions of the national movement and by their pledges to the people-all these added to the breadth, depth and striking power of thes

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Many millions who were not Communists or even Communist ooters or sympathisers joined the movements, signed the petitions, took, part in the hungerstrikes, demonstrations or satyagrahas. "But even when waging strug-gle on our own and in the course of preparation for launching such struggle, we must adopt an ap-proach which draws others towards pro us.

> How To Wage Struggles

such was the dominant reality in

independent mass activity, the need is to raise the level of con-sciousness of the masses following us. We do not make unity a pre-

ition for mass action.

"The question, comrades, is not whether we have to wage struggle. The question is how to wage it, with what approach, with what slogen and tactics so that it may be waged on the broadest possible basis and suc-cases are way (emphasis in cesses are won' (emphasis in

It is a peculiar aspect of the situation today that some of the "Left" critics of the CPI talk in-cessantly of "struggle" but the only "struggle" they actually en-gage in is a struggle to disrupt the CPI, slander its leaders, break up the unity of mass organisations and even put preconditions on parti-cipating in mass movements. ass mover

Their twisted logic is that in order to fight imperialism one has to fight the Congress, in order to fight the Congress one has to fight the compromisere with the Congress, and finally, in order to fight the compromis-ers one must first have a "true revolutionary" Party. Therefore, there there there there the to fight imperialism the duty is to smash the CPI! the first

This is what some of the "Left" This is what some of the Left' critics of the CPI are really work-ing for. To cover up their disrup-tion they engage in loud anti-Congress demagogic clamour. With all their shouting about "struggle" they present no con-crete plan of mass campaign and action but busy themselves with clandestine intrigue. Naturally for them the question of broad and strong united mass movements to strong united mass movements shift India to the "Left" is a matter of no importance.

But to those who are concern with the rise of Right reaction, the drift of the government to the Right and who also see the mounting mass militancy and the urge for unity on the basis of an emerging national democratic pro-gramme, there is no dichotomy between mass struggles and the need for national democratic unity.

-MOHIT SEN



CUTTACK: On March 8 Cuttack saw a mile-long procession of kisans and workers from all over Orissa. When the masses are seething with discostent against rising prices and exorbitant rents and taxes, it was quite natural that this demonstration, organised by the Communist Party, should be one of the biggest the city has ever seen.

BESIDES the issues which realise the enhanced rents are common to people with retrospective effect. The all over the country, the peo-Bare common to people all over the country, the people of Orissa are faced with their own particular problems, some of which are enhancement of rents, eviction, panchayat tax and water rates. The state government is

currently carrying out settlement operations throughout Orissa with a view to enhance land rents. The rate of enhancen nent is from 25 per cent to 700 to 800 per cent. At places like Khurda, the government, even wants to

Bolangir district. This village had a total rent collection of Rs. 835 before. As a result of the

enhancement of rents, it has now gone up to Rs. 6490. Then a road cess of 25 per





Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

NEW AGE

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA-DACCA 36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48

ksha Dr. Joges Chendra Ghes M.A. Avurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formariy Professor



MRITASANIIRAM MAHADRAKSHARISTA (6 years old)

> Calcutta Centre : Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, M.8 B.S. (Cal.) Antrvedachar

Thus, the village Phula muthi which had been giving a total revenue of Rs. 835 before is today shelling out as much as Rs. 17,251 to the gov-ernment treasury.

The government is now - forcibly trying to realise on the people can be seen trying to realise forcibly from a single instance, that water tax from the Bolangir of the village Phulamuthi in and Sambalpur areas, irrigatwater tax from the Boladgin and Sambalpur areas, irrigat-ed by the Hirakud Canal. It has also decided to collect them with retrospective effect for four years.

The rate charged is Rs. 8 per acre for the supply of 28 inches of water during kharif cent and a nistar cess of season. For the summer pad-12.5 per cent have to be dy, the rate is Rs. 30 per acre. given which come to Rs. Due to the widespread agi-2595 for the village. Then tation which was organised

there is a water tax of Es. 8 per acre which fetches the government another Es. IIN ORISSA 7280.

From NANDAKISHORE PATNAIK

Rs. 8 for the summer paddy. It also declared that the arrears for the last three years would be remitted for those who paid one year's tax by April 30.

people's demand fully. Their demand is that the realisation of the tax should be postponed pending the ap-pointment of a committee to go into the increased pro-ductivity as a result of the water supply and fix the rate of taxation accordingly.

The 28 inches of water now The 28 inches of water now supplied is a waste, the kisans-maintain. Nine to 12 inches of water would suffice for the kharif crop and for this not more than Rs. 2 should be charged per acre. The supply of unwanted supply of water, besides was-tage, harms the peasants too.

tage, harms the peasants too. His fields are waterlogged and eta are waterrogged and pest infestation is assuming serious proportions.
 The government has re-constitution of the series

cently issued an order which provides for superces-sion of all the panchayats which do not levy the panchayat tax. The panchayat tax means

a compulsory levy on every household. Due to widespread resentment among the people, many panchayats had refused many panenayats had refused to levy it. Now the govern-ment is compelling them to impose this additional burden on the poor masses. The government even re-

moved the elected sarpanch of the Sarsana panchayat in Bandh-Phulbani district for refusing to levy the panchavat tax.

Lakhs of poor peasants throughout Orissa are faced with the acute problem of eviction. About one and a a project and only if recom-half lakh of people in Ganjam mended by such a committee alone have been served with notices of eviction from the government wastelands which they have been cultivating for

or so long. The Communist Party has been carrying on an agitation against this mass eviction programme. As a re-sult, the Chief Minister made an asurance in the Assembly that people who have only three acres or less and who were in possession of such land prior to Sep-tember 1961 would be given the land with 'salami.'

Govt. 'Salami'

Again, this concession from the government does not go fully to meet the de-mands of the people, which is that the 'salami' should be abolished and the government wastelands should be distributed expeditiously. The salabuted expentitously. The sala-mi, it is pointed out, varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 150 depend-ing on the quality of the land.
Then there is the ques-tion of shifting cultivation (poduchas) specially practis-ed by the Adivasis of Koraput Order Zelebandi districts. The

and Kalahandi districts. The Communist Party has been agitating against the system of shifting cultivation. The government is prose-cuting and harassing thou-

by the Communist Party, the sands of poor Adivasis. The government was forced to CPI's demand is that the reduce the rate from Rs. 30 to Adivasis should be provided with land without charging money and facilities for culti-vation of those lands

It is ludicrous to deny the sons of the soil such facilities when the government is settl-April 30. But this has not met the ing refugees from outside and coople's demand fully. Their looking after their comforts.

Due to various developmental projects has a serious problem of evacuation of many villages. The question of compensation and resettlement has become an all-state problem.

Even after ten years the people of the submerged areas of Sambalpur have not been fully resettled and given com-pensation. Prospects of more evacuation are now looming large before the people of a large area, following the de-cision to execute the Tikerpara dam project.

The present plan is to have a reservoir of about one have a reservoir of about one thousand quare miles. This will submerge 40 thousand houses under water and two and a half lakh people will be rendered homeless

Panicky Situation

This has naturally agitated the minds of the people. Al-ready a panicky situation is developing in the Tikerpara area. Land prices have fallen suddenly, loans are not forthcoming to peasants and there is uncertainty about every-

thing. The Communist Party has demanded that the execution of the project should be postponed and the entire project should be referred to a com-mittee of Indian and foreign experts. The committee should examine both the physical and economic aspects of such mended by such a committee it should be taken up, ac-cording to the Party.

cording to the Party. It was in this background that the Party gave a call for organising demonstrations and rallies all over the state

and rallies all over the state and the central rally at Cut-tack on March 8. During the months January to March, more than 50 thousand people have parti-cipated in meetings and deonstrations in the state. The Party distributed 50 thousand leaflets during the same

of particular significance was the demonstration and meeting in Bolangir town, the citadel of the Swatan-tra Party in Orissa. Hundreds of women participated in the demonstration, a thing which has never be-fore happened in the town.

At Soran, in former princely state of Rampur, there was a picturesque demonstra-tion on Chilka lake in which seven hundred boats partici-pated with red flags flutter-ing. A meeting was also held. Orissa is today passing through a ferment, as never experienced before. There is no doubt that the people are determined not to allow further erosion into their living standards and they are on the move to resist the on-slaught of the monopolists.

Reflection of Tycoons' important demand of the tolling masses is to bring down the prices by 25 per cent. Worry in Press

The growing mass movement against high prices and unbearable taxes which are depressing the living standards of the people is causing anxiety in the Big Business circles. And this anxiety is duly reflected in the press controlled by them.

YPICAL of this was the Particular note was taken of litorial on food prices in THE TIMAS OF INDIA on March 17, which noted mounting price of food-grains has inevitably led to social and industrial unrest and the country seems threatened with another wave of nomic agitation".

Having noted the high prices and the mood of the people, did the paper sup-port their demand? Absolunot. It went on to describe how various state governments "appear to be moving into action" though "there was some scepticism as to the actual results" of the discussions of the Agri-cultural Production Board and the Food Ministers Conference

What are the symptoms which made THE TIMES OF INDIA come to the conclusion that the state governments "appear to be moving into action"?

"The fixation of ceilings on rice prices and the regulation of sales by licensed dealers through approved retailers announced in Nagpur city, Bhandara and Chanda over the weekend is part of con-certed administrative efforts not merely to hold but lower the price line." (emphasis added)

As if this were not enough. the paper quoted the Collec-tor of Nagpur as claiming that the measures taken will reduce the consumer rice in the city by as much as 31 per cent".

Then, the Uttar Pradesh government "has also acted under the Defence of India Rules to fix ex-mill rates for rice and wheat flour and permissible margins on whole-sale and retail sales of these

WHO IS **RESPONSIBLE**?

Having thus proved that the government is "moving", the editorial declared: "Whatever the sins of a section of the trading community, it-would be escapism to attribute the explanation for the current rise in prices to this one single factor."

Production was the most important factor ac distribution control, therefore, howsoever necessary and efficient, is no more than a palliative. The only real permanent answer lies in increased production."

Having thus come to the same conclusion as that of the spokesmen of Big Busi ness from Bharat Ram to K. P. Goenka to T. T. Krishna-machari, the chiding left for the workers and toilers who raise their voice against the raise their voice against the high prices was postponed by a dav

On March 18 came the editorial telling the agitators that it was "time to desist".

PAGE EIGHT

problem at the moment", but pontificated that "stri-kes and agitations, whatever else they may or may not do, cannot bring prices down". As if the workers or the Communist leaders who are leading them in this struggle

the agitation now going on in Bombay, of daily morchas to the Council Hall.

The paper said, "none but the purblind will dispute that there has been a deplorable failure in the efforts to failure in the efforts to check prices or that the cost of living has been going up at a dizzy pace", and consoled the workers, "these transi-tional times are indeed hard and the worker, the peasant and the middle classes gene-rally are daily being called upon to bear increasing bur-

It was also admitted that It was also admitted that "it is entirely right of course-that they raise their voice in protest and anger and ask for remedial measures"

AGITATION EXCESSES :

Then, what was the objec-tion of THE TIMES OF IN-DIA to the agitation? That was explained in the edito-rial: "As of anything else which is permissible and necessary, there can be too much of agitation. The stage of excess seems to have been reached in Bombay."

The courting of arrest by 101 volunteers on March 16 was "theatrical gestures" to the paper: "All this is at best a measure of despera-tion". Also, "if large groups are continually / incited, what begins as a peaceful and legitimate morcha might deteriorate into uudesirable tensions and worse".

The paper said: "the purpose of ventilating grievances has been achieved, sufficient public and official attention has been drawn to the plight of the poor". Now the workers and peasants can go back and wait, interminably of course, for the mercy of the powers that be: this seemed to be the advice.

But the colleague in THE HINDUSTAN TIMES had an altogether different idea about the whole business. The bit of tough talk which Union Labour Minister Sanjivayya indulged in in the Lok Sabha brought considerable glee to the paper.

On March 23, it editorially said that Sanjivaya's "first major speech as Labour Min-ister was characterised by a detailed grasp of his duties and an eagerness to perform them. Both these qualities should serve him well."

"Inevitably he clashed with the communists (sic) by his reference to their propensity to fish in, among other things, troubled labour waters: this was no more than the occu-pational hazard of any Labour Minister and Mr Sanjivayya took it in his stride."

Further on, the paper admitted that "rising prices are indeed our most serious

NEW AGE

in a meaningful way to the capacity of the weaker sec-tions of the people to withstand the rigours of an inflationary situation by so-clal security measures", whatever this legerdemain of words might mean.

As far as the social security measures promised by TTK, the paper felt the need to assert that "the good sense of

this strategy is recognised by the soberer (sic) sections among trade unionists who against rising prices claimed that their action was going to would prefer positive action to reduce price to increased The dearness allowance"



scribe must be pretty high-paid if he does not know that the workers are taking re-the workers are taking reaction to bring down prices. Also, the paper wisely tell Also, the paper wisely tells the agitators that "the belief that increase in money wages would in itself make for greater well-being is pathetically misplaced". This, again, is forgetting that the most

down the prices!

course to mass action to com- sures announced by TTK, ac-pel the government to take cording to THE HINDUSTAN TIMES listing are family pen-sions, contributory health service and insurance. Saniivayya, the newfound darling, has added his own schemes of assisting the handicapped and destitute women, duce the prices!

area and intensity of oil ex-ploration have been greatly

increased during the past year

and some important results, should be known during the

next twelve months....What-ever success might attend these efforts, the country's

demands for oil are rising so rapidly that the negotiations

initiated for offshore conces-

misgivings about what now

transpires will be a rather

large process margin to the foreign collaborators in the Cochin refinery."

But not so THE STATES-MAN. One day later it wrote

appreciatively of the same agreement: "The Cochin refi-nery has set an example by

its terms for foreign collab

ration and by working under an ordinary industrial licence;

there may be other variation

Maybe, THE STATESMAN

did not read THE TIMES OF INDIA when it wrote about

oil having become noncontro-

versial and proceeded to give

its own version; or was the difference in approach the reflection of the ownership

interests of the two papers?

-PARAKAL

on this pattern."

MAN. Or

sions by the ONGC in Iran

useful investment"

Oil Policy Sliding To Non-Controversial Phase ?

OL has been a pretty editorial on March 18: "The controversial subject. The lack of fire in the attack on the government's oil policy, made THE STA-TESMAN say that the oil policy has 'gradually moved into a relatively noncontroversial phase."

The reason given by the paper for this was the "changes in the situation as much as in the personalities involved" though "the programme of oil expansion the larger national interest have not been affected.

There might be a contro ersy as to whether the programme or the national interest have been kept fully in mind in recent days. For one. largescale foreign participation is being envisaged in the public sector oil refineries that are to be set up in future.

But interestingly enough, even such a matter as the Oil and Natural Gas Com role and its plans to extend its operations to Kuwait and Iran has caused a controversy between two of the leading dailies, one of them being THE STATESMAN itself.

In its leader on March 19, THE STATESMAN said that "the record of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, which has a budget of Rs. 29 crores in the current year and is seeking to extend its activities abroad in Kuwait and Iran, seems rather unimpressive".

THE TIMES OF INDIA, on the other hand, wrote in its

LETTERS And it had a word of TTK ATTEMPTS praise for T. T. Krishnama-chari who has called "to add TO SCUTTLE

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

INANCE Minister T. T. Krishnamachari has declar-ed in Parliament that no change is being brought about in the industrial policy of the govern-ment and that the government is strictly adhering to the Indus-trial Policy Resolution.

The facts point in another direction, however. The other day, Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals Humayun Kabir said Chemicals Humayun Kabir said in Lok Sabha that as many as nine foreign firms were seeking participation in the Madras and Haldia oil refinery projects and oil refinery projects and of this widespread inbecause of this widespread in-terest the government was plan-ning one more refinery in the Fourth Plan. Foreign participa-tion in all of them is taken for

granted. A list of American husiness A list of American business houses whose executives have been invited to India to explore possibilities of investment in India has recently been released by the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India. Included in this list are firms interested in heavy engineering, heavy machine tools, special steels, petrochemicals and ferti-lisers—all of them vital sectors of the economy, expansion of which is reserved for the public sector. If this is not a sell-out of If this is not a sell-out of

India's public sector by the salesman TTK and his supporters supporter: he government, then what is it? The manner in which in the else the the Finance Minister has gone about throwing open the doors for foreign invasion of other fields. of Indian economy is in itself scandalous, but should the public sector also be sold out?

ABGUS

New Delhi

HIGHER CLASS CITIZENS !

HE Supreme Court has

recently pronounced a judge-ment that the former princes ment that the former princes could not be sued in law courts (even for murder?) without the prior permission of the govern-ment. This has the meaning of having a higher class of citizens, quite contrary to the constitutional provision of all being equal before the law efore the law

In reply to a question as to what the government was going to do about this judgement, Minister Jaisukhlal Hathi said in the Lok Sabha that the government was "considering" it. The considera-tion could only be to remove any why privilege heating enjoyed by and Kuwait represent an in-surance that could become a THE TIMES OF INDIA THE TIMES OF INDIA had also a harsh word for a foreign collaborator in the Cochin refinery: "The capi-tal cost of the public sector refineries is being progressively lowered though there have been certain wisciving cheat what was such privilege being enjoyed by the former rajas. If such a change in their status could be made, why not amend the constitution regarding the payment of privy purses also?

Calcutta ROBIN SEN



THE SAGA OF THE VALIANT DEEDS OF THE GHADAR HEROES phere, there came in Canada the notorious Immigration was born. Out of their sense the notorious Immigration was born. Out of their sense taw of 1910. No Asian could of national humiliation and MENT. BUT FEW REMEMBER TODAY WHAT HAPPENED FIFTY YEARS AGO. ON MARCH 31 THIS YEAR THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE IMMORTAL GHADAR HEROES WILL BE CELEBRATED AND ON THIS OCCASION THE STORY OF THESE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IS WORTH RECOUNTING.

O^N March 31, 1915 KAN-SHI RAM, first of the Ghadar heroes, was hanged and the further repression that followed could not extinguish the flame of liberkindled by the freedom fighter.

What was it that made the simple kisans from Punjab rise up against slavery and subjugation? What was it that fired them with determination to end the rule of the British government? What was it that gave birth to a militant movement that shook the steel-frame of administration? One has to delve into history to understand these.

FOR A LIVELIHOOD

During the last decade of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, thousands of Punjab kisans, young and old, left their country and migrated abroad to earn their livelihood. They had found it extremely difficult to eke out even a scanty living on their own little patches of land.

The period was one of everdeepening economic crisis. The 150-year old process of imperialist pexploitation having its full effect. The en-tire economy of the country lay shattered with little sign. of regeneration. Urbau handi-crafts had disappeared and village artisans were facing ruination. Pressure on land was increasing; sub-division and fragmentation of land and expropriation of the p.zsant went on at a rapid pace; agriculture deteriorated. Simultaneously the burden of debt, rent and land revenue was mounting. Famines completed the disaster. Agriculure had become a mere gam-

In sheer desperation and in the hope of earning a livelihood elsewhere the peasants of the Central Punjab dis-tricts, sturdy and adventurous began to migrate abroad. Thousands mortgaged their land, sold their cattle and implements, raised a little cash on loan and cade fare-well, to their native land.

CLIRSE OF SLAVERY

They migrated to various countries, among others, to America and Canada. The Indians in America mainly con-centrated in California, Oregon and Washington. But very soon they found out that though they were earning enough money could not buy respec-tability for them. British government had declined to intervene on their behalf in any matter with the American government. It dawned very soon upon them that they were slaves, subjects of a foreign country even in Ame-

rades of the immortal Kartar Singh who even standing under the shadow of the gallows could not be persuaded to petition for mercy, are today inside the Comough many of them were genuine pamunist Party. -could not even dream in terms of Fach name-Baba Sohan Singh Bhak na, Baba Kesar Singh, Baba Rur Singh, Gurmukh Singh and others—is a legend, thetic. each has a story that would fill pages. The love and respect that these names evoke in the rural areas of the Punjab has to be To the returned Ghadarites, it seemed seen to be believed.

that the only way to overthrow British rule was to bring about a revolt by the Indian Army. They themselves were peasants and the army consisted largely of peasants---many of them their own brothers, relatives and friends.

Large bodies of Indian peing sent abroad-to the battlefields of Europe and Asia. They resented it. They hated the idea of going out of their own country and dying at the behest of English officers who daily ill-treated them. And when the Ghadar people contacted them, many of them expressed readiness to revolt.

The plan failed. Treachery was the immediate cause of the failure, but the real cause lay deeper. A purely military revolt isolated from the people—except as a part of the mass movement—could hot, in any

Everywhere they were insulted and despised. In hotels and trains, parks and theatres, they were discriminated against. Everywhere hung notice-boards

THEY INSPIRED US ALL

The epic struggle of the Ghadar case, succeed. Scores were hanged, hundreds Party heroes of 1914-15 is one of the most stirring episodes of our national sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, thousands interned. Those sentenced to transportation for history. It is a record of the lives of men for whom death held no terror—a life—among them were old men of sixty as well as youths of twenty—waged countless battles in the Andamans and in Indian record of their work, of their suffering and sacrifice extending over a period of prisons against conditions which then were idescribably terrible. Nothing, they vowed, would break them. And nothing did break thirty years. them. Eight of them died in the Anda fighting to the last.

FOR the average political worker of to-day it is a forgotten chapter of our history. Some of them have vaguely heard about the Ghadar Party, about the Koma-gata Maru, about the numerous hangings and shootings in the Punjab in 1914-15. Nothing more.

The Ghadar movement was no ordinary terrorist movement. Its foundations were laid not in India but in America and not by middle-class youths but by Punjabl pea-sants-mostly Sikhs-who had gone there to earn money and became labourers in farms and factories.

With little interest in politics when they left India these men from their own ex-perience became conscious of their status as natives of a slave country. Out of that ness was born the Ghadar Party the party of revolt, the party whose members dreamed of the day when they would return to India and lead armed rebellion against the British rule. They collected money—many of them donated their all—they bought arms, they trained thmselves. Their membership reached 12 000.

In the outbreak of the war of 1914 they saw the opportunity to strike. Batches after batches returned to India—nearly 8,000 in two years. Simple beasants as most of them were, they realised the need for precaution, none of them knew the stupendity of the

Old in years but young in spirit these n who in 1914 had stood in the forefront of the forces fighting for freedom, now once again demonstrated not merely their steadfastness and courage but also their tasks shead. Many of them were clapped in prison immediately on landing, others were inter-ned—the number of these latter alone rea-ched nearly 2,500. But hundreds managed capacity to learn anew, to imbibe new ideas and take their place in the front ranks of freedom fighters—under the banner of to elude the police, spread themselves in different areas and worked underground. nmnn

Politics in those days meant mainly petitioning to the British government. The Congress was nothing more than an annual gathering of distinguishd Indians, whotriots revolt or any form of direct action. The masses of people had not yet entered the political arena. They seemed inert, apa-

IMMORTAL GHADAR HEROES

HINDUS* AND DOGS NOT ALLOWED. Same was the position in Canada. Amid this insulting atmos-

* Meaning Indians.

enter Canada unless he carried two hundred dollars with continuous journey with a "through" ticket from his native country to Canada. Evidently, this was done to hit the Indians, a slave people without any shipping services of their own

The burning shame of having been born in a slave counmade the Indians appreclate all the more strongly the worth of democracy. The

their newly-acquired ideals of democracy came a new awa him and had undertaken a ening. They looked round and with a saw new national movements his na- arising in Ireland, China, Egypt and Turkey.

> Revolutionary intellectuals like Hardval and Barkatullah till now working in isolated groups and anarchistically inclined, came into contact with the mass of Punjabi labour-ers. Soon the Gurdwaras at ers. Stockton in California and Vancouver in Canada became centres of intense political activity.

NEW IDEA IS BORN

In the fields of California, in the factories of Oregon and Washington, in centres separated by thousands of miles, a new idea began to take shape—the idea of a revolt against British rule. The time was ripe for con-solidating the awakening into an organisation and a movement.

Sohan Singh Bhakna who was at that time working in a timber factory at Astoria took the initiative. A meeting was held there on March 13, 1913 in which 120 representatives of the Indian population took part. Another bigger and more representative meeting was held on November 1, 1913 at San Francisco to confirm the sions of the first meeting.

Fifteen thousand dollars were collected in these two meetings and the HINDI AS-SOCIATION OF AMERICA was founded. It was decided to bring out a weekly paper titled GHADAR, named after the Mutiny of 1857. The week-ly was to be brought out in four languages: Urdu. Hindi. Marathi and Gurmukhi. This gave the Association its now wed name-The Ghada; Party.

PIONEERS OF MOVEMENT

Prominent among the founders were Sohan Singh Bhakna, Jwala Singh, Wasakha Singh, Santokh Singh, Kar-'tar Singh Sarabha, Kesar Singh, Rur Singh, Nid-han Singh Mahesri, Nidhan Singh Chuga, Kanshi Ram, Jagat Ram, Karam Singh Cheema, Bhag Singh Cana dian, Sher Singh, Lal Singh, Udham Singh Kasel. Santa Singh Gandiwind, Harnam Singh Tundilat etc., whose names remind the enic of life-long battles and super-human sacrifice in the cause of country's freedom.

The resolutions founding the Ghadar Party laid down its aim as the overthrow of imperialist rai in India and the building up in its place a national republic based on freedom and revolution. This aim could be achieved only by an armed nationa lution. Every member of the Ghadar Party was declared to be honour and duty bound to participate in the fight against slavery carried on anywhere in the world.

In the first elections Sohan gh Bhakna and Hardyal

By AJOY GHOSH

coldia And

They emerged from prison late in the thirties after twenty years and even more —their bodies shattered but not their spirits. They did not seek rest and quiet. They wanted to renew the fight.

But their own experience—an experi-ence they had gained at the cost of the lives of the finest of their comrades—and events in India as well as abroad. events in India as well as abroad, made them realise that the old, ways of work would not do. The entire people had to be roused, a mighty mass movement had to be developed, then only could the army be won over and the final bid for capture of power be made

Into the mass movement these veterans plunged and to that movement they brou-ght not only the great traditions of 1914-15 but their own ardour. their selflessn their dauntless courage. They built Con-gress organisations to the highest committees to which many of them were elected: they built up in cooperation with com-rades young enough to be their children and even grand-children a great kisan movement, they played a leading role in laying the basis for a powerful Communist movement in the Punjab.

Almost all the Ghadar Babas, com-

Great events have happened since 1914 when these men came to India. Our people have since then built up a powerful na-tional movement. The flame of revolt that these heroes sought to kindle has today spread to every corner of the country. The basis has been created to make the final bid for the capture of power

At this critical stage of our history the life-story of these Ghadar veterans who staked their all for winning freedom, who suffered and sacrificed as few have done should inspire our countrymen and lead

(From the introduction to the CPI publication "THE GHADAR HEROES", December 1945)

PAGE NINE



Sohan Singh Bhakna

were elected as president and secretary respectively. The central office of the Party which came to be known a Jugantar Ashram was in San Francisco.

The first issue of GHADAR came out carrying its flaming message of anti-imperialist national revolution. Every issue carried "a rough account



gaged their all to go abroad. The wives, mothers and sis-ters of Indian settlers in Canada now reached the Canadian coast only to spend a few months in the uarantines and then to be urned back.

of State for India refused even to meet a deputation about it. The Canadian government evidently believed that it had pronounced the last word about the matter.

But they had counted withwer back the arrogant challenge. Money was raised in and Canada A Japanese ship, the KOMAGA-

Bhag Singh Canadian

of British Raj"—a narration of the untold suffering and utter degradation it had brought on the Indian people. To the fighters in the cause of freedom it promised only death and martyrdom—yet bers began to pour in and very soon the ranks swelled to five thousand. The source of income was donations of toiling people.

The Ghadar Party was not a conspitorial group—it was a whole movement. And the British government knew it. Attempts were therefore ma for break it; spies were sent as Granthies in the Gurdwaras to denounce the leaders. They joined hands with the worst elements in America and even inspired and supported anti-Indian agitatio

KOMAGATA MARU

The Canadian Immigra-1 Law of 1910 affected not only future immigration: it also meant that Indians in taken back to India. Burma, Malaya, Singapore The passengers refused to and China would remain obey the orders—the struggle

stranded, unable to proceed further. And these were the men who had sold or mort-

A storm of protest and in-dignation arose against it everywhere but the Secretary

out the resourcesfulness of men desperately anxious to earn a livelihood for themselves and now eager to ans-America



Harnam Singh Dharamgarh

TA MARU, was chartered at Hong Kong by Baba Gurdit Singh. She took about 400 passengers aboard at Calcutta and Singapore and on April 14, 1914 sailed for Canada.

The ship reached Vancouver on May 23. Every provision of the new law had been fulfill-ed but even then the Canadian government refused to allow the passengers to land and ordered the ship to be

began. Days passed; all pro-visions were exhausted and even water began to run short. Not satisfied with this and finding the passengers adamant, the Canadian government threatened to use force. Canadian warships surround-ed the KOMAGATA MARU and prepared to open fire. Meanwhile the Indian

community in Canada and America rose to a man to protest against this unjust measure. Money was collec-ted; meetings and demonstrations were held everywhere: even Canadia were moved and protested against the use of force by government. The situation was electric; at the Vancouver Gurdwara a meeting was held , where it was resolved to reply to force by force—if fire was opened on the ship, the whole city would be set aflame. But the plight of the pas-

engers worsened. Without without sufficient water, it was impossible for them to continue the fight much longer. On July 23, the KOMA-GATA MARU was compelled to leave the harbour-the nelhe government only



Genda Singh

agreed to pay all expenses incurred by the passengers. The returning ship was, by then, had become a ship of

revolution. The passengers had already staked their all in the attempt to get abroad. They were now, inspired with the single. determination to end British imperialism and work for their country's he our and rreedom. Among these passengers was young Gurmukh Singh.

HOME COMING

The Ghadar Party had done all it could to aid the passengers of the KOMAGATA MARU but this inhuman an insulting treatment of their fellow-countrymen put an end to their endurance. The hatred smouldering in their hearts for years now burst forth

The Ghadar Party had not merely organised the Indians abroad: it had done much more. In a surprisingly short



Karam Singh Cheema



WELCOME WITH BULLETS

The British Government

was fully informed of this re-

volutionary home-coming. Their spies like Ram Chander had reached high places in-side the Ghadar Party. The

Party, moreover, had made no secret of its agitation and aims. Nor in their burning

Kong onwards. At Calcutta

into special trains under

armed military and police

the first to reach Hooghly on September 27 and was moor-

ed at Budge Budge at 11 a.m.

on September 29. Its passen-gers had not been allowed to

land in Hong Kong and Sin-gapore. Needless to say, they refused to board the special

trains now. A clash occurred

Penang and Rangoon when

fuel to the fire. They grew

still more indignant; but they also realised the need for

caution. Chinese revolution

ssions-were

among the first to arrive in

26

1 4 4 5

throw

dit Singh, escaped.

in

completely transformed the life of these emigrants.

Early in 1913 a delegation of three Ghadar Party members had come to India to carry on anti-imperialist propaganda among the people. The Ghadar Party members knew that the fight against British rule had to be waged in India itself and they looked upon their activities in America as a prelude to that fight. The KOMAGATA MARU affair deepened their hatred against British rule. The shadows of the coming war shar-pened their sense of emer-gency. Meetings were held all

over America in which thousands came forward as volunteers for the coming battles. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna Baba Sonan Singn Bhaktin had left America with the KOMAGATA MARU passen-gers. Another batch left im-mediately after the outbreak of the war. Now was the time

to strike! The Party ordered all its members to return to India The exodus homeward began, thousands left behind them their lucrative jobs and business worth lakhs of dollars, built through years of hard anl strenuous labour.

Many of them carried arms. now their most precious pos-They knew little about the ation in India. One single

1.10 **C** 1.000

idea had taken hold of their minds: an opportunity like this would never come again. They might all die after they had struck a blow for freedom. In Japan Barkatullah, in

Shanghai Mathra Singh, and in Hong Kong Bhagwan Singh had built up the Ghadar Party. Everywhere on their way back among the settlers of China and Japan and soldiers of Hong Kong and Sin-gapore, the returning emi-grants preached the gospel of armed national revolt and

won new recruits

ounded Andamans, that standing monument of impe- batch of one hundred, hehruor. inalist terror. They vaguely imagined heroes lying hard-cuffed and fettered in its dark tomb-like cells.

but grim determination in their hearts, they piedged anew, "We return, Motherland, to smash your chains for ever!" In their unbounded enthusiasm very few rea-lised that in another year's time many of them would be sharing these very dun-

For dealing with these men the Government of India had already armed itself with spicial powers and these powers were ruthlessly used.

PLANNING ARMED REVOLT

enthusiasm, coupled with lack of experience, had they tried to keep secret the decision to return to India. Spies shadow-ed them specially from Hong Having taken these precautions the government felt they had finished with the Ghadar the government was ready to receive them "free of charge" Party. But it was mis More than 6.000 had already

returned and the police had failed to keep track of at least half of them. No doubt guards. The KOMAGATA MARU was the first to reach Hooghly on the sect carried the message the rest carried the message of freedom and revolt to their people. The original plan had been disorganised, their ranks temporarily broken, but these men, never daunted, soon established contacts and got down to work.

and the police opened fire. 18 were shot dead and 31 arrest-It appeared to them that the only way to overthrow British rule was to infect the Indian ed and put into prison, Only 60 could be got off into the train, about 30 including Gur-Army with the idea of revo't And why should they not succeed? After all the army con-The other emigrants were Shanghai, Hong Kong, sisted largely of simple peasants like themselves. Their fathers, brothers and relathey got the news of this re-ception with bullets. It added tives were there in it.

All that was necessary wa to open their eyes to the disgrace of slavery. Already the army was seething with discontent. Soldiers hated the idea of going abroad, to Mosopotamia, to France, to Mosopotamia, to France, to strange lands to die at the bidding of the British gov-ernment. Let the bauner of revolt be raised by a hand of determined of determined revolutional ries, they argued, and thou-sands would flock under it. They soon found their feet. Guerilla bands of 4 to 5 members were organised. Their literature was becoming creasingly popular. Out of the way small Gurdwaras became the centres of revolutionary activities. In many villages kisans openly defied the po-lice to give shelter to their

evolutionary sons. Most important of all was the work in the Army, 19-year old Kartar Singh Sara-bha, a former student of the Revenshaw College, Orissa, stood out as the model revolutionary organiser. "If you must die, why not die under the revolutionary flag, in your own country's cause?"—he would tell the discontented



Gend Singh

anout 5,000 persons return. Indian soldiers, daily dread-ed—the Ghadar Party mem- ing to be sent abroad. bership at the time was The Indian garrisons at over 12,000—of whom 400 Ferozepur, Rawalpindi and were failed and 2,500 inter- Lahore promised to revolt. ned. The spark was lighted among the soldiers at Meerut, Lucknow, Fyzabad, Cawnpore, Allahabad and the flames 12ached out as far as Jubbulpore and Dacca. Even in distant Burma and Malaya the Ghadar revolt was maturing.,

The moment seemed opportune. Besides smouldering discontent in the Army, there was growing agrarian unrest among the Muslim peasants of south-west Punjab.

February 21, 1915 was fixed as the date of the uprising ... Already in December things were getting hot for the gov-ernment; military and police posts were attacked government treasuries, mail bags and railway stations looted in several part of th_e province to get cash for the revolu-tionary cause. Arrests were made but the government was

FEBRUARY 21

growing panicky.

February 21 was approaching fast and the preparations grew more intense. With La-hore as the centre the net was thrown far and wide. A press was established at Amritsar and bomb factories at Lohatbaddi and Jhabewal. Arms were being collected. A new four-coloured national flag was decided upon, the revolu-

tionary uniforms and em-blems were got ready and the declaration of war against the British government drawn up. The situation seemed to be developing favourably.

The major part of the Bri-tish Army was on the bat-tlefields of France, the number of disgrantled Indians in the country was overwhelming. War was having its effect, prices were

rocketing up causing wide-spread discontent. The revolutionaries had planned with precision and accuracy: their facts, figures and information were unim-peachable. One fateful night the attack would be launched, towns and cantonments suddenly stormed and arsenals and magazines captured with

the aid of the soldiers After releasing the prison-ers and taking over treasu-ries, all the revolutionary bands and soldiers were to assemble in the Punjab, they would now be strong enough to give battle to the enemy for another year. And who could say the whole country would not rise to a man once the fing of revolution trium-bled in One province?

phed in One province? The uprising was to begin n the cantonments of the in th Punjab and spread eastward. It was the most powerful reolt planned since the Mutiny of 1857.

THE BLOW FALLS

But now when the entire plan was ready and expect-ant eyes were focused on the Punjab-the fatal blow fell. During the night of February 18 and early next morn ing neople in the major cities



that passed through the hands of the police during this period about a thou sand were sent to prison o interned. Later more arriv

va. Altogether, during the first two years of the war,

They passed the mist-sur-

With tears in their eyes

ries whom they met also ad-vised caution. Most of the arms that they were carrying with them-arms they love more than any other of the overboard. Some, tried to en ter India through Burm others broke up into smaller groups and tried to trickle in But these precautions ca too late and not all adopt them. Sohan Singh Bhakna

loads, of white soldiers pour-ing in. Together with the Dolice they posted themselves



Pineley

at the key points and started patrolling the streets. In the cantonments too the British soldiers had taken over the arsenals, the watch was in-creased and military discpline enforced more rigorously. The onlookers watched these grim preparations and wondered if these were some emergency war measures.

The government had struck A spy, Kirpal Singh who had sneaked into the Ghadar Party had informed the police of the projec-ted uprising. The revolutio-naries made a last-minute effort to bring it off or February 19. But the opportunity was irretrievably lost-the secret again.

When early on the morning February 19 young Sarabha with his band of 50 revolu-tionaries reached Ferozepur, not all his eloquence could rouse the soldiers out of the torpor of disappointment and despair into which they had sunk. They merely pointed at the white soldiers stiffly pa-rading in the distance—others only wept.

All seemed lost. The dreams cherished for years had come to nothing, the hard work of months had turned to dust. Now the real manhunt hegan. For the next two weeks terror held the Punjab in its grip. Everyone was suspect and very few escaped. Over 200 arrests were made.

Order had been restored, thought the government, but clashes and conflicts with those who had escaped arrest continued till September 1915.



Harnam Singh Tundila



Kartar Singh Sarabha

WAR AGAINST KING EMPEROR

The arrested men were to tried, but not before the government had made things secure for itself.

A Defence of India Act was hurriedly rushed through the Imperial Legislative Council, its most important provisions were the appointment of Special Tribunals for trying revolutionary cases it allowrevolutionary cases. It allow



Mathra Singh

ed neither commitment proceedings to these tribunals nor judicial appeals from their decisions. One such tribunal of three was set up in the Punjab. Its only Indian member was one Shiy Narain

On March 27, 1915 the first Lahore Conspiracy Trial open-ed in Lahore. Barrack No. 16 in Lahore

Central Jail had been spe-cially improvised to serve as the hall, where 65 men charged "with conspiracy to wage



Gurmukh Singh

against the King Emperor" faced the trial.

The accused felt from the very beginning that the ole trial was a staged farce. Nor did they eve want to defend themselves lves: "Why ask for justice from those you seek to over-throw?" They contempta-pusty rejected the very idea. The government, however, The government, however, wanting to give the appear-ance of justice, had engaged nine lawyers for the Defence The very first enco

the case showed that except for one they were perhaps all appearing before a court for the first time. Most of the ac-cused did not know English and could not follow the pro-ceedings. The few who knew

All the same the trial con-tinued and the prosecution were the masters throughout. To the witnesses they pointed the accused. They wanted them to be recognised and Jwala Singh was given 30 lashes for objecting to this.



Sohanlal Pathak

was considered guilty by the Jail Superintendent of insulting an official and in-terfering with the due carry-ing out of law.

Witnesses would say, "I have to do as 'Sarkar' bida me to do"-as Numbardar Ala Singh of Bhakna did pointing his finger at a Sub-Inspector of Police sitting with the Prosecution. Yet everything was deemed in order. One Defence lawyer, Raghunath Sahal, started when Kesar. Singh casually pointed ont that having been arrested on the ship he could not be charged with any prejudicial acts. "What are you dream-ing of?" he faltered, his eyes wide open with amazement, "Better get ready to face the gallows."

Everyone knew where the trial was leading.

So the months passed by The accused laughed and joked and exchanged reminiscences as 404 Prosecution witnesses and 228 Defence wit-nesses were gone through The President would ring the bell, wait a few minutes and shout, "Proceed." And he had to repeat the performance quite often-the accused were uch an inattentive lot!

The trial was nearing its end. The 65 held counsel. It was decided that seven who had led the struggle after their comrades were arrested at Calcutta should accept full responsibility for all that had happened and enter their statements. There was a keen tussle to get on this list.... Th'ey knew it would not save anyone-but who wanted to be saved? Infinitely more



Harnam Singh Ludhiana

THEY SANG THE HYMN OF LIFE

Kartar Singh Sarabha the court in even and balanwords; the judges pricked their ears, "yet, ours was not a conspiracy, it was an open challenge to the powers that rule this land and we are proud of having made, that hallenge.

Kartar innd his comrades were speaking to judges high-er than those sitting on that raised nlatform-to their own people. The trial was strictly in camera. No visitors, not in camera. No visitors, not-even the relatives of the ac-cused were allowed in the court. Nothing but the cen-sored reports went out. Still, they knew that the fruth would be known one day to their people.

The judges listened spell bound. They looked at young Sarabha. "Do you know wha it means?", said one of them when Sarabha had finished. "Yes. death." was the defiant reply. He refused to retract the statement but the judges would not record it and adjourned the court for the day to give him time to think it over. When the court reassembled the next day, Sarabha had his answer ready, it was the same as he had given before. He would not retract a

The statement was recorded as also those of Sarabha's

The judges retired to the hills to prepare their judg-ment and the accused returned to their cells. Tocked in day and night handcuffed and fettered during the worst hot days of the year they spent another two months. On September 13, they were

marched out for the last time to barrack No. 16. The Special Tribunal delivered its judgment.

Twenty-four were sentenced to death with confiscation of property.

Another 26 were senten-ced to transportation for life with confiscation of property.

Six others were given varying sentences. The rest were released only to be rearrested at the jail gate and tried in the next case.

Of those sentenced to be hanged, 15 had been arrested abroad before they set foot on Indian soil. Of the rest only three were involved in the death of a policeman dur-ing an armed clash.

DEATH HOLDS NO TERROR

There could be no judicial appeal and very few agreed to appeal for mercy. On the day fixed for the execution buc kets of water were placed be fore the condemned cells. They took their bath and said their prayers. Each was eager to mount the gallows first.

To those who came to sympathise with them they simply said, "How better can a man lay down his life than in the cause of his country's freedom?" So they waited for death. But they waited in vain.

Next morning they were told that the execution had been staved Those were the days of

O'Dwyer-of terror on the one hand and rampant toadyism

portant was to give through the tribunal a straight an-swer to the imperialist rul-ers. "The charge is wrong," Cartar Singh Sarabha told



In their eyes. Early on the morning of November 19, 1915; Karlar and his six comrades, were taken out. They mounted the gallows singing and smilling and showed their executioners how Indian revolutionaries die.

On the eve of his execution. Kartar Singh was again asked to appeal for mercy. "If I had to live more lives than one", he said, "I would sacrifice each of them for my

country's sake'. Pt. Jagat Ram sang:

"Behold on the second of

Dr. Hariam Singh and So-han Lal Pathak were dianged ers of the Ghadar Conspiracy in the Mandalay Conspiracy, reached the Andamans and Case together with four of joined in their struggle. Pri-their comrades Hardit Singh and Vir Singh Kapur Singh and many other Vir Singh, Kapur Singh and many others were sentenced to transportation for life.

the gallows he was made yet another and last offer He smiled and calmly ans-wered back, "with tyranny and injustice all on your side, it is you who should beg forgiveness." In between these trials,

summary trials and executions were ordered of the Ghadar guerilla bands. About 30 were hanged in Lahore Central Jail and their dead bodies were refused to their rela-Jail and tives. Among those hanged was Kanshi Ram. Balwant Singh Granthi, beaten and had succumbed

Singh met their fate in the they all fought—they all suf-Ambala Jail. fered It was an epic of super-Among these latter was one human endurance, of match-Abdullah, the only Muslim, less heroism. accused The CTD ald its best. The whole prison saw these to make Abdullah betray his handful of men playing with "kafit" comrades. "It is with their lives to defy the these men alone that the tyrants who ruled the Anda-"gates of heaven shall open to me" was the only answer

me," was the only answer they got out of him. The Ghadar revolt had failed. The Punjab had a veritable bloodbath. Countless men died on the gallows and table

before the firing squads. At a time when the leaders, of the Indian national move-But mourning continued to of the Indian national move-hang over the Labora Coentral ment, were talking of "self-Jail. Even the ordinary mil" government on British Domi-soners moved about with tears nion model" the heroes of the Ghadar Party had dared to raise the banner of complete independence, of armed revolt against imperialism.

The revolt was drowned in , blood, but the flame had been kindled. The Ghadar revolutionaries could proudly around from the gallow look still say, in the words of the English poet Byron: "Still freedom's banner torn

yet flying, Streams like a thunderstorm against the wind."

THE FIGHT

"Behold on the army of Maghar, 1972 the heroes of the army of Ghadar On the atternoon of Decem-seek fulfilment on the ber 10, 1915, 18 men hand-cuffed and fettered in twos outputed from SS. Maharaja gallows; Hail, O. Immortal Kartar, warriors, shall yow in your alighted from S.S. Maharaja at Port Blair in the Anda-more Among them were men name mans. Among them were men when going into future whose ages varied from 22 to when going into future whose ages varied from 22 to hittles!" 60. The laws provided that no one above the age of forty fried by the Special Thing fried by the Special Thing rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the rules seemed to have been Defence of India Acb. In the seemed to have been this case. This was the first Burma, 28 revolutionaries batch of the "dangerous pri-were hanged and many more fransported for life. Dr. Harnam Singh and So Other batches of the prison-han Lal Pathak were dianced ers of the Achedor Complexer

tany others were sentenced, ed uncared for and the thirsty went on hungerstrike. He was released in September 1930, As Sohanial stepped on to Sohanial stepped on to As Sohanial stepped in the absence. of soap and tap water was a "breach of prison discipline." Punishment cuffs and fetters, gunny clo-thes, solitary confinements and bread and water became a part of their daily routine. Now 60-year-old Baba Bhan

NEW AGE

Singh met, their fate in the they all fought—they all suf-Ambala Jail

> mans and cried out, "Sabas bombwala." Then victory came. Through

some Punjabi soldiers 'the news at last got to India. A storm of protest swept over the land. The Andamans had to be closed down.



In July 1921, the homeward journey began. Once-again they looked through : the holes in the sides of the ships. With tears, in their eyes they greeted their na-tive land rushing forward to meet them. The cold ashes Party of India. of eight of their comrades remained in the Andamans. The prisoners were now repatriated to India but they had become too dangerous to be kept together. They were received into different jails, Hazaribagh, Yerawada, Nagpur, Vellore, Coimbatore. The struggle; however, did

not end even in Indian jails. reached the Andamans and First of life term, the Gna-joined in their struggle. Pri- years of life term, the Gna-soners began to be delibera- dar heroes were not released fely starved, the sick remain- and Sohan Singh Bhakna wert on hungerstrike. He was released in September 1930, her orrested again in Congress Even after the normal 14 years of life term, the Gha-

> veteran warriors after serving as many as 20 years began to pour out of various prisons of the Punjab. Many of them came out having become permanent invalids for the rest

into which they now stepp-ed. It was a world moulded by the first mass Civil Dis-

obedience, the great Akali movement and the young Communist Party—the world of Cawnpore and Meerut Conspiracy Cases, of the Kirti Kisan Party. It was the period of the second Civil Disobedience move-ment, of the great worker, kisan and student mass up surge that followed in its wake.

The victorious Russian Revolution had made Moscow the centre of pilgrimage for revolutionaries all over the world. The Ghadar Party in America had also sent its representatives to the first workers' and peasants' state. In its great socialist constructions they saw the birth of a new civilisation, something grander and far beyond the harrow horizon of American capitalist democracy. They came over to communism.

That superb organiser and tireless revolutionary fighter-Santokh Singh--came to India, founded the Kirti first revolutionary working-class paper in the Punjab and kept going till he fell a victim to TB in 1928.

INTO STRUGGLE AGAIN

It was into this new world that these released men now came. They had gone in young and middle aged but now on their old bodies they carried the scars of innumerable battles, of endless suf-

ferings. They not only found their old comrades but with true revolutionary devotion they all lined up with comrades half their age and very often younger. A new chapter in their lives began. The Second World War started in September 1939. For the imperialists, the Babas had all along been marked men. Most of them had spent only 3 or 4 years outside the prison since they first came out. They were all again ar-rested in the first war roundup of June 1940.

In October, they were sent together with other kisan leaders to the Deoli concentration camp. Here they met the leaders of the Communist

The Babas had already come oves to the Red Flag and socialism but it was in Deoli that they undertook the most serious study of socialist theory and a critical evaluation of their crowded past. They grappled with new ideas and once again came out victorious.

Having dedicated their lives for the freedom of their motherland they felt more keenly than many younger men the need for all revo-

nen the need for all revo-lutionary fighters to work together as one disciplined army of revolution. With their indying devo-tion to the cause of revolution. It was but natural that they should take the Computed should join the Communist Party-that great brotherhood of all revolutionaries—to fight for the freedom of their country and happiness of its peo-ple. "It is the logic of our whole life-struggle." said Raha Sohan Singh Bhakna when joining the Party.

But it was a new world Ghadar Heroes, by Randhir Singh—People's Publishing House, 1954)

50 T.U. LEADERS' **HUNGER-STRIKE**

BAREILLY: A twentyfour how hungerstrike was observed by fifty trade union leaders and workers in Bareilly to protest against the rising cost of living and to demand effec-tive steps by the government to check the prices. The hungerstrike began in the evening of March 18 and ended next day evening. After the hungerstrikers broke fast there was a mass meeting at

there was a mass meeting at. Moti Park.

Huge processions came to the park before the meeting. The main ones were organised by the Cantonment Labour Union, NE Railway Mazdoor The main ones were organised pen the enthusiasm of the by the Cantonment Labour workers and the toiling masses Union, NE Railway Mazdoor who participated in the demon-Union, Wimco Workers Union, stration and the meeting in Rubber Factory Workers their thousands.

Permission to use loudspeaker was given by the authorities only for three hours and that too only at the meeting place. That however did not dam.

strike before the office for the

***ON PAGE 18**

CHATTISGARH STRUGGLE AGAINST RISING PRICES

From Our Correspondent

RAJNANDGAON: The people of Chhatisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh have waged an intensive struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party won an initial victory against soaring prices and for more cheap grain shops.

FOR ten days from March Ramdas, went on a hunger-4 batches of volunteers including women performed 'dharna' before the subdivisame demands. sional officer demanding opening of more grain shops to tide over the rice scarcity.

Sensing the indignant mood of the people and the rising tempo of the agita-tion, the district collector agreed to open three more From March 7 mine workers' leader Prakash Roy and two other workers, Ruplal and

lic, pathos—the various moods through which the TITASH EKTI NADIR NAM characters emerge. The evil mind that revels in the agony of human beings is also there. The characters successfully portray these moods and compose a tremendously powerful description of human values in which the team-work of the cast gives an enthrall-ing performance. The other drama. 'Ferari Fouj", is the re-crea-tion on the stage of a few pages from the glorious his-tory of our freedom movement. It depicts the deeds of an unidentified group of revolutionaries in the thirties in a remote village of

Enchanting Performance

As we had predicted earlier, the Little Theatre Group of Calcutta which presented two Ben-gali dramas at the AIFACS auditorium here from March 18 to 23, made a tremendous impression on the Delhi theatre-lovers by its outstanding perfor-mances. The two dramas—TITASH EKTI NADIR NAM and FERARI FOUJ—bear eloquent testimony to the high level of stagecraft and team-acting achieved by this group.

A s regards the theme, neither of the two dra-mas offered anything be-tritash Ekti Nadir Nam". yond conventional strains but the success of the director—Utpal Dutt, who is also the author of Ferari Fouj, stemmed from drama is their village on making best use of craft the bank of the Titash material blended with good river. The story unfolds in acting and in bringing about an atmosphere of something new and realistic. This is all the more reflecting love, affection, praise-worthy since he had sincerity, truth, faith, fro-

is a brilliant study of life of a group of simple people whose only avocation is fishing. The location of the rapid sequence before the and brings the spectators a series of touching scenes

MARCH 29, 1964



AHMEDNAGAR: Sugar workers of Maharashtra action committee have demanded separate working class cost of living indices for areas where sugar factories are concentrated and linking their dearness allowance to such indices.

And initially includent deathests and while to but initial. A DA is linked to the all-India consumer price index. For every received any increase in DA ten point rise in the index (aver-age for the year) the workers get a relative rise in their DA. The ampriling aduate the summer of the tensor of consumer price index. For every ten point rise in the index (aver-age for the year) the workers get a relative rise in their DA.

A resolution passed by the Maharashtra Sugar Workers Ac-tion Committee at its meeting at Sakarwadi in Ahmednagar dis-trict on March 11 said that conditions varied from state to state and even from area to area in each district. Hence linking their DA to the all-India index was unjust to the sugar workers.

The resolution termed the pro The resolution termed the pro-vision for "ten-point" system as "harmful" to the workers and demanded that for every point of rise in the index there should be full neutralisation in the DA.

be full neutralisation in the DA. A separate resolution passed by the meeting demanded that pending such revision in terms of DA and compilation of cor-rect indices (the present indices were defective and fraudulent, said the committee) the sugar workers should be given an immediate increase of Rs. 10 in their DA with effect from July 1, 1962.

It was pointed out that dur-ing the last three and a half

Highly aided and accentuated by stage decor and special effects which were brought about in a masterly technique setting twotiers on the permissible space of the stage, the drama piognantly conveyed its meaning. The trepida-tions, and the doubts that assailed the revolutionaries coupled with their all-per-vading aim of dealing a blow at the edifice of British rule were presented in a complex characterisation by the cast powerfully and in a convincing manner.

Both the dramas, were presented in a style in which the spectator was not divorced for a moment from the acting on the stage. The lighting and special effects in both the dramas bear the mas imprint of Tapas Sen. masterly

NEW AGE

-S. M.

nce then. The committee called for a second wage board for sugar industry since the expectations

of the workers were not met by the first wage board. Con-ditions have also materially altered since then and there

action committee demanded the enhancement of the rate of contribution to provident fund contribution from 6.25 6.25 per cent to 8.75 p cent in the sugar industry.

The action committee noted that some of the fact especially in the cooperative sec-tor, have failed to implement the recommendations of the first wage board. It was decided to secure full implementation of the recommendations in all factories.

The Sugar Workers Action Committee consists of all the recognised unions in the industry affiliated to the AITUC and attered since then and there among others, by G. J. Ogale and there first wage board. Through another resolution the Kate of the Mathematical and Madhuker

Indoxco Workers Significant Victory

CALCUTTA: The workers of Indian Oxygen Limited won a great victory when the company signed an agreement with the All-India. Oxygen and Acetylene Employees Federation on revision of pay scales and bonus.

receive monetary benefit as a result of the new grades or receive only less than an amount equal to one increment in their basic wages, will get one increm-the revised scale.

the revised scale. It also provides that the com-pany will consider giving em-ployees who reach the top of their grades on or after October 1, 1964 a lump sum payment equal to 12 times their last annual increment subject to a maximum of Rs. 200.

The Indian Oxygen em-ployees, including the lowest paid unskilled workers, are repaid unskulea workers, ure re-ceiving dearness allowance on a sliding scale linked to the middle class cost of living index compiled by the Bengal Cham-ber of Commerce and Industry, with a minimum of Rs. 100.

The new agreement, however, will have retrospective effect from October 1, 1963 as far as the new pay scales are concerned. The new agreement provides that all employees whose revised grades commence at Rs. 210 or less a month and who do not receive monetary benefit as a re-

In a separate agreement with the Federation, the company has agreed to pay five months' basic wages as bonus for 1962-63. This is subject to a minimum of Rs. 260 and a maximum of R. 260 and a maximum of Rs. 2,300.

Rs. 2,300. It has been provided in the agreement that while the above rate of bonus is for those em-ployees who have earned their full ployees who have earned their full salaries in the year 1962-63, those who who earned less wor entitled to the bonus. ss would also be

In their case, the bonus would be on a pro rata basis.

De on a pro rate Dens. The agreement for bonus covers all graded staff including temporary and casual workers. It excludes the directors, chief texcludes the directors, chief executives and officers of the company.

Workers Retrenched Im Coal Mines

*** FROM PAGE 5**

the management, the govern-ment has not taken any action in the matter

Both the Ministries of Labour and Mines are "watching the situation" when

What is more, when C. Subramaniam, Union Minister for Mines, came to the Asan-С. sol-Raniganj coal belt, he re-fused to meet the union representatives and was moving with the coal magnates

Workers are saying that if coal is accumulating at the pitheads that certainly is not their fault but the result of bad planning for which they could not be nenoliced

penalised. When emergency was de-clared, the government had

exhorted the workers to pro-duce, more. Emergency pro-duction committees were set up and workers were compelled to work even without their weekly holiday. Even

sick leave was not granted. Now, the self-same production effort has been made the cause for their retrenchment by the colliery owners, only to reap more profits. And the government has taken the role of onlookers. Workers are asking, quite

legitimately, whether it was retrench them that government and the the owners asked the miners to work overtime even in violation of the Mines Act? Has the emergency come

to an end for the emplo-

South AFRICA (II)

BU BERTA BRAGANZA

in which ten African patriots

the

Freedom Movement Surges Ahead

If the Press laws restrict the movement of Africans nd segregate them in South Africa, the Group Areas Act allows whole populations to be uprooted from the callity where they have for years settled down and and segregate them in South Africa, the Group Areas Act allows whole populations to be uprooted from the locality where they have for years settled down and be transferred elsewhere, forced to abandon their

HIS Group Areas Act is now made applicable to Asians as well. In conse-quence, over 38,000 Indians are to be evicted from the city of Johannesburg and many thousands, more from many thousands more from other cities. These cities are to be all-white cities to suit the racialists and their segregation mania. They are to be shifted to other underdeveloped places, which will mean a complete disruption of their '

British had taken there a who even during the last hundred years ago, and of thirteen years have protested merchants and others that to the UN and other interfollowed and they have com-pletely identified themselves with their African compa-

triots. The Act also serves the racialists to remove leaders of the anti-apartheid movement from their field of activities to the Reserves.

The latest innovation is to set up what is called Bantu-stans, which means nothing other than the reorganisation of the Reserves into separate compartments on tribal basis. It means side by side with segregation more drastic processes of divide and rule.

Besides this, it is also meant to serve the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of world opinion and assu-aging the universal revolt against the barbarity. of apartheid. Towards this end it is announced with great fanfare that each Bantustan-there are to be eight of them in all-will have its own government with its own Constitution, flag, anm and so forth.

Guided_ Democracy

The first Bantustan has been set up in Transkei on the East coast. The "granted" Constitution, however, lays wn that of the 109 members to the Assembly, only 45 are to be elected and the rest nominated. The governing entity will have no say in matters relating to defence, foreignrelations, and economic problems; and what decisions they have power to take, includ-ing those relating to education, will be subject to the approval of the President of the South African Republic.

The Africans, save for the handful of stooge Chiefs and their ilk, have refused to be fooled and are resisting against the fraud, see-ing in it only attempts to further enslave them.

In the elections held in Transkei a state of emergency was declared during the electoral campaign and were posted in the area. But though it was the first ever election in which the Africans could participate, the vast

PAGE FOURTEEN

were in the dock, whose ap-pearance clearly showed the effects of the methods used on them by the jailers. Well-Known Then there are the anti-Communism Act, the Sabo-tage Act, the anti-Interdict Act etc., which aim at para-lysing the South African revo-lutionare activity Leaders Among them were well-known leaders of the

lysing the South Arrican revo-lutionary activity. Everything makes for ar-rest. The Sabotage Act which was brought into force on May 2, 1963 arms the racia-lists with the power to arrest and detain people for 90 days without trial. And this law complete disruption of their lives and economic ruin. Ninety and a half per cent of the 500,000 Indians in South Africa are descendents of the indentured labour the can also bring to trial those proved so they were sent back to prison till new charges could be cooked up. Inter-national oganisations of lawto the UN and other inter-national organisations aga-inst the apartheid. For these yers who wished to send exthe punishment can go up to a death sentence. In short, gallows for those who defend human rights and the prin-

Difficulty Of

Getting Information

ciples of the UN Charter!

It is with difficulty that information about the savagery of the racialists in South Africa leaks out. There are special laws to prevent information from reaching the world. But from those who have managed to escape and from information smuggled out of prisons, it is evident that the inhuman tortures inflicted on prisoners in South Africa are on the model of the Nazi practices.

tic theories.

The anthor of the Sabo-

during the Second World War for his pro-Axis sym-pathles. After his release, he, Verwoerd and others of

acquittal of Goering.

but also the coloureds

nisations

NEW AGE

human rights.

Prisoners are brutally beaten and maimed, put into straitjackets and subjected to electric shocks. And those who die in consequence are reported to have been shot while escaping. In addition to the phying. In addition to the phy-sical tortures are the vari-ous processes of breaking. down the morale of the prisoners like threatening to arrest and torture relatives and even actually doing it before their very eyes. Prisoners arrested under the Sabotage Act and detained for 90 days without trial in solitary confinement, are not permitted to have interviews vith even their closest relatives. When released they are immediately rearrested and detained for another 90 days. And this can go on and on making it tantamount to a life sentence of solitary confinement and torture. Whether a person is really guilty or

not is immaterial. not is immaterial. The same happens in the farm jails where the prison-ers are subject to forced labour which goes by the name of "rehabilitation."

Over a million people are arrested every year under one law or another. In Pretoria jail scores die of torture and 10 to 12 people are executed daily. In spite of all the precau-

liary org tions of the racialist thugs. Other African organisations the world is well aware of working unitedly with the

In the previous article Berta Braganza In the provious article Barta Braganza discussed about the growth of white settlers and their overall domination over South Africa that followed. She pointed out how the segregation was being carried on there in a most barbaric manner. In this concluding part she discusses the repressive measures and the struggle of the African people. —Editor the African people.

ANC are the South African contravened the fundamental

sations in the first place comes which, it said, was incom-the South African Incian patible with the duties of the the South Arrican members of the UN. Congress under the president-ship of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo. The CATC has throughout its existence worked unitedly with in its eighteenth the ANC. In the Campaign adopted a declaration man after Dr. Moses Kotalic, president of the ANC to be arrested. He is held in great respect as one of the greatest fighters for South Africa's freedom.

well-known leaders of the African struggle like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Lione Bernstein, Govan Mbeki, Robert Subokwe. Ahmed Kathroda and others charged with plotting to overthrow the South Afri-can government for which the law provides the death penalty Other organisations which work in close cooperation with the ANC are the Coloured Peoples Congress and the White Organisation, the South African Congress of Democrats. penalty. The charges could not be Of the African organisa-

tions the Pan-African Cong-ress is a splinter group of the ANC and functions separately.

Not Isolated Struggle

perts to defend the gallant freedom fighters, of course. could not get entry into the But it is not only the peo-ple of South Africa who are But considering the past of the rulers of South Africa the fighting the Verwoerd fascist apartheid despotism. The whole civilised world is bestate of affairs in that part of Africa is not surprising. Ver-woerd and his co-fuehrers hind the people of South Africa.

were close associates of the German Nazis. In the thirtees Verwoerd was the editor of fascist sheet called Die Tran-1 The UN General Assembly and Security Council and other bodies connected with the world organisation have svaler which propagated Hit-ler's racialist and anti-semipassed resolutions severely condemning the Verwoerd re-gime and calling for sanctions gainst it. tage Act, Law Minister Vor-ster was himself in prison during the Second World

In its seventeenth session 2 In its seventeenth session the General Assembly re-commended the Security Council to expel South Africa

the now ruling National Party sent a delegation to Nuremburg to demand the

ANC are the south African Congress of Trade Unions and the Federation of South Afri-can Women. Of the non-African organi-

dicensed

in its eighteenth session adopted a declaration calling for the Defiance of Unjust Laws launched by the ANC in. 1952, Dr. Dadoo was the second man after Dr. Moses Kotane. president of the ANC in the immediate and manual take immed measures including legislative and other measures to prose cute and/or outlaw organisa-tions which promote racial discrimination or incite to or use violence for the purposes of discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin."

Racialists

On The Run

Clearly, the racialists of Clearly, the racialists of South Africa are getting more and more isolated. But, they continue to challenge world opinion and the United Nations. And yet they continue to have a voice in the World Forum!

The source of its defence in the United Nations is the best evidence to show who it is that encourages its arrogant defiance.

It is obvious, that behind Verwoerd, and not only Verwoerd, but the whole Verwo-erd-Salazar-Welensky fascist trio is the entire imperialist

bloc. South Africa is the last citadel of colonialism and world imperialism. From be-'fuchrers'. the three their patrons strive to prop up the tottering edifice of colo-nialism and extend their neocolonialist tentacles to the Council to exper south Africa neocomhaist tenacies to the from the world body, if neces-sary. In August 1963, the Secu-ity Council declared that ruined by the imperialist the aparthied policy of the sharks and their own inde-Government of South Africa pendent economy.



In his speech before the Latin American diplomats in March 1961. President Kennedy announced his tenpoint programme for Latin America, known as the Alliance for Progress. According to this programme Latin American countries were to get "technical aid" from USA under a 'comprehensive and phased plan to create conditions for economic advancement."

This technical aid was to consist of the following: Beginning with World War II, "technical aid" assumed the further function in connection with the procurement of raw materials for the US armament industries. The task was given to the Bureau of the Coordina-tor for Trade and Cultural Relations with the Latin Ameri-can Republics. The Bureau founded the Institute for Inter-American Affairs, the well-known IIAA, which is still in existence.

oristonce

Latin American scientists to be invited to the United States to participate in the work on new projects in the field of work medicine agriculture, physics and otiono

2 Collaboration between univer-Collaboration between univer-sities of USA and Latin Ame-rica in the development plans for regional research laboratories in the above mentioned fields.

Programme for training of teachers for institutions of higher, learning, particularly of experts connected with economic projects. ensuence. The IIAA was assigned the task to render "technical aid" for in-creased and improved production of food, both as to animal hus-

USA to finance the above as

USA to finance the above as well as other technical aid programmes proposed by Latin American countries. The aim of the technical aid programme, in the words of US President, was to "eliminate illi-teracy among adults, expand the entire 'educational and research system, lengthen life expectancy by at least five years, reduce mor-tality rate and give a push to eco-nomic and social advancement in the Latin American countries." The fanfare with which this programme of "technical aid"

that were hired in large numbers. Thus the aim of this "technical aid" was more strategic from the point of view of US aims, rather than one inspired by the motives of agricultural development in Latin American countries. The IIAA also executed medical The fanfare with which this programme of "technical aid" was inaugurated and projected by high powered propaganda machinery of the US govern-ment gave the impression that it was something entirely new and an expression of the genuine desire of the USA to bring about "an economic and social revolution" in the Latin Ameri-can continent. The actual fact The IIAA also executed medical care programmes in the strategic areas in Central America as well as in Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. can continent. The actual fact is that it is an old wine in a new bottle, with an attractive label of "Alliance For Progress"

Already towards the end of the thirties the United States bad tried under the motto of "good neigh-bour policy" to include "technical aid" in their plans.

In 1938, the US government La 1000, une OS government created an agency for cooperation with the Latin American republics which was given the task of deve-loping a permanent programme for Latin America in the social, cultural and econon fields.

Boosting Export Drive

Out of this agency developed the Inter-Agency Committee for Economic and Cultural Coopera-tion which started work in 1940 and remained the central coordi-nating body of technical aid in Latin America till 1950. The main function of this body, however, remained to support the export drive of US monopolies to Latin

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MARCH 29, 1964.

Preventive Measures

Preventive measures against epidemics and campaigns against them did not only serve to safe-guard production of raw mate-rials important to the conduct of war, but were also meant to prevent the spreading of such epidemics to the personnel of US Navy and Air Force bases in Latin America.

Thus in 1943, 80 per cent of the money spent by IIAA was on medical care programmes while only 20 per cent was spent on agriculture.

agriculture. This position was reversed after the war, when "technical aid" was given the task to safeguard the positions of US given the task to sareguird, the positions of US monopolies in Latin America during the war and to support its further advance. According to A. Mosber, the author of TECHNICAL COOPE-RATION IN LATIN AMERICA, "fore this change in orientation. orientation "after this change in orientation, 48 per cent of all IIAA expendi-tures went for 'technical aid' in agriculture in 1952."

U.S. TECHNICAL AID AND LATIN AMERICA **By LAIPAT RAI**

Since 1942, bealth programmes have been carried out in 18 Latin American countries; for instance, 30 medical clinics were opened in the Amazon territory during World War II designed to serve mainly the rubber plantation workers. In these central clinics native percental was given training on

In these central chines hative personnel was given training on the basis of agreements with the respective countries. In 1947, 4000 women from 14 countries were given nurses' training. Further-more, 1100 persons were given stipends for training in the United

stipends for training in the United States. Besides IIAA, a number of other technical programmes existed which, in 1950, were centralised by the Administration for Techni-cal Cooperation. This body deals with technical aid programmes throughout the world.

"Technical aid" however also part of other programmes such as anti-malaria prosuch as anti-malaria pro-grammes, supply of drinking water, road building and bridge construction etc.

construction etc. In this connection the US government does not only make use of its own official govern-ment agencies, but a whole string of other institutions as well such as universities and enlagen ensious refirsts founda colleges, various private tions and the AFL-CIO unions

The state financed "technical aid" in Latin America is carried through the so-called SERVICIOS which function is Latin American countries on the basis of bilateral agreements with the US. The Servicion is a semisauto-The Servicio is a semi-auto

The Service is a semi-auto-nomous agency operating as the adjunct of the corresponding minis-try in the partner country. It is jointly financed and is usually headed by an US expert. If there headed by an US expert. If there are several Servicios in a county, they are headed by a director who gets his instructions through the US embassy. These Servicios are run by the so-called US "technical aid" mis-sions whose number now exceeds fifty. Each mission is composed of large pressnapel sometimes running

large personnel sometimes running into hundreds which include spies, CIA agents and private informers.

Out of the 57 Services morners. Out of the 57 Services ope-rating in Latin America in 1956, 25 concerned themselves with health problems, 17 with agri-culture and 15 with education. It is in the sphere of education that US "technical aid" feels most interested

Widespread

Illiteracy

Even today about 55 per cent of the people in Latin America can neither read nor write. Only 40 per cent of all children of school age have the opportunity to visit a school.

Illiterate labour is always ineffi-Illiterate labour is always ineth-cient and is incapable of learning the complex processes of modern industry. Skilled labour and quali-fied workers who must be able to tend machines, read technical drawings and carry out other mechanical tasks, are still scarce.

mechanical tasks, are still scarce. This represents a serious obsta-cle for those US monopolies which are planning to set up new fac-tories and enterprises. The Cercole Oil Company of Venezuela—a subsidiary of Stand-ard Oil of N. Jersey—has estab-lished 17 schools in their labour camps. While in 1940, 40 per cent of the workers employed by this commany were illiterate, their num-Choise Oil Company of Venezuela—a subsidiary of Standard Oil of N. Jersey—has established 17 schools in their labour camps. While in 1940, 40 per cent of the workers employed by this company were illiterate, their number had been reduced to 18 per cent in 1950.
 Similarly other important enterprises are also opening schools mid-adult training centres. The garment's "technical aid" schemes. Thus the garment's "technical aid" programmes, which
 NEW AGE

comes to helping the private companies at the expense of the US tax payers.

US tax payers. The agreements regarding the establishment of training schools for craftsmen as part of the educa-tional programme also are suppos-ed to create conditions for the development of craftsmen needed in the construction of industry.

It is typical that the AFL-CIO it is typical that the AFL-CIO trade unions participate actively in these plans. This organisation established a trade school for workers in Peru. The West German Trade Union Organisation (DGB) built a similar school in the Lake Titicace area Titicace area.

These educational plans under the "technical aid" programmes are by no means altruistic. They are above all political. The training



of a broad section of artisans and craftsmen, has the aim to strength-en and expand the middle sections; which are little represented in

The United States universities are playing their important role in this ideological offensive. This becomes clear from the numerous agreements concluded by univer-sities and colleges in USA with Latin American universities.

Cultural

Agreements

These agreements, which in-clude, among other things, ex-change of students and lecturers are being considered highly im-portant because the students fre-quently participate in anti-Yankee demonstrations and many univer-sity teachers openly come out for the progressive movement. According to Thomas E. Cotner, the official respon-cible for student and teacher

Cotner, the official respon-sible for student and teacher exchange, "the United States places great hopes in these agreements because undoubtedly

In 1954-55, for instance, 14 members of the teaching body of the Polytechnical Institute of Mexico came to US universities, while seven professors from Michi-gan State University went to the Institute of Agriculture of Colombia as part of exchange pro-gramme. At the same time 34 lecturers from Colombia obtained further training at Michigan University. In 1960, 2393 Latin American

students were studying in the United States, while 43,900 technicians were taking training in plants and factories in that coun-try—all under the "technical aid" grammes.

In a recent book called STRATEGY OF TRUTH, WILson P. Dizard, the leading repre-sentative of United States Information Agency, criticised the "non-political attitude" of some US universities giving training to the students and cadres from Latin American countries said: "These connections of our uni-

versities are of prime importance in the framework of our persistent efforts for the broadening of the ideological influence of the USA in foreign universities.... It is a pity that some of the universities emphasise only the technical train-ing aspect of it."

Catacomb

Of Aids

Apart from the direct "technical aid" which amounted to 130 mil-lion dollars in 1959 based on bilateral agreements US government also provides "technical aid" through multilateral programmes such as for instance, those of

when are intre represented in Latin America. These are to act as stabilising force both economically and poli-tically. These middle class groups are expected to support US poli-tical policies as well as the entire system of neocolonialism in Latin America. They are also expected to act as the shock-absorbers to the national liberation movements which are fast developing in many Latin American countries. The United States universities such aid to overcome their back-wardness. But the interests of the United

States is, however, not in such improvements as such. It is based on the fear, ever since the Cuban revolution, that the example of Cuba might be followed all over

Cuba might be followed all over Latin America. The US propaganda wants the people to believe that "technical aid" programmes spring from a genuine desire to render assistance although it cannot conceal its simultaneous political significance. It is also admitted that the receiv-ing accuration gate to any heareft out countries get some benefit out

But apart from the fact that these countries are obliged to share in their financing, it must not be overlooked that the not be overlooked that the means which the United States allocates for "technical aid" are only a fraction of the profits and interests which the US capital reaps every year from these counties

France Paralysed In Working Class Action

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

Uncle's Foster Brother

In The Land Of

France witnessed on March 18 a marvellous unity of the working class in a nationwide general strike.

ers participated in the powerful one-day general

strike on Wednesday. The strike action was against General de Gaulle's wage freeze programme. The workers demanded higher wages and better working conditions.

Three million workers and employees of state enterprises. factories and institutions work for 24 hours struck paralysing the life in Paris and other cities.

Another three million workers in the private sector industries joined their collea.

T like the way. Afro-

tion against South Africa.

His displeasure has been

witnessed many a time by

the stand taken by his

representatives in various

international forums, par-

ticularly in the UN, ILO

ence note published at the request of the UN Special Apartheid Committee.

This note gives data on the

role of foreign capital invest-ments in the racialist South African Republic. It gives details about the influx of capital, profits etc., of these investments

The note shows that at the end of 1961, foreign capital investments in South Africa amounted to 4,253

million dollars, 12 per cent of which belonged to the United States of America. Over one-third of all Ameri-

can private capital in Africa is invested in the South African Republic.

While the entire world's conscience was shocked at the events in South Africa

and the crimes committed by the Verwoerd regime and de-manded boycott of these racia-lists, the influx of US capital,

followed by British, continued

One may recall that after the massacre in Sharpeville in 1960 when the Verwoerd

m 1900 when the vertoern regime resorted to mass-scale killing of peaceful demonstrators, the world public opinion asked for severance of all ties with

to grow.

PAGE SIXTEEN

etc.

HE Uncle does not

S IX million French work- gues in the public sector in a token strike. Together, they staged protest demonstrations and held meetings accusing the de Gaulle regime for shifting the nuclear arma-ment burden to the shoulders

working people. The strike brought to a standstill French railways, Paris Metro and Air France flights. It idled gas, electricity, post and telegraph and other services, declared essential by the govern-ment. Besides crippling. transport and essential services the strike also affecols administrative

the emergency wards. This 24-hour general strike is the first big strike this year in France which paralysed the entire life throughout the country. It was organised jointly by all major trade

ces and hospitals except

GAULLISTS SUFFER

SET-BACK

T N the two rounds of local elections held last week in France the reactionary de Gaullists suffered a setback and the French Communist Party doubled its seats in departmental general councils, from 50 to 99. These general councils are important centres of local ad-ministration and political influence. The Communists and Socia-

lists registered important successes as a result of electoral alliance in various parts of France. The Leftwing is rejoicing

INDIAN BOOKS

TO CZECH

University.

UNIVERSITY

in its victories, for this elec-tion will set the stage and create the atmosphere for

this year. If a countrywide Left unity is achieved next general elections there is little doubt that the reacionary Gaullists can be de-feated.

and the second s

EN

The Communist Party is striving for a Left unity.

MILITANT **ACTIONS IN** WEST EUROPE

DOWERFUL strike movement is growing in West Europe fighting against monopoly integration and state capitalism. In last February 1.5 million workers

arliamentary elections later in state-owned services struck in Italy.

This was the biggest strike so far in public sector where a powerful state capitalism has grown. Three biggest Ita-lian trade unions which organised this strike demanded higher wages and reforms in state apparatus.

In February 4,50,000 textile workers, 2,00,000 auto workers, 2,00,000 workers in industries a hemical 12,000 workers in medical services downed tools.

Many strikes have also taken place in West Germany, Holland, Denmark and other West European countries re-

India are read with in-nected with the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia.

IN INDIA Under . the agreement on cultural cooperation and exchange between India and the German Democratic Republic a group of three top GDR physicians arrived in Delhi on March 16.

March 16. The delegation is headed by Dr. Rissmann, chairman. of the Commission for Prob-lems of the Prevention of Epidemics. The other two physicians are Dr, Spiess and Dr. Foerster.

scholars working on orientology in the GDR and their colleagues in the emerging countries have developed excellently in recent months -was the view expressed by Dr. HÖRST member of the Institute for Oriental Studies of

Sanskrit documents on birch IIIS VISIE IO INCHA. bark written in Brahmi charac-ters. It is to be expected that India on a two-month visit the study of these documents during which he delivered lec-will shed more light on the tures at universities and insti-cultural relationships between tures at universities and insti-india and Central Asia and answer many questions con-

MARCH 29, 1964

Andhra Pradesh on March 20 witnessed one of the biggest hartals in recent times. The hartal was called by the All-Parties Action Committee to express solidarity with the kisan satyagraha now going on throughout the state. The National Satyagraha Committee, set up by the Swatantra, Ian Sangh and Republican parties, supported the hartal

HE unrest of all sections of In the interview of the sector ed complete hartal. How complete was the hartal in many places is proved by the fact that all the hotels and restausections, Chamber of Commerce and Merchant Association also cooperated.

but actively participated in this rants, wholesale and retail cloth biggest protest action. The trading sections, Chamber of Commerce and Merchant Association also co-operated. All the major towns and taluq headquarters in Krishna, Vijaya-wada, Hyderabad,. Nalgonda, Srikakulam, Vizag, East Goda-oari, West Godavari, Anantapur,

Constitutional Crisis Reference to U. P. Affair During Debate on Law Ministry

* FROM BACK PAGE

department not connected with the civil aviation. He Weakening ances of civil aviation em- Rule of Law ployees and the expansion of air routes to certain important areas so far not reached. He took the Minis try to task for the escape of Walcott and said the incident had heaped humiliation on the nation.

Dati characterised the shipping policy of the government as "penny-wise-pound-foolas "penny-wise-pound-fool-ish". What else can one say, he asked, when the govern ment in the Second Plan spends as much as about Rs. 450 crores on foreign ship owners for freight charges but does not invest even a fraction of that money for development of its own shipping. He also criticised the absence of a coordinated au-thority to look after port de-

Communist benches was Renu Chakravartty. She also took up a number of grievances of civil aviation employees and urged their redressal. She particularly invited the atten-tion of the government to the problems of civil aviation in the eastern zone of the country.

N the context of the serious constitutional crisis created by the clash of legislature and judiciary in Ilttar Pradesh, • the debate this week in the Lok Sabha on Law Ministry's demands for grants acquired a special importance.

*

There were oblique references to it in members' speeches though they were precluded from discussing the UP incidents as such. Homi UP incidents as such. Homi Daji who spoke for the Communist Group reiterated the plea for a law codifying the privileges of legislature so as to avoid the type of conflict that has now arisen.

He said that the UP deadlock showed two things, namely a weakening of the spirit of the rule of law and the pitfalls that beset us when we try to graft British conven-tions to our system without giving any serious thought to these. He pointed out that the way out of the present Constitutional crisis cannot be found by taking partisan sides in the dispute but by

MARCH 29, 1964

South Africa and yet the US capital investments there grew rapidly after this massacre. Asian nations demand ac-

In 1962, the USA invested additional 45 million dollars. Profits from American capital investments grew from 42 million dollars in 1959 to 72 million dollars in 1962. And the investment and the profits have been growing ever since.

This proves the charges made out in the memorandum The reason for the Uncle's of the African National Con-gress that the foreign capi-talists motivated by the urge displeasure is not difficult to trace. He has a lot in stake in South Africa, and therefore trace. He has a lot in stake in South Africa, and therefore apartheid or not, he has to hang on with Verwoerd. The exact extent of the Uncle's interest has been disclosed a of profits, are interested to see that the hated Verwoerd regime continues to exist South Africa. interest has been disclosed a few days ago by the United Nations Secretariat in a refer-

The Uncle's lip sympathy trotted out by his represen-tatives in the UN and else-where for the suffering people of South Africa and the high-sounding words of human rights and so on, are thus too thin to be mistaken by the fighting peoples.

TYCOONS ARE COMING

Watch out! The representatives of 30 US business houses are coming to our country in the next month to discuss "invest ment opportunities."

The delegation consists of The delegation consists or representatives of top business houses and cover a number of important industries, includ-ing oil, petro-chemicals, heavy machine tools, steel mills etc.

The delegation will consider the question of America nvestments in a number the industries as its major task, many of which today are in public sector in our country.

It is clear that Uncle is spreading his tentacles to the growing public sector of our important industries. Beware

the move!

-CHARVAK

fraction of the Polish THE Indian Ambassapublications come to India because of language barrier. dor to Czechoslo-Among the well-known publications that come to vakia presented on March 17 a set of books by Dr. India are "Poland"—an illus-trated magazine, "Polish Pers-pectives", "Polish Press Re-Radhakrishnan to the pectives", "Polish view," "Polish Eco Rector of the Prague etc. According to an official study, in 1963 a total of 8.7 lakh copies of 875 Polish

Expressing his thanks, the Rector of the Prague Uni-versity said at the presentation function that the books were a gesture of friendship between the peoples of India and Czechoslovakia. The collection, be added and a set of the set of he added, was a digest of Indian thought and therefore would be read avidly not only by the Czech students but also the students from foreign countries now studying

EXHIBITION **IN HUNGARY**

in Prague.

(Western Hungary) dearoused great popular interest. The Institute for Cultural Relations and the Savaria Museum at Szombathely joint-ly arranged this exhibition. This is the first time that ich an exhibition has been such an exhibition shown in Hungary. has been

POLISH MAGAZINES

Polish magazines and iournals that come to



BRIDGES OF AMITY

terest by Indian readers. But unfortunately only a **GDR DOCTORS**

Sur-

CONTACTS GROWING

Contacts between the KRUEGER, senior staff the remote past is an out-standing event in the Soviet the GDR Academy of studies of ancient India's his-Sciences, in an interview with ADN following



the main theme of his speech and he said that all-that is required for strengthening the rule of law was not being done in this coun-try today. Daji pointed out that it is the majority party that can subvert or weaken the rule of law indirectly,

taking a wider perspective of

The weakening of the spirit of the rule of law was

the issues involved

Guntur, Nellore districts obsero-

if not directly, and he pro-ceeded to show that this is what is happening. He said it was unfortunate persons placed in very positions have been rantly violating" the that high "flagrantly violating" the spirit of the rule of law. In this connection he referred to the reported statement of Punjab Chief Minister that he knew what the verdict of Another speaker from the the Das Commission would be and that it would be a slap on the face of the Opposition which had arraigned him before the Commission

Such a statement coming from the Chief Minister when the Commission was actually enquiring into the charges against him strikes at the

very root of rule of law. If it had been a court, Kairon would have been hauled up for contempt, Homi Daji pleaded for more legal aid to the poor and said that if approach to justice is

costly, then people are de-prived of its benefits. He also criticised the levying of stamp fees for appeals and said it amounted to penalising a citi-zen for a possible mistake of the judiciary. Many people are not able to seek justice because they have not the money to file appeals.

Constitution Amendment

Homi Daji criticised the proposed Constitution (Eighteenth) Amendment Bill and recalled how the Law Minister had last year declared with "bravado" that / if anyone suffered damages due to ultra vires acts under the DIR, the government would reimburs them. The move now to validate the unconstitutional acts committed under the DIR was against the very spirit of the rule

publications were exported by Poland. SOVIET BOOKS ON INDIA

The Eastern Department of the Nauka (Scientific Literature) Publishing House of the USSR plans to turn out a

An Indian exhibition number of books on was opened a few weeks various problems of Indian ago at Szom bathely in 1964.

(Western Hungary) de-picting the life and art Central Asia of archaeological in India. The exhibition monuments confirming the aroused creat popular interest. close cultural relations that existed between the peoples of Central Asia and India in the remote 'past is an

studies of ancient india's his-Sciences, in an int tory and culture. Of special interest are the Sanskrit documents on birch his visit to India. bark written in Brahmi charac-Dr. Krueger had co



From MOHIT SEN and PATTABHI RAMA RAO

re issued by the trading circles At Tadepalligudem, the president and the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce played a prominent role in organising the hartal. At Jaggayyapeta, local cloth merch-ants association took active part in the hartal.

a the hartal. At Kalyandurgam, all the pas-burge stopped plying for senger buses stopped plying for half an hour as a mark of sym-

pathy. All observers agree that there was never before such a successful hartal in Andhra Pradesh. Huge mass rallies and processions were organised along with the hartal.

CPI CANDIDATE For RAJYA SABHA

THE secretary of the Andhra State Council of the CPI Raiasekhara Reddy on March 24 discounted the reports now in circulation about the candidates of the CPI contesting the Rajya Sabha elections.

He made clear that the only candidate who has been set up by the Communist Party is B. Yella Reddy. The other candidate — Hanu-mantha Rao is not a candidate of the CPI. He is con testing in his personal capacity disregarding the Party decision and clear instructions.

Regarding the separation of executive and judiciary, Daji charged that it was not being carried out because the executive is really not ready to part with power, as it wants to maintain its supremacy. He asked the government to take compelling steps to force the states to introduce the necessary reform. Daji referred to the prohi-

bitively expensive nature of elections and pointed out that because of this, candidates seeking elections to legislatures are forced to go and beg at the gates of money. But then those who pay the piper will also call the tune. This is a very serious matter and if this is not prevented, de-mocracy shall become a handmaid of moneybags.

He urged that all should sit down together and apnly their mind to this danger and see that something radical is done to overcome it. He also objected to the Election Commission's order that where a party is not recognised, its symbol will not be allotted to its candidates and they will be trea-ted as independents.

Another point he made was bout the have cropped up in Goa and Pondicherry also after the extension of IPC and CrPC to those areas where the Portu-guese and French laws had been in force and where the magistrates do not know any other laws.

among them were Rajasekhara Reddy, Yellamanda Reddy, Sadasivan, K. Satyanarayana. Sadasivan, K. Satyanarayana, P. Venkata Rao etc.

P. Venkaia Rao etc. Earlier on March 19, a deputa-tion on behalf of the Action Com-mittee led by Y. V. Krishna Rao and Tenneti Viswanatham waited on the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, and put forward several proposals. It is understood that some de-mande concerning braing land

mands concerning banjar land were accepted by the government but on the question of substantial reduction of additional land levy, The Action Committee is meet-

Leaders of the Action Com-mittee resorted to token hunger-strike in 25 centres. Their num-ber exceeded 250, Prominent demanded was considerable reductee pointed out that this did not mean anything and what it has demanded was considerable reduc-tion in the levy as such. Until that demand was accepted, the move-ment would continue and be intensified day by day.

In sharp contrast to nis provident attitude, the Chief Minister told pressmen that he would be glad to meet the representatives of the Action Committee to discuss how the peasants' distress could relieved. This has rightly taken as an indication to

its attitude remained adamant. Later, the Chief Minister told decide upon further steps to be pressmen that he would be ready taken in furtherance of the satya-to return the amount in excess of graha.

*FROM PAGE 3

strike. The report demanded that the interim relief of Rs. 21 be immediately implemented. In case of further delay, the workers would be compelled to resort to

inited action, it said. The report also demanded that The report also demanded that a wage board for engineering industry be set up and that the Indian Standard Wagon Co. also be included in its terms of

reference. Other demands made in the report were: opening of fair Nandi, Nirmal Chandra Sen, price shops for the Bumpur and Kult workers in accordance with the decision of the Indian Labour Conference, constitution of works Elias MP and Kedar Das MLA. reference.

committee, abolition of contract labour and cent per cent housing for workers.

The report also demanded a further interim relief of Rs. 20 for steel workers in view of the rise in prices in the last one year, as also payment of DA on overtime. duties done by workers since 1948 which by the the company did not pay till April 1983 in violation of the provisions of the Factories Act.

Govt. Employees Agitation

Steel Workers Meet

•FROM PAGE 3

plantations the unions have

served strike notices. The Labour Minister, however, refused to accept the arguments of Balachandra Menon, following which the Speaker refused per-mission to the adjournment. Minister, however, refused to accept the arguments which the Speaker refused per-Minister, however, the adjournment of the adjourn

motion. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, leader of the opposition, thereupon charged the government with violation of the code of conduct accepted at tripartite meetings. Led by Namboodiripad, the Communist members walked out

of the house in protest against the government's attitude. Meanwhile, 15 thousand coir

workers employed in the various coir factories at Alleppey and other centres have served notices on their employers that unless earlier wage agreements are e agreements are and a 25 per cent, implemented interim wage increase is not granted, they would be con-strained to go on strike.

Another section of the people who are agitated over their lot is aided teachers. Nearly a thousand of them including women staged a demonstration in the state capital on March 16 and observed a one-day satyagraha before the secretariat gates.

The aided teachers' deman include, parity in salary and service conditions with govern-

representing more than 25 thousand teachers in the state, to get their den through conferences with Chief Minister proved futile.

The agitation plans of the aided teachers include satyagraha before the secretariat by batches of ten till March 25. On that day 21 members of the central exe-cutive of their organisation will. go on a token one-day strike.

The nongazetted employees of the state government are also agitating for a minimum increase of Rs. 25 in their emoluments to offset the rise in the cost of living.

The meagre increase of Rs. 5 and Rs. 3 offered to them in the current budget of the state go-vernment has been termed as highly unsatisfactory by the emhighly unsatisfactory by the e ployees. As many as 40 thouse ployees. As many individual repre d to the Chief been addre Minister by er by the NGOs

PAGE SEVENTEEN

People's Poland : Achievements & Plans ^{Propers Totalut.} 9 With the Socialist countries -close friendship and unity based on the foundation of com-mon ideas and aims;

THESES OF UNITED WORKERS' PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The following is an abridged version of the official summary of the Theses for the IV Congress opening on June 15 of the Polish United Workers' Party. The Theses were adopted by the Central Committee of the Party recently

HE birth of People's Poland and all its transformations since that time are most closely connected with the name of the Polish United Workers' Party. For the last twenty years the Party has been at the helm of state power, for the last twenty years the working masses led by the working class have been managing the affairs of their country, building socialism.

From Stagnation To Steady Growth

Due to the guilt of the Polish bourgeoisie and foreign capital, the economy of hourgeois Poland did not move one step forward during the entire twenty years of during the entire twenty years of the interwar period. Foreign capi-tal was exploiting Poland in a colonial manner. The plague of unemployment and partial em-ployment lasted through the entire twenty years. The balance sheet of the twenty years of bourgeois Poland in he field of

system. The overall output of the Polish socialised industry has in-creased by 1963 nearly nine times in comparison to the 1938 level, and the per capita output, ten times. The plague of un-employment, economic crises. the ten times. The plague of in-employment, economic crises, the say the Theses, is to accelerate exploitation of the country by the development of production foreign capital and the exploita with the aim of further improv-tion of the working masses by ing the supplies of food articles capitalists and landowners, have to the population and of raw been liquidated. The share of materials to industry, and also to industry and the building trade maintain the export of agricul-in the total national income in-tural and food articles and to concern the total national income fin-tural and food articles and to concern the total national income finas against only S3 per cent in 1938.

As the result of land reform, peasants received over six mil-lion bectares of land, at very low prices, with payment spread over many years. The tremendous pre-war debt of the peasant farms has been liquidated.

In 1963 the national income of People's Poland (calculated in 1937 prices) was nearly three tmies higher than in 1937. Caltmies higher than in 1937. Cal-culated per capita, it increased three-and-a-half times.

three-and-a-half times. The Theses emphasise that the central task now should consist in the concentration of efforts and means in the decisive indus-trial branches, that is on engi-neering and chemical industries. The overall value of the output of agricultural machines should increase in the verse 1966,1970 bourgeois Poland in he neta of agricultural machines shound industry is an eloquent proof of agricultural machines shound the hankruptey of the capitalist increase in the years 1966-1970 by more than 50 per cent.

The main task of agriculture, will

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liquidate the import of grain About 146,000 million zlotys wi he earmarked for investments Agriculture was stagnant dur- agriculture, that is, more than

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60 per cent more than in the

current five-year plan. The Theses emphasise the necessity of developing the pro-duction and social initiative of the countryside. A great role should be played in this connec-tion by supply and 'purchasing cooperatives, as well as by pro-

cooperatives, as well as by pro-cessing cooperatives. The main organisations uniting the peasants' efforts are the agri-cultural circles which embrace more than 1.2 million members and are functioning in more than 70 per cent of the villages. Their economic activity is based on the agricultural development fund, which should be main-tained for the five-year period.

International **Division Of Labour**

The long range export and import plans should be estab-lished in such a manner, as to take advantage—as broadly as particle intermediate division of labour, particularly within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The implementation of the economic development plans until 1970 is conditioned on the increase of the foreign trade turnover by about 50 per cent in comparison with 1963. cent in comparison with 1963. The equilibrium of the balance of payments requires that the crease of export should prece the growth of import. Imp should increase in the ye precede Import 1964-1970 by about 43 per and export by 60 per cent.

The retail sales of these articles are to increase by 35 per cent.

Housing, Jobs & Consumer Goods

The total outlays of the state

and the population on hous-ing construction is heing esti-mated at about 108 thousand million zlotys. New huilding should hring a total of 2,800-2,900 thousand dwelling rooms m

2,900 thousand dwelling rooms in town and country. It is planned to create in pro-duction and services about 1.5 million new jobs. The increase of real wages and real incomes of the population assumes the stabili-sation of living costs. Democratic centralism arising from the socialist character of the economic relations should be the basis of planning and ad-ministration, as well as of the organisation of the production. The principle of two-year plan-ing should be introduced in the interest of continuity. interest of continuity

Foreign Policy

The Theses state that the Party has been during the entire twenty-year period and continues to be the decisive force of socialist construction and of the policy of the people's state. Our chief national task is to make struction and of Poland a modern socialist coun-try with a high level of development of economy, culture and the population's welfare. It is at the same time an international

policy in conformity with the main internal task, is to group following principles, tested in the working masses round the the course of the twenty years of programme of the further socia-list development of the country.

With the peoples fighting for national and social liberation and for the consolidation of their independence—fraternal solidarity and full support;

With the capitalist coun-tries-relations based on the principles of peaceful coexis-tence. economic-scientific-technical and cultural cooperation.

People's Poland has hased its Patriotism & Internationalism

the fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace we should continue to develop a construc-tive peaceful initiative aimed at an alleviation of international tension and at putting a stop to the armaments race, such as the proposal concerning the freezing of nuclear armaments in Central Europe and the creation The Party is educating the people in the spirit of love of noble and progressive traditions, which at each stage of historical development, expressed best the interests of the people, of the

for the consolidation e and of the freedom development, expressed best the interests of the people, of the state and of social progress. The ideological struggle is an extreme-ly important plane of the class struggle. The peaceful coexis-tence of states with different systems, a coexistence for which we strive, is imparting to the ideological struggle a special significance. There can be no peaceful co-existence between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies which express diametrically opposed aspirations. peace and of the freeaum o, the peoples. A momentous role in this question has been play-ed by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which contri-buted to the rebirth of the I ominist principles of inter-and Leninist principles of inter-nationalism, solidarity and equality in the relations be-tween socialist states and tween socialist states and Communist Parties · •]

For Unity Of

For Unity Of Marxist-Leninist Parties Our Party is coming out deter-minedly against anything which weakens the unity and solidarity of Marxist-Leninist Parties. It is in favour of the unity of the world Communist movement and of the unity of socialist states, in keeping with the principles of the international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties The Theses emphasise that the Communist and Workers' Parties to the education of of 1957 and 1960. The Theses emphasise that the Leninism.

CHATTISGARH WORKERS

When B. R. Mandloi became (Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, he abolished state trading in foodgrains which his predecessor Kailasnath Katju had introduced This was done under pressure from the rice kings of Chhatisgarh who were ever looking for chances

states, creating an acute scarcity condition in the region. The government tried to salvage the situation by supple-menting through imported American rice, but the situation had by then passed the

rockets and the 'rice bowl' of Madhya Pradesh became a scarcity area. Rice was being sold at 90 nP a kilo-

The huge Soviet plane, the TIL 114, lands at the Havana airport, named after Jose Marti, the apostle who died a martyr leading Cuba's war of indepen-The Party is exercising its direct-ing functions in the state in close cooperation with the United Pea-sant Party and the Democratic dence against Spain in 1895. It is nine o'clock on a pleasant sunny morning. We have got rid of our over-coats and all the other heavy stuff that pressed us down till only 15 hours ago. Party, creating together with them, within the National Unity. Front a broad framework for the activity of all political and social

organisations; The Party is attaching great weight to the role and improve-ment of the functioning of the system of the People's Councils, the trade union and the workers' self-government. white, space.

> It did look like outer space or the face of another planet covered up with the heaviest ary 2, but arrived only on the of clothing we could muster. 5th, having got struck in Mos-The air was so pure and fresh cow for the lack of any conas I had never breathed before

It was three in the morning news, when we took off from Mur-mansk, flying west and then outh-we st over the Northern sea and the North Atlantic; then south along the eastern seaboard of the North Ameican continent.

Leaving Murmansk at three a.m. we arrived in Havana at nine the same morning. Yet the time taken in the flight was not six but fifteen hours. Arithmetic was confounded for a lovely, long-drawnout dawn of wide-ranging reddish hues spread over the horizon both in time and space as we traversed the over 10,000 kilo-metres that separate the first socialist country of the eas-tern hemisphere from the first socialist country of the

First to greet us as we enter the airport building is "Pa-quita". Paquita Cao is her full name, but everybody, calls her by her first name. She is there everytime a plane lands from or takes off for overseas. She represents the Prensa Latina. the Cuban News Agency, that brings the news of the liberation struggles of Latin Ame-rica to the whole world. She is there to report the arrivals and departures of the day and what feelings for Cuba they bring and what reactions about Cuba they carry.

She is friendly fascinating and efficient at her job, for later on during my stay I was to discover that she had won he Best Worker-of-the-Month Award at the Prensa Latina

On the steps of the main entrance stands a huge drawing of Lenin with pigeons basking all around in the mildly warm



as much as 25 lakh tons were exported. The government did not faithfully implement the policy of rice procurement, too. The sum total result of all these was that even gov-ernment cheap grain shops had to be closed down due to lack of rice. It was in this background

It was in this background that the Communist Party gave the call for an agitation for more cheap grain shops. The agitation has now called off, but if the government thinks that it can go back to its complacent atti-

tude, it is mistaken. The people are determined to compel the government to the same time an international **being sold at 90 nP a kilo-**task, our most precious contribution **gram and broken rice at 70** between socialism and capitalism. The Party is imparting the Though the Communist direction of the Polish foreign Party had been repeatedly de-living standards from falling.

TOR only 15 hours ago we TOR only 15 hours ago we had been taking a stroll at the Soviet Union's Mur-the hallowed name. He is mansk airfield in the Arctic. wiry and sharn-eved He represents the ICAP—Instituto Cubano de Amistad con Los Il snow-covered with a whistling blizzard merrily spreading snow-dust all around Pueblos-Cuban Institute of Los while a waning half-moon Friendship with the Peoples, kept looking down on blank, the organisation which plays

host to most of the invitados (invitees). Marti takes charge of us two Indians, K. A. Abbas and myself, who were invited necting plane. Marti wonder-ed what had happened to us on the way; they had had no

We are transported in a long sleek limousine through the suburbs. There is lush greenery all around and much open space till we pass the Revolution Square. Here on a hillock a tall triangular tower is jutting forth in the sky serving as a backdrop to a huge statue of Marti.

In deep thought the apostle sits there contem ing the vast square, witness of the great assemblies which have shaken the wes-tern hemisphere and the whole world during the last five years. Huge hoardings on all sides bearing slogans of the Revolution's fifth anniversary remind us that the place was the scene of another such assembly only a few days ago.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

We enter now the crowded We enter now the crowded part of Havana with high buildings on both sides. We pass the complex of the uni-versity buildings, a university that had been the storm centre of Cuba's revolutionary struggles all through. Boys and girls in the uniform of the militia stand guard at various points reminding us of the eternal vigilance that is the price of freedom for

SOCILIST

January 2, 1964 in the Revolution Squaré Premier Fidel Castro addresses the mamothrally

mesh Chandra. Editor: Bo

were ever looking for chances to fatten their purses at the expense of the people. This year, immediately after the harvest these rice kings exported most of the new crop to neighbouring the eventual experiments and

stage of redemption. Rice prices shooted up like

The Theses state, that one of the chief ideological tasks of the Party is to educate the people in the spirit of patriotism and inter-nationalism, that the contem-porary Polish patriotism is in-separable from socialism. The Party combats consistently mani-festations of nationalism, whose edge in the present conditions is mainly directed against the unity of socialist states, against the Polish-Soviet alliance.

People's Poland has hased its security on alliances with our socialist neighbours, on its own defence might, united with the collective defence effort of the states of the Warsaw Treaty. Working closely together with the fratemal socialist countries in

zone in this area. We should do all we can to strengthen the unity and co-hesion of the socialist camp as the decisive force in the strug-gle for the consolidation of

Journey Into Havana And A- "HOLD-UP" OF CASTRO **Record Of A Cuban Visit**

has returned here. after a long and arduous fight.

Moving through narrow lanes we pass the "Havana Libre" the former Hotel Ha-"Havana vana Hilton, now returned to the people of Cuba. We emerge soon on El Malecon, the beautiful seaside drive facing the Gulf of Mexico. At one end is the entrance to the Havana harbour guarded the old Morro fortress.

Along El Malecon we pass the Foreign Ministry building in front of which stands the stadium where the public trial of the mercenaries who invaded Playa Giron in April 1961 was held. There too stands the Casa do los Americas (House of the Americas), a unique centre devoting itself to the study of the culture and life of the peoples of the American continents.

Further on is the deserted building of the US embassy. It remains there locked and aled awaiting the return of its owners whenever a sense of present day realities has dawned upon them.

ting from corners and cre-vices, peep the guns that have to be kept constantly trained on the far ends of the sea, grim warning to lurking US warships which w up every now and then at the compellin horizon, them to keep the respectful distance of three miles and more.

Yet the Malecon winds its peaceful way girded on the land side by parks and a theatre, even a few night clubs and an open air restaurant that specialises in sea food. The people go about in their normal confident and relaxed manner, undeterr ed by the threats that over-hang them. Huge placards pitched on high buildings and lighted by neon signs at night throw defiance in the face of the arrogant power that sits across the sea only ninety miles away.

"Cuba. Free Territory of the

All along El Malecon, int-

once cried out American wares like Coca Cola and the rest. Among them we could see three giant size portraits in colours—Castro, Khrush-choy and Camillo Cienfue-

Americas", "Cuba, territory that has freed itself of illite-

racy" "Fatherland or Death —we shall win", declare these

hoardings which must have

gos, Premier Castro's imme-diate collaborator who died in an air accident soon after the victory of the Revolution. For the North American would-be marauto draw their lessons from.

By ZIA-UL HAO

Havana. It was when Nikolai V. Podgorny, leader of the Soviet delegation to the fifth anniversary celebrations of the Cuban Revolution gave a grand reception in honour of the President and Prime Minister of Cuba.

Here we had our first and only confrontation with the great leader of the Cuban Revolution Prime Minister Fidel Castro Fidel came quite half way through the reception and as the vast gathering made way for him to reach the VIPs' table the two for him to of us who had come to be American would be marau-known as the "Indian dele-ders these are enough signs gation," nonchalantly made our way to him.



A view from Havana's Hotel Riviera. K. A. Abbas (on the right)

Traversing the greater part of El Malecon we come to the Hotel Riviera. In this hotel and in the Havana Libre were housed most of the invitados for the National Day celebrations. Before the revolution this hotel was a casino par excellence. Here the dollar kings came and stayed over the weekends to gamble and have fun with the girls.

As you go up the lift you find that one storey of this imposing twenty-story struc-ture is missing. After the 12th you come-not to the 13th but to the 14th floor. The 13th floor is just not there! In deference to the superstitions simply dropped from the numerical system.

Here today were gathered Cuba's friends from all over the world, from all the continents. Here were distingui-shed people from Africa, from the Arab countries, from the ountries of the Far East including Japan, Indonesia and Vietnam. Here were people from all over Zurope-West and East. Here were people from all countries of the Americas, North and South, including friends from the USA and Canada. This was the coming together, of the whole world in homage to the Cuban Revolution.

It was a few days later that we had our only chance to be with all these friends of to be with all these friend Cuba and the citizenry

Hero we were, at long last, face to face with this remarkable personality of our times. Here he was, the man who by his audacity and vision and by his capa-city to unite all revolutionforces in the common cause forged victory for it in the short span of less than six years, the man who never recoiled from the logic of the revolution, but pressed it ever forward in face of all calumny and face of all calumny attempts to isolate.

Here we were face to with Fidel Castro. He strikes one most as the personifica-tion of revolutionary humanism. His humaneness stands and susceptibilities of the dol-larland's gambling brother- out as his most outstanding hood the unlucky number was quality. There is nothing condescending about him. no showing off of benignness from on high.

straight-for-Simplicity, wardness, warmth and cordiality-with all these he won wasting our hearts without many words. We conveyed to him the high esteem, the tremendous admiration and re-gard we Indians feel for him and for Cuba.

We realised afterwards that our little public "hold-up" of the Premier in that reception had become quite a unique demonstration of Indo-Cuban friendship on Cuban soil, and after we had "released" him a number of Cuban friends came to congratulate us and convey through us their good wishes for India. (More next week)



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DEFENCE MUST BE SELF-RELIANT Pak Bellicosity With Imperialist Backing Underlined

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Against the wistful looking-to-the-west policy of defence preparedness which has characterised the actions of the government since the Chinese aggression over a year ago and which is most welcome to those reactionary year ago and which is most writchile to most reactionary circles in the country who harp on American aid and attack nonalignment, the stand of the Communist Party for adequate and expeditious development of our defence strength on the basis of self-reliance, national interests and dignity was reiterated in the Lok Sabha when the demands for grants of the Defence Ministry came before the House.

ENU Chakravartty who ini-tiated the debate underlined the danger from Pak belicosity against India and our predica-ment in that connection because of commitments made to the USA that whatever arms she had complied us would not be used USA that whatever arms she had supplied us would not be used against Pakistan. She emphasised therefore the need for self-reliance in our defence hulld-up and a firm adherence to an inde-pendent defence policy. Renu Chakravarity recalled that when Parliament voted huge sums last year for defence, the idea behind it was that we should be able to attain self-reliance in

idea behind if was that we sholl be able to attain self-reliance in our defence and it was a declara-tion that we shall depend-on our own resources first and foremost and we shall not join any mili-

and we shall not joint any min-tary bloc. Today Parliament was dehating grants for defence in the back-ground of China's continuing inground of China's continuing in-transigence and refusal to accept the Colombo proposals together with her friendship with Pakis-tan. More, one of the biggest factors since last year has been the bellicosity of Pakistan against India India

Renu this connection In Chakravarity referred to the constant raids and attacks from Pakistan, construction of bun-Pakistan, construction of bun-kers and concentration of troops kers and concentration of troops across the border, the stepping up of the cold war in the Security Council over the Kashmir issue, the whipping up of communal riots and the supering out of minorities squeezing out of minorities from East Pakistan and most

from East Pakistan and most significant of all the support which. Pakistan consistently receives from the United States and the United Kingdom. In contrast to the arming of Pakistan by US and UK has been their reluctance to supply India with arms. Pakistan was given the 104 aircreft but the same was F 104 aircraft, but the same was ground refused to us. Pakistan had also been supplied with a submarine. On the other hand we had our On the other hand we fiad our "joint air exercises" for training in the use of highly sophisticated radar equipment. But to what purpose? Renu Chakravarity purposer Renu Chakravarity, pointed out that even after these exercises, a Pakistani helicopter could land in West Bengal, take photographs and take off with impunity.

Political Conditions

She referred to the political conditions attached to US arms supply to India and said that we could not even use these arms against Pakistan. Secondly the United States has the right to inspect and observe the use of orms she had given use And arms she had given us. And she also has her observers here. The position was such that, she said, even the Seventh Fleet might be used against us and not against others.

"I say these are very serious points which I want the House consider, because we have decided last year-and I hope that we shall continue to stick firmly to the decision-that we must be able to build our own defence potential, our own military strategy and our own operational methods."



Renu Chakravartty paid tributes to the workers in the ordnance factories who have been doing excellent work and she also doing excellent work and she also spoke about the good work being done by our young scientists in the field of research for defence purposes. She asked the govern-ment to get over the "inferiority complex" of looking to the USA for hele in defence purplicition.

for help in defence production. In this connection she referred to the visit of the US firm of to the visit of the US firm of consultants, Arthur D Little Inc., for formulation of plans of ex-pansion of our defence produc-tion. This is a dangerous position and should be given up. She deplored the delay in the setting up of the six ordnance factories about which the Defence Minis-ter had spoken last year. The main reason for the delay is said to be the difficulty of securing to be the difficulty of securing foreign exchange; Only one of the factories is in an advanced stage. This is a very serious matter and should he looked into.

Production **Priority**

Renu Chakravartty gave prio-rity to the production of super-sonic aircraft. She pointed out that the entire structure of the Air Force has to be looked into in order to make it efficient in the use of the MIGs and guided use of the MIGs and guided missiles supplied to us by the Soviet Union. Referring to the MIGs, she said that whenever an American high-up visited this country, the story was splashed in newspapers that the MIG deal is off. She asked whether there was some political hesi-tatior in this matter.

Renu Chakravartty poiced Renu. Chakravartty voicea firm opposition to private sector being allowed to enter into the field of defence production. Is there a definite attempt by held: of defence production. Is there a definite attempt by very high-ups in government to fam out more and more de-fence production to the private sector, she wanted to know. While not opposing the use of idle capacity in the private sector for the production of components and things like that, she said, we do not want any subversion of the Industrial Policy Resolution under the excuse of "public interest." Another point in her criticism was the attendance of the band of INS Vikrant at the MRA show at Choupatty beach. She said that an MRA drama was also staged on board INS Vikrant. It is said that INS Vikrant officials had received instructions

officials had received, instructions

- S. 24

from above to give all facilities to the MRA people and to pro-vide accommodation to them. In fact, some of these MRA people stayed on board INS Vikrant. Renu Chakravartty made a

strong plea for a drastic reform in the relationship between jawans and officers. If we want to fight, we have to fight with the full healthy morale of the jawans and therefore the relationship between officers and jawans should be at its very best.

It is necessary to give up the old "brass hat" approach and roach and There is spirit and old "brass hat" approach and Sandhurst snobbery. There is need to infuse new spirit and values into the training of officers values into the discrimination prac-tised against Other Ranks in the mess and clubs and in the mat-ter of special allowances and perquisites etc. should end.

The subject of grievances of the Other Ranks was taken up and further explained by A. V. Raghavan in his speech. He demanded that 50 per cent of the annual vacancies for perma-nent regular commissions should be reserved for ORs and age should be relaxed to 35 years for selection from the reserved

for selection from the reserved quota. He also suggested that welfare officers, should be appointed to hear, the complaints of jawans instead of the present practice of asking them to voice their griev-ances, in the presence of the Commanding Officer in the regi-mental 'durbar'.

mental durbar. Raghavan pleaded for increased pensions to the jawans. At pre-sent none of the allowances and perquisites are taken into conperquisites are taken into con-sideration in fixing pension and the amount of pension is only Rs. 15-18. This is a very un-satisfactory state of affairs. Some of the allowances which a soldier during his service has come to consider as part of his pay should be included in his pension. The basic near for nurmosa The basic pay for purposes

of fixing pension should be the emoluments drawn by a sol-dier while he is on leave. He dier unlife he is on leave. He also sought representation for ex-favans in the Soldiers Sailors' and Airmen's Board. He asked the government to view with greater sympathy the question of providing family quarters and also suggested revision of the system of promo-tions. tions.

Raghavan made a specific com-plaint that due to the practice of "police verification" in Kerala a plaint of "police verification" in Kerala a large number of young men have been deprived of a military career. Most of the reports which were sent against them were baseless and inspired by interest-ed persons for reasons of per-sonal animosity, plain jealousy or imagined political grievances. He therefore suggested that when adverse reports were received the state Soldiers' Sailors and Air-men's Baard should he asked to men's Board should be asked to look into them.

LACK OF COORDINATED **TRANSPORT POLICY** Permits as Means of Corruption

The Ministry of Transport was under heavy fire from the Opposition when it came to the Lok Sabha on Monday seeking grants. Homi Daji who spoke from the Communist benches was unsparing in his criticism of the Ministry and said that it had no transport policy . at all, particularly in relation to road transport ...

D AJI said that in the field of road transport, it seemed that deliberately or out of incompetence, we stumbled from year to year without any coordinated po-licy. There was no coordina-tion between the actions of the Centre and the states.

The states did not follow up the scheme of nationalisation envisaged in the Five Year Plan and of setting up road transport corporations. Daji accused that many of the state governments treat road transport as a means of nclitical corruption, by issuing

licences and permits to their. own kith and kin. Therefore they are not anxious to follow any

Another important point he made was sabout the World Bank mission which originally came here to examine our coal transport problems and ended by in. terfering in the entire tran-sport affairs of this country. The result was that the Transport Coordination Committee was brought into chairman ridicule and its Neogy resigned. Daji asked why the World

Bank Mission was allowed to expand its terms of referen-ce and why the Transport Coordination Committee was not consulted at any stage: He was severely critical of the way the government allowed

a free hand to the Mission. Homi Daji urged rationalisation of the motor vehicle taxation scheme and also rationalisation of rules relating to load allowed to be car-ried so as to coordinate policies of states. In a reference to tourism which is also handled by the same Ministry, he criticised the bringing in of foreign capital even to build hotels here.

Regarding civil aviation, Daji wanted that all enquiwhen accidents occurries red should be entrusted to a.

* ON PAGE 17



EAD or alive, Congress ministers are haunted by the ghost of corruption. Datar is dead. Let him rest in peace.

But, of late, there has been but, or late, there has been a spate of reports in the Kannada, Marathi and English press about the cash he has left behind. Over ONE CRORE, if we are to believe these neces

these papers. Datar was a Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs under the late Govind Ballabh Pant and later under Lal Bahadur Shastri.

al Bahadur Shastri. So, for the last three weeks since the reports started appearing about the one-crore in currency notes, INSIDER has been expect-ing a contradiction from the Government of India. None has come so far. So you and I are left to guess. I are left to guess.

According to the uncontra-dicted reports, the dead man's legacy came to light with his daughter going into litigation, having been allegedly denied her due share.

This is certainly not creat-This is certainly not creat-ing a climate for fighting cor-ruption — this sp h y n x-like silence on the part of the government.

silence on a solution of the s

Congressmen. Some of the lawyers I find Some of the lawyers I find have been growing grey in the service of some of the multi-millionaires who have been practising tax ecosion to artistic perfection. One among them appeared for the Birlas before the Income Tax Investigation

The report of this Com-ission, presented to the overnment by jurist Viswagovernment by government by jurist Viswa-natha Sastri, has never, seen the light of day. Till it has the last breath in it, this government will not unlock the secret of the Commission's

___ whisperies allery __

Commission in 1949

findings about the tax-evading capacity of some of its highly-

capacity of some of its highly-placed patrons. Company lawyers in the pay of monopolies and their companions in the profes-sion of chartered accoun-tancy are midubies to the worst manipulations that take place in the privacy of the private sector.

The major form of corrup-tion today, arises out of the liaison between the politician and the freebooting industrialist And to appoint the dis-hard company lawyers to pronounce judgment over such shady operation, as the Con-gress leadership has done, is a cruel joke. -INSIDER