

D.S.

## Editorial

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, the entire country hailed the departure of British rulers with unbounded hope and enthusiasm. Today, however, they look back to these fifteen years not with satisfaction but with a sense of frustration.

Tall claims made by the leaders of the ruling party supported though they are with bagfuls of statistics do not enthuse the mass of our working people. For, it is not the number of new factories established or other development projects carried out, but the conditions of the working people that they use as acid test of the country's advance. The country's prosperity has to be seen not in quantity of total goods produced but the extent to which the working people's living conditions are raised. Judged by these tests developmental plans carried out during the last fifteen years have failed in their declared objectives.

Our working class, our peasantry, our working middle classes are all undoubtedly proud of big factories and industrial establishments that have come up in the country. They note with satisfaction the big strides that have been made in the modernisation of our economic and cultural life. Their pride and satisfaction would, however, be tempered with knowledge that the fruits of development are not allowed to be enjoyed by majority of people whose sufferings and sacrifices have made it possible.

They have found from their own experience that despite claims made by the ruling party that

# NEW AGE

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mittee is reported to have come to the conclusion that concentration of wealth is growing.

While the richer are thus becoming richer and the poor poorer, resources required for the Plans are raised by squeezing the poor rather than collecting from the rich. It has led to universal discontent inside all sections of working people with is breaking out

income generated by developmental plans.

Together with further enriching the rich and impoverishing the poor, the policies of our Government are creating a serious situation for the country as a whole in the matter of foreign trade and economic relations.

As Five Year Plan follows Five Year Plan our dependence on what is called foreign assistance is also

during the last fifteen years. For, they are fighting among themselves not on any policy, not on how best to serve the common people and improve their living standards; their quarrels are on who shall get the biggest and the best share of the loot they are all jointly making of the people's property.

It is this moral-political degeneration combined with mass discontent arising out

# AUGUST 15

the country is becoming richer and more prosperous, the reality is that only a handful of the rich are becoming still richer while the mass of the poor are becoming poorer. Their own personal experiences have now been confirmed by the Mahalanobis Committee which had some time ago been appointed by the Government of India to go into the question of how increas-

ed national wealth was being distributed.

The Committee is reported to have come to the conclusion that big chunk of working people, including landless labourers and majority of urban people had less real income at the end of the First Plan than at its beginning; also that only small section of higher income groups had its earnings increased. The Com-

into agitations and struggles in various States.

On the present anniversary of Independence, therefore, our common people will pledge themselves to fight in a united manner against the policies of the Government which puts heavier tax and other burdens on those very sections of people who get far smaller proportions of additional

growing. Both in terms of absolute amount involved as well as of percentage of total outlay for the Plan period, foreign assistance component has increased at dangerous rates from the First to the Second Plan and from the Second to the Third. Indications are that unless some basic changes are brought about in the whole Governmental policy with regard to foreign trade and economic relations, our dependence on foreign countries will become still bigger in the Fourth and subsequent Plans.

On the present anniversary of Independence, therefore our patriotic people will pledge themselves to strive for such a revision of foreign trade and economic policies of the Government as would reduce the need for foreign assistance and thus make our country more and more independent of foreign countries.

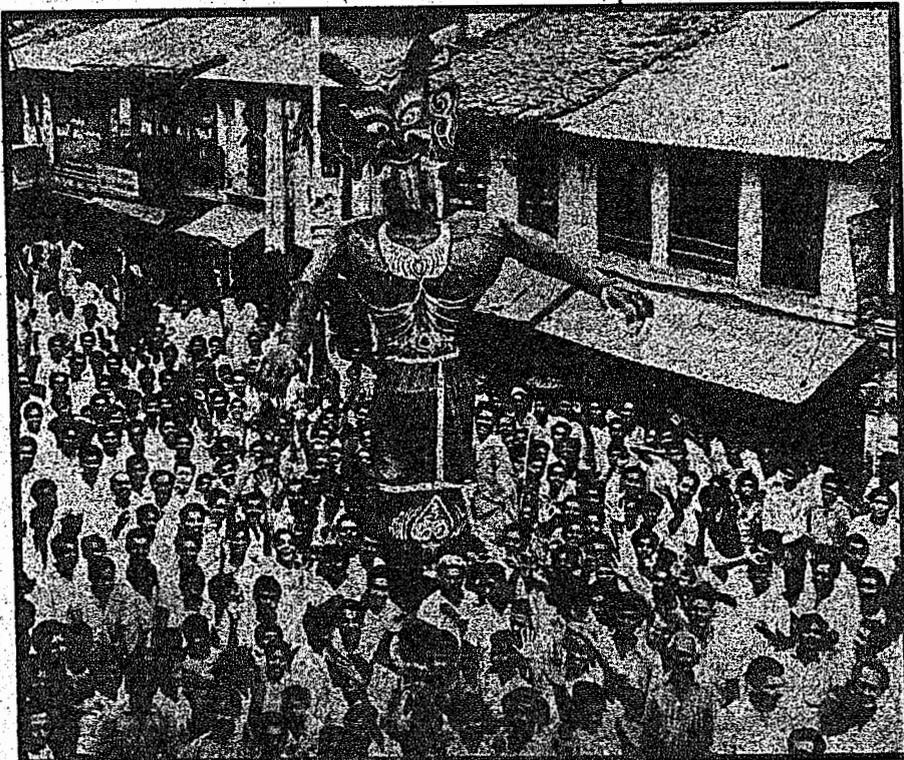
Our people are not only dissatisfied with the economic policies pursued by the Government but also disgusted at the moral-political degeneration of the ruling party. The heights of idealism and political morality to which Congress membership had been raised in days of struggle for freedom have been left far behind; those who had stood above those heights have sunk into the deepest mire of immorality in public life.

Perpetual internecine conflicts that are going on inside the ruling party between various individual and groups are the measure of moral degeneration which has gripped the ruling party

of anti-people economic policies of the Government that provides fertile field for reactionary communal and separatist ideas and policies and organisations to grow in our country. Neither the Swatantra Party nor the political parties and organisations based on communalism or regional separatism would have become such challenges as they have in some localities if the ruling party had sincerely and conscientiously worked to practise after independence what it had preached before.

On this anniversary of our Independence, therefore, democratic-minded people outside will join their brethren inside the ruling party in their struggle against moral-political degeneration that has gripped their leaders during the last fifteen years. Democratic-minded and patriotic people both inside and outside the ruling party are equally concerned at the selfishness, nepotism and corruption at the top of the ruling party. Only combined efforts of all of them can arrest these dangerous trends which are making the common people disgusted at doings of the leaders and cynical regarding the future of the country by a determined and systematic struggle against those who use power secured by entire people fifteen years ago in narrow interests of small groups of people. This is the basis on which those inside and outside the ruling party can work together towards the new India which was dreamt of by our people fifteen years ago.

A view of the mass demonstration at Ahmedabad on July 30. The effigy symbolises the misery of the people. It was burnt following the demonstration. (See report on Centre pages)



## Not So Bright A Picture Behind Morarji's Inflated Success

When we had referred in this column last week to the relative "success" of the Finance Minister's aid-raising mission abroad, we had only a radio report to rely upon. Later, when the full facts were known, we could see that the "success" was not even as much as we had imagined.

TRUE, the gap in aid requirements during the first two years of the Third Plan has been made good to some extent, but the fact, that almost the entire new credit is tied to specific projects, and to purchases in the aid-giving country, considerably reduces its real worth.

It will be of no use in filling the widening deficit in balance of payments, which has already forced the Government to seek stand by credit from the International Monetary Fund. The stringency in imports will continue, as also the curbs on foreign travel.

All in all, the economy, as a whole, will get no immediate relief, and as far as long-term prospects are concerned, well, the experience in the past does not hold out hopes of any speedy utilisation of even the project assistance.

The Finance Minister has publicly expressed his gratitude to the USA, the World Bank, and other Consortium members, for helping India at this stage, and rightly too, for it was probably his "persuasion" which brought about these "magic" results.

The Indian Express (August 1) even said as much. In a leader, hailing the Consortium's gesture, it ascribed this "encouraging development" mainly to the recent trip of the Finance Minister "who seems to have successfully clarified some misunderstandings on the direction in which democratic India was progressing through planned efforts".

### Corrective To A False Image

Morarji can thus very well take pride in acting as a "corrective" to a false image, which Adenauer's Germany, and the Wall Street, had built in their minds about India's taking a path different to their own, but is that really an honourable way to seek assistance for a plan which is said to be a step forward to a socialist pattern?

Adenauer's Germany, and the United States, as well as other consortium countries, are classic lands of monopoly capitalism. There the Krupps and the Rockefellers and their ilk play the overlord over the people and the state.

If the leaders and bankers of such countries have now been persuaded by Morarji into shedding off their "misunderstanding", it can only mean that they have now been assured of a sizeable return on their aid.

In spite of Morarji's salesmanship, however, the Consortium did not play

only in the direction of enforcement of the Community's common external tariff".

India's problem, however, is not only to increase exports of the traditional items. These alone cannot by any means provide all the foreign earnings which will be increasingly needed to foot the bill of developmental imports.

### Imperative Need

It is, therefore, imperative that her exports of certain types of processed and manufactured goods are also increased. But for these the EEC countries have developed a particular insularity, not so much out of any concern for their own industries, as is often made out, but with a definite objective of striking at the opportunities for development of the less developed countries.

By denying these countries legitimate share in their trade, the EEC leaders hope to browbeat them into accepting their own terms. And these terms require walking into their economic parlour as "associates" right now, to be eventually integrated into their imperialist-led political complex.

India has rightly refused to be ensnared into this mesh till now, but she cannot rest on her oars. The latest developments at Brussels are a pointer to further toughening of the EEC's attitude. In future, and we too will do well to be ready to face it.

What does this readiness involve? First and foremost, it involves giving up of all illusions about Britain's ability or even willingness to get for us suitable safeguards from the EEC.

Britain could not do so for Australia and New Zealand even after a marathon session lasting nearly 22 hours. How can it secure anything worthwhile for us, when in our policies—political and social—we are farther to it than the other two dominions.

Further, we need to give serious thought to our trade policies with a view to giving them a radical reorientation. No longer can old shibboleths and complexes, developed through years of trading with the advanced capitalist countries, be allowed to hamper our efforts to strike new paths and seek new pastures.

And for this not a Board of Trade of the type recently set up, but a national foreign trade council, drawing its membership from all interests that matter, including political and trade unionists, is needed. Sooner it is set up, the easier it will be for our country to work out a suitable trade strategy to meet the offensive of the EEC and its political satraps.

(August 7)

## GUJARAT STATE CPI COUNCIL MEETING

THE Gujarat State Council of the Communist Party of India met at Ahmedabad from July 18 to 21 after a somewhat long interval. It discussed and passed several resolutions on burning problems that face Gujarat.

Regarding the general elections, it expressed concern that the Swatantra Party had emerged as the main opposition in the State Assembly, though this did not reflect any real strength of that party. As a result of the Mahagujarat movement, as well as the ruinous anti-people economic policies of the Congress Government, strong anti-Congress sentiments had developed all over Gujarat. The Left forces, including the Communist Party had been very weak and the PSP had played a disruptive role.

The Provincial Council asked the Gujarat Government to drop its idea of constructing a new capital for the State.

Instead of squandering people's money, the city of Ahmedabad itself should be made the permanent capital by spending only a few crores. This city is centrally situated and has remained the capital of Gujarat during the last five centuries.

In fact, the Congress Government and the Congress organisation had distorted and discredited the cooperative movement, had fostered and utilised casteism and feudal forces and had already prepared the ground for the Swatantra Party. The Congress did not make the Swatantra Party its main target in the elections but concentrated its fire and funds against the Communists and other progressives united in the Janata Parishad.

But the discontent of the people and their fury against the rising cost of living which

has resulted from Congress policy of squeezing the poor, had not died away nor diminished. It was reflected in the black flag demonstration against Morarji Desai at Ahmedabad and other places in April, as also in the growing anti-tax campaign, and particularly in the statewide demonstrations organised by the Communist Party on July 1 against increased railway fares. The Council congratulated the people for boldly coming forward in the struggle against these growing burdens.

By another resolution, the Council demanded that the Central Government should give to the Gujarat State 25 to 30 per cent royalty from the income from oil extracted from Gujarat. Gujarat being a new and deficit State, this should continue for ten years, after which the percentage could be reduced gradually.

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Regarding Panchayat elections on a non-party basis, the Council welcomed the idea, provided no backward methods were used to establish Congress domination over the panchayats. To achieve this, all-party committees should be formed at different levels which would select candidates unanimously. Such a list then should be placed before a gathering of the village people for their adoption.

The Council also resolved to request the Chief Minister of the State to form an all-Party national integration council at the State level.

### Sec. 144 On Congress Meeting!

REWARI:

Congress factionalism in Gurgaon district has reached interesting dimensions. Congressmen owing allegiance to the Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon are openly propagating and mud-slinging against Rao Birendra Singh, ex-Revenue Minister of Punjab and his men, trying to dislodge him from wherever he seems to be powerful.

PRATAP SINGH KAIRON unsuccessfully tried to oust him from the Ahir Education Board last month when he visited Rewari on June 6, 1962.

After a fortnight of this incident he held a Rural Conference at Dharupura village and bitterly criticised Rao Birendra Singh and said that "his differences with Rao Sahab are specifically of a personal nature and he will deal with them himself."

In that conference one MLA spoke against another Congress MLA and charged him of corruption and nepotism. Babudayal Sharma MLA was not allowed to speak and he was pushed back when he tried to take his seat by the side of the Chief Minister.

It is a matter of surprise that Rajkumari Sumitra Devi MLA, in whose constituency the conference was being held, was not invited at all, because she is the sister of Rao Birendra Singh!

To give a proper reply to the charges levelled by the Chief Minister of Punjab, a Rural Conference was scheduled to be held at village Masari (Rewari) under the joint leadership of Rao Birendra Singh and Sumitra Devi MLA, on July 30.

But the members of the Kairon group rushed to Chandigarh on the morning of July 30 and soon after that Balbir Singh, Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon imposed Section 144 at Masari.

Rao Birendra Singh changed the venue of the meeting to a nearby village 'Nikhri' and addressed a gathering of about twelve thousand people. He and his sister Sumitra Devi, MLA, condemned this undemocratic action of the Punjab Government and the DC Gurgaon for having imposed Section 144 on a Congress 'Jals'.

The action of the D.C. is also being challenged in the High Court, it is learnt.

## Czech Economic Cooperation For India's Development

By B. Laska First Secretary, Czechoslovak Embassy in India

The rapid post-war development of Czechoslovak industry, which has increased its production four-fold over the already high level of 1937, and the even more spectacular expansion of machine-building, have enabled Czechoslovakia to expand her economic relations, particularly with the developing countries, on a scale vastly greater than that of pre-war times, and even more than any other old and highly developed capitalist country of her size and population—40,000 square miles and 13½ million inhabitants.

CZECHOSLOVAK manufacturers of heavy machinery, backed by good experience, and over a 100 years of tradition and reputation to their credit, are in a position to supply machinery and equipment, as well as render technical assistance for the establishment of all types of industrial plants abroad, through Messrs. Technoexport, the Foreign Trade Corporation for the export of complete industrial plants, Praha, Czechoslovakia.

The Corporation alone has supplied equipment for building more than 600 complete industrial plants: (Steam and Water Power Stations, Transformer Stations, Ceramic Factories, Cement Factories, Sugar Factories, Oil Refineries, Steel and Rolling Mill Plants, Rubber Industry Plants, Heavy Machine Building Plants, and other complete engineering plants of various types) to most of the countries of Europe, Asia, South America and Africa. India with approximately 30 industrial plants occupies a place of honour among these countries.

In accordance with the Economic Agreement concluded between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and India, Czechoslovak manufacturers are collaborating in the establishment of Foundry Forge Plant, Heavy Machine Tools Plant, Heavy Power Equipment Plant and High Pressure Boiler Plant during India's Third Five-Year Plan.

### Long Term Credits

Besides the long-term credit of about Rs. 16 to 17 crores extended by Messrs. Technoexport of Prague before the signing of the Economic Agreement between the two Governments, the Czechoslovak Government has agreed to another long-term credit of Rs. 23.1 crores at the nominal rate of 2½% interest. This credit will cover the value of the machinery and equipment which will be delivered from Czechoslovakia only.

In order to enable Indian economy to become independent and to bring up the living standard of the people to a higher level, it is generally known that an economic policy is being carried out by the Indian Government so as to establish, besides other kinds of industry, the base of all industries—the Steel Industry.

Some Indian economists and press correspondents are sometimes interested in the question why Czechoslovak manufacturers collaborate with the Indian Government in the establishment of that very kind of Machine Industry such as the Foundry Forge Plant, Heavy Machine Tools Plant, Heavy Power Equipment Plant and High Pressure Boiler Plant.

We may be permitted to point out that the establishment of such kinds of Machine Industry does not depend only on the recommendations of Czechoslovak advisers or on the possibilities of Cze-

A notable advantage of the technical cooperation between Czechoslovak suppliers and Indian investors lies in the fact that Czechoslovak technicians will pass on, in the true sense of genuine collaboration, to their Indian counterparts, all their experiences, so as to get the production of the new factories on proper level.

The Czechoslovak Government has further offered as a gift to India the sum of Rs. 60 lakhs for the establishment of the Central Machine Tools Institute at Bangalore, for which all the machinery and equipment and technical know-how will be rendered by Messrs. OSAN, Praha.

This amount will cover not only the value of the machinery and equipment and the expenditure for the deputation of about 15 to 19 experts for a period of 1 to 2 years, both from Czechoslovakia, but also the expenditure for the training of the Indian designers in Czechoslovakia. The functions of the Institute will be as follows:

- 1 Designing, development, standardisation of machine tools.
- 2 Manufacture and testing of the prototypes.
- 3 Education and training of machine-tools designers and designing personnel.
- 4 Research in machine tools and metal cutting.
- 5 Collection of information and documentation for machine tools.

The establishment of the above mentioned plants will necessitate the construction of adequate townships for almost all the employees of these factories. It means that

quite a few new towns might be established near the new plants. In addition to the above mentioned important and basic industries, Czechoslovakia has also supplied complete plants and equipment for power stations, cement factories, insulator factories, sugar mills, flour mills, a refractory factory, a watch factory and many others in both State and Private Sectors.

It should be noted that trade turn-over between Czechoslovakia and India increased almost seven times since 1954 and may reach a mark of Rs. 36 crores in 1962. The nature of this trade can be understood by the fact that more than 80 per cent of the Czechoslovak exports to India are capital goods, machines, investment units and complete plants.

With the growth of the pace of industrialization in India, and the planned growth of Czechoslovak economy, the economic cooperation between the two countries is bound to grow more and more with every passing year.

## LIFE THROBS IN NEYVELI THERMAL POWER PLANT

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The President of India on August 5 performed the commissioning of Unit No. 1 of the Neyveli Thermal Power Station, one of the main component schemes of the integrated lignite project, costing in all about Rs. 113 crores, at a junction at Neyveli.

The Thermal Station will have an installed capacity of 1,50,000 K.W. and will have five units of 30,000 K.W. each. They are scheduled to be commissioned at the rate of one every six months.

The cost of the power generation scheme alone is expected to be about Rs. 29 crores and the foreign currency part of this is being financed from out of the 500 million rouble credit offered by the Government of USSR to the Government of India in 1957.

The Station will generate 250 M.W. of electric power annually by utilising about one-and-a-half million tons of Lignite. The detailed project report for the setting up of the Power Station was prepared by Messrs. Technoexport, Moscow, in collaboration with the officers of the Planning Cell of the Central Water and Power Commission.

After approval of the project report by the Government of India, contracts were concluded in 1959 with the firms in USSR, according to which the entire machinery and equipment, except a few

items, is being supplied by Messrs. Technoexport, and the erection equipment mostly by Messrs. Machinoexport, Moscow.

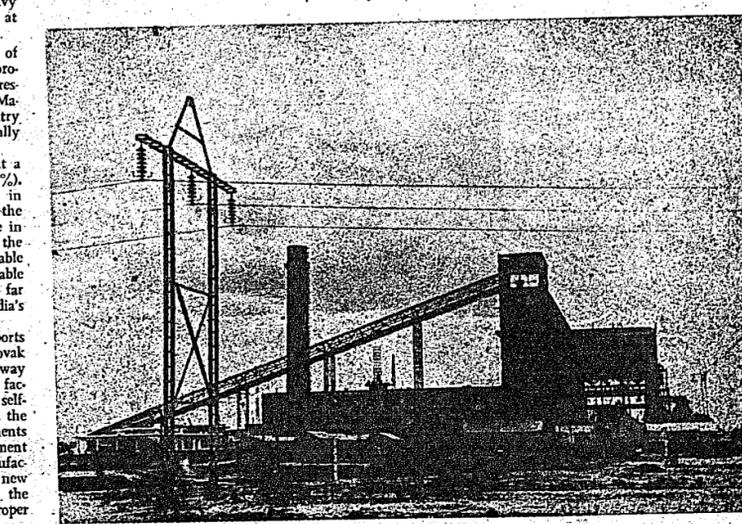
In designing the station, Soviet power engineers proceeded from the necessity of very economical operation to produce the cheapest possible electricity. That is why lignite was selected as fuel (its reserves at Neyveli are estimated at 200 crores of tons).

Lignite will not be used for power generation only, the thermal station being only part of the Integrated Lignite Project at Neyveli. A urea plant, a briquetting and carbonising plant and a clay washing plant, besides the already implemented mining scheme, go to make the Integrated Lignite Project.

The machinery and equipment commenced to arrive at the Madras harbour from April 1960 onwards. Many of the packages were oversized and could not be transported by rail.

The transport of the huge-sized packages by road also presented serious problems and constituted

A view of the Neyveli Thermal Power Station



# GOAN PEOPLE DEMAND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

NEW DELHI, August 8

The nomination of the two members to Parliament to represent Goa-Daman-Diu, by the Government of India, greatly shocked all sections of the people particularly the freedom fighters and the conscious nationalist forces, says a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister by a four-man delegation from Goa now visiting the capital.

THE Action Committee for Democratic Rights, Goa, on whose behalf the delegation has come to Delhi, represents all sections of the people of Goa and is supported by different Goan political groups and parties, as well as by some members of the Ad Hoc Goa Pradesh Committee of the Indian National Congress.

The people of Goa, under the Portuguese fascist rule, were denied all political rights and popular democratic representation, the memorandum goes on to say. Liberation from the Portuguese rule, therefore, had a wider significance to the Goan people.

With the end of the foreign rule and the merger of Goa in the Indian Union, the people expected they would be given all the political and democratic rights that are enjoyed by the people of India and are guaranteed to them by the Indian Constitution.

But the Act of Parliament integrating the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu in the Indian Union, while allowing two seats to the Goan people in the Lok Sabha, deprived them of the democratic right to elect their representatives on the basis of adult franchise. Instead, these two representatives were nominated by the President, obviously in

accordance with the wishes of the administrative machinery and certain other interests. There was not even any consultation with the democratic organisations and parties that fought in the liberation struggle.

Naturally, the people of Goa felt great resentment. Their protest and indignation against these nominations was clearly demonstrated in the various mass demonstrations and public meetings held in Goa and the fast unto death undertaken by the veteran freedom fighter Reque Santana Fernandes.

Moreover, the choice of the two nominees and particularly that of Dr. Antonio Colaco has outraged the feelings of the people. Dr. Colaco in the pre-liberation days was one of the prominent leaders of a group, which stood categorically for 'autonomy under Portuguese sovereignty', as against the nationalist forces which fought for ending Portuguese rule and for the integration of Goa into the Indian Union. Even after liberation, this group took an anti-nationalist stand, siding with Portugal and her allies who dubbed the Government of India's action as 'aggression' and opposed integration with India.

It is unfortunate that Dr. P. Galtonde, the other member, who was himself a participant in the freedom struggle, should have accepted the nomination which ipso facto negates the democratic right of representation by election, to the people of Goa.

The Goan people could understand the delay in preparation of the electoral rolls for holding elections, but under no conditions could they accept the idea that elected representatives must be substituted even temporarily by nominated members. They fail to understand that the members of the Lok Sabha who themselves are elected by the people and who are custodians of democracy, should have passed the bill for Goa's representation by nomination, in spite of the timely warning given on this issue by the All Goa Political Conference in March last and avowal of the principle of election by the spokesmen of the other groups and parties in Goa.

The Action Committee for Democratic Rights, therefore, appeals to all the Members of Parliament to give serious attention to the nominations of the two Goan members to Parliament who have no mandate of the Goan people and cannot claim to represent them, and use their power to put an end to this undemocratic and unjust act as a token of their sense of solidarity and regard for the newly liberated people of Goa.

The Committee further demands of the Government of India to immediately annul the nominations of these two members who in no way re-

present the Goan people and keep the seats vacant till the real elected representatives can fill them.

The Committee for Democratic Rights urges the introduction of the necessary Bill amending the Constitution in the present session of Parliament, in order to provide for direct election to Parliament. The Bill should also provide for an elected democratic organ for the administration of Goa.

The Goan people will have a just cause for serious misgivings about their democratic rights and future aspirations, if Parliament and Government do not take immediate steps in this direction and that such an eventuality will divert their attention from the tasks of constructive work to build a prosperous and democratic Goa in unity with the people of the whole country.

## ACTION COMMITTEE LEADERS' STATEMENT TO PRESS

At a press conference held in New Delhi on August 8 the delegation from Goa consisting of Dr. E. L. Dias, Narayan Palekar, Mark Fernandes and Arsenio Jacques on behalf of Action Committee for Democratic Rights (Goa) made the following statement:

The delegation had come to Delhi to meet Members of Parliament to get their support for the demand of Goan people that their representation to Parliament should be through elected representatives and not by nominated members.

The delegation met Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and put before him the feelings of the Goan people about the nomination.

Mr. Nehru was at pains to explain the unavoidable ne-

cessity of nominating representatives so that Goa may not go unrepresented in the present session of Parliament. He said that nomination was not itself wrong but the question was of choice of individuals. When pointed reference was made to Dr. A. Colaco, the Prime Minister stated that freedom fighters were deliberately left aside so that people may not feel that selection was bestowed on "our own friends".

Coming to the question raised by the delegation about amendment to the Constitution providing elected representatives, the Prime Minister said that it is in the process of formation. Electoral rolls, etc., are being prepared and the necessary bill may be possibly introduced in the next session of Parliament.

Mr. Nehru appreciated the concern of the people of Goa for democratic rights or rather the actual fruition of democratic rights and pointed out the preparations being made for Panchayats and other levels of elections, which proved that the elections to the Lok Sabha were only a matter of time.

# Biggest Problem Facing Nation

The 15 years since our nation became free have recorded several achievements of which every patriotic Indian can be rightly proud.

HAVING freed ourselves from the fetters of foreign domination which had bound us down, we proceeded to consolidate and strengthen our political freedom and to use it in such a way as to strengthen the world-wide struggle for freedom, democracy and peace.

Together with other newly-independent and neutral States, we have become the champions of what has come to be known as the policy of non-alignment. War and peace, colonial domination and freedom, economic and cultural development of underdeveloped countries — on all these issues, we have played and are playing a genuinely constructive role which is appreciated by the freedom and peace-loving countries all over the world.

## Freedom Strengthened

This role in international relations has, in its turn, enabled us to further strengthen our freedom and national sovereignty.

In the political sphere, it has enabled us to solve the problem of the remaining foreign (French and Portuguese) possessions on our territory.

The French colonialists had to give de facto recognition to their former possessions on Indian soil several years ago; they are now in the process of giving them de jure recognition as well.

As for the Portuguese, they did their utmost to hang on to their possessions and hoped that their allies in the NATO would help them in doing so. Their game, however, was utterly defeated by the courageous struggle waged by the people of the former Portuguese possessions, followed by the intervention of the armed forces of our nation.

In this liquidating foreign domination on our soil we received the same international support as was available to Viet Nam, Algeria and other colonial possessions of French and other imperialist powers.

The same forces helped us in the economic sphere to take our first steps towards transforming a hitherto backward, predominantly agrarian, economy into an industrial economy. The growth of steel, engineering, chemical, oil and other industries — many of them in the public sector — would not have been possible had it not been for the fact that our foreign policy was one of no entanglement with imperialist powers.

These beginnings of the process of industrialisation, combined with the development of hydroelectric power, introduction of modern technique in cultivation, expansion of education and other social services etc., have put our country on the path of modern development.

While these and other indications of the progress registered during the last 15 years are undoubtedly matters of satisfaction and pride for us, it is impossible for any patriotic Indian to help noting with regret certain negative features of our 15-year development.

They are so serious that they even negate the positive achievements. For, as against the undoubtedly great achievements in the political and economic spheres should be set certain alarming developments.

Speaking at the National Integration Conference held in

united national struggle against imperialist domination. The ideal of communal unity, particularly Hindu-Muslim and Sikh-non-Sikh unity, became one of the rallying slogans of the anti-imperialist movement. Every advance in the anti-imperialist unity of the people was accompanied by a corresponding strengthening of communal unity.

For precisely the same reason, imperialism did its utmost to create discord between the majority and minority communities. Particularly in the latter days of the history of the anti-imperialist movement, imperialism took up the pose of being the champion of the minority communities, and fostered all forms of communal conflicts which ultimately led to the partition of India.

The anti-imperialist movement, therefore, had to fight all the more firmly against communal disruption.

It was out of these struggles against the evil heritages of caste inequality and communal discord that the anti-imperialist movement evolved the slogan of a casteless and secular State. This ideal evolved by the anti-imperialist

movement came to be incorporated in the fundamental rights and directive principles of State policy enshrined in our Constitution.

## Growth Of Fissiparous Trends

by E. M. S. Namboodiripad

ability. It cramped the human mind and soul both of the oppressed "lower" castes as well as of the privileged "upper" castes.

The anti-imperialist movement realised that our people cannot constitute themselves into a nation and successfully fight the foreign rulers so long as this social disease eats into the very vitals of our society.

## Inseparable Part Of Struggle

Combating the evils of caste inequality in order to build a casteless society of free and equal people thus became an inseparable part of the struggle for freedom from foreign exploitation.

Agitation and struggle against untouchability, temple-entry Satyagraha, campaign for intercaste dining and intercaste marriage, constructive work for ameliorating the social and cultural conditions of the socially oppressed castes — all this became part and parcel of the struggle for freedom.

Another evil which our people inherited, in historical times is religious conflict. Despite the innumerable examples of harmony between various religious communities which can be cited from history, the fact remains that history records the story of grim conflicts between different religious communities — particularly between Hindus and Muslims and between Sikhs and the Muslims.

People have for centuries been taught to look upon the followers of other religions as Mlechhas, Kafirs etc. Stories of how one's own religion and places of worship have become the targets of attack from other religious communities and how many of one's brave ancestors sacrificed themselves for protecting their religion have fired the imagination of youth belonging to all religious communities.

This again, the anti-imperialist movement realised, was a serious obstacle to the development of a

unity in diversity which is even more important than creating the political force effective in the struggle against foreign rulers; they helped our people to start transforming themselves into a modern nation free from all those heritages of the old social order which block our path

## Traditions Abandoned

They, however, played a role which is even more important than creating the political force effective in the struggle against foreign rulers; they helped our people to start transforming themselves into a modern nation free from all those heritages of the old social order which block our path

provide a useful weapon in the hands of the foreign rulers when we were fighting against them. The spirit which led to those conflicts is even now thwarting our attempts to build a completely secular state in which religion is purely the private affair of the citizens in which the state will not interfere, nor will it be allowed to interfere in the political, administrative, educational and economic spheres.

## Responsibility Of Ruling Party

The concept of linguistic states and the goal of replacing English by regional languages as the official language and the medium of instruction are as important for the all-round development of the nation today as they were useful and necessary to mobilise the various sections of the people of this vast and multi-lingual country against foreign rule.

Particularly necessary is it now to remind the leaders of the ruling party about the need to keep these basic concepts of the anti-imperialist movement of the coun-

try, since they are the foremost in giving them up after the attainment of independence. They are giving a totally unrealistic interpretation of the concept of national integration by denying the need for

## Unity In Diversity

A third feature of Indian society in pre-independence days was that it had not yet created a united nation out of the various linguistic and cultural groups that inhabited the various parts of India.

It is true that historical development extending over several centuries has created a sort of cultural unity all over India. It is also true that the common struggle against British imperialism forged strong bonds of unity among the various linguistic and cultural groups.

The fact, however, remains that below this broad unity of the Indian people was great diversity in the language, literature, arts and other aspects of people's culture. Every linguistic and cultural group does, of course, share with the rest of the Indian people a common outlook which binds them all together. But along with this common outlook which makes them all Indian, each of them has its own individuality as a section of the Indian people.

The anti-imperialist movement recognised this unity in diversity as the basis on which the struggle against foreign domination should be waged. It opposed the concept of absolute uniformity and oneness of the Indian people. At the same time, it also opposed all separatist tendencies which would keep one linguistic and cultural group away from the rest.

This gave birth to the idea that new India should have a federal constitution with the powers of the Centre and the States well-defined — a federation whose federating units will be based on linguistic and cultural homogeneity.

This federal conception would put equal emphasis on the auto-

movement came to be incorporated in the fundamental rights and directive principles of State policy enshrined in our Constitution.

strengthening the struggle against the various evils arising out of the caste system;

enabling the millions of people belonging to socially oppressed castes to overcome the results of their centuries-long oppression, and to acquire the status of complete equality with the upper-castes in social, cultural, economic and political spheres;

implementing the idea contained in the slogan of secular state by bringing about the complete separation of religion and politics;

giving full protection to the enjoyment of the freedom of conscience by all religious communities, as well as by those who choose to be irreligious;

solving all the practical difficulties which have been thrown up in the process of formation of linguistic states with a view to making every state unilingual and settling the borders of linguistic states on the twin principles of village as the unit and contiguity;

working for the simultaneous transition of the official and educational language from English to Hindi at the Centre and to regional languages in the States; helping the non-Hindi languages to equip themselves in every respect to make this transition simultaneous;

removing all disparities in the matter of economic and cultural development which exist between one region and another;

and otherwise helping the people inhabiting all States, regions and localities to march together at the same pace all over the country.

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NEW AGE

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Authorities of the AIR seem to have brought a hornet's nest about their ears by their "simple Hindi" scheme.

IT is not surprising that reactionary elements like the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha are trying to whip up a frenzy over it. The Jan Sangh General Secretary has issued a statement saying that his party will mobilise public opinion against "vulgarisation of the Hindi language". If the Government was not restrained from its "suicidal moves" these would spell "a grave danger to the nation and its culture," he has declared.

Dr. Raghuvira has also taken up cudgels on behalf of his freak "Raghuviri" against any simplification of Hindi.

But these reactionary and communal elements are not the only ones to oppose the AIR scheme. There are many others, too, sincere and sober people, who are perturbed by the AIR's scheme. In this category there are innumerable Hindi writers, including men like Ramdhari Singh Dinkar, who tries to take a genuinely dispassionate view of the whole language problem and who made a speech on the subject in the Rajya Sabha that voiced the misgivings of many.

What really is the AIR scheme? Unfortunately, not much elaboration of it is available. But a few salient points in this regard are more or less specifically stated or understood.

Firstly, there is to be a studied avoidance of heavy Sanskrit terms. For instance, "nakshatra-graha" the Sanskritised equivalent of "planetarium" is to be rejected in favour of the English term.

Secondly, attempt is to be made to keep the language hatched to the level of the lowest understanding.

Thirdly, as the Information Minister said, an attempt is to be made through this scheme to bring Hindi and Urdu closer to each other.

And lastly, as it is working out in practice, some common terms are to be chosen for the radio broadcasts to the exclusion of other equivalents. For instance, the pundits of the AIR will determine whether "Swatantrata" is simpler than "Azadi" and plump for the one to the exclusion of the other.

### Fallacy And Dangerous Implication

Each of these points contains a fallacy and is also fraught with dangerous implications. It is indeed an absurd demand from a language that it should keep the lowest level. No language can agree to meet such a demand, much less Hindi which is developing as a national medium of intercourse and against which the complaint has been that it was not developed enough or was developing too slowly. To charge it on the one hand with being not developed enough and on the other to ask it to keep to the commonest level is a patently absurd stand.

Secondly, avoidance of heavy terms is not at all a practical proposition for any language. A language grows by increasing its vocabulary and by developing fine shades of expression. In this regard, no language can flourish by borrowing wholesale technical terminology from another language even if the latter be so

advanced and popular as the English language, because the problem never ends with borrowing the root word.

While borrowing, it also has to be kept in mind that the word taken will lend itself to derivation according to the genius and grammar of the borrowing language. Thus "atom" can be borrowed, but not "molecule" because the former lends itself to adaptation, but not the latter. And in such a situation, if Hindi has plumped for the Sanskrit equivalent for both these, it cannot be called an unwise or cussed step.

This "simple language" slogan gets counterposed to the call for constant development and to that extent becomes a harmful demand. Equally disquieting is the

already stated largely deserves appreciation and respect, is that they do not adequately note or underline this other side also.

There can be no improvement of AIR Hindi, or simplification of it, if Persian is boycotted. But there is a sturdy school which takes its stand precisely on the exclusion of Persian.

When the Jan Sangh General Secretary warns against "vulgarisation" of Hindi and his posters try to rouse the public against attempts to spoil the "Roop" (form) of Hindi, they are only carrying forward their communalist vendetta against Urdu. The position that they take is exactly the same as stated in the following words:

"Persian should have nothing to do with the shaping

Hindi: They fail to draw the line between borrowing Sanskrit on the one side and outright Sanskritisation on the other.

No one can deny that Sanskrit is being drawn upon by all the regional languages (even Tamil does it to some extent). Nor can it be said that this is an element which could ever be over-estimated. But let it not, as noted above, be reduced to a dogma. If that happens, certain other aspects of the matter begin to be overlooked.

For instance, every regional language has borrowed from Sanskrit, but all have steered clear of Sanskritisation. They have adapted Sanskrit. Take the Sanskrit word "Vigraha". While in Hindi it is understood only in the sense of "confidence" or "contradiction", in Tamil it simply means "icon". The Sanskrit word "avakasha" (leisure or space) means "possibility" in Telugu. The Sanskritiser's chief argument by which they mislead many—namely that Hindi must be Sanskritised to secure its acceptance as Rashtrabhasha—is thus based on completely fallacious logic.

The great Premchand, who opposed the Sanskritisers as enemies of Hindi, had warned that it is precisely such an attempt that would kill the "roop" of Hindi. He said: "There are people who say that because the languages of all the provinces of India have originated from Sanskrit and they have a majority of Sanskrit words, hence more and more Sanskrit words should be brought into use in Hindi so that people from other Provinces are able to understand it. They say that Hindi will gain nothing by uniting with Urdu. I want to tell these friends that by doing so, it is possible that people from other provinces may understand your language, but those speaking Hindi will not understand it because a common man whose mother tongue is Hindi uses more Persian words than pure Sanskrit words."

Let it be noted here that Persian words form a good proportion of the vocabulary of the regional languages too. Thus while rejection of Sanskrit is a step which developing Hindi cannot contemplate, the ties with Sanskrit should not be ridden to death, as many Hindi stalwarts tend to do.

One fatal consequence of this stand, as is well known, has been the rejection of Persian and Urdu. "Persian should have nothing to do with the shaping of Hindi language", it is crazily pleaded. And they have proceeded to eliminate all words having Persian origin or association from the Hindi language.

The process has gone to such absurd lengths that the fanatical sections of the Hindi press threw overboard such a common Hindi idiom as "zor dena" and converted it to "bal dena". Could perversion go further?

The position of "no truck with Persian" is a suicidal stand. It is an attempt to put the clock back on the development of Hindi, a betrayal of the work and achievement of such great pioneers as Premchand, who has given to Hindi a beautiful prose style that remains unsurpassed and still is the model of simplicity and beauty.

It is a fact of history that Hindi and Urdu grew as two forms of Khari Boli—the standard Hindi or Urdu. At base level the two are organically inter-related. Owing to the fact that Urdu developed earlier, it acquired an abundance of idioms. Acharya Ramchandra Shukla has noted the above in the following words:

"Of the four writers of the early period Insha Ullah

**simple hindi surely;  
but not in AIR's way**

— by Garuda —

demand for bringing Hindi and Urdu closer. Hindi and Urdu basically constituted one language. But if one confines himself to an assertion of this historical fact, and does not see the new that has developed in regard to this fact of history, he is liable to go astray.

### Two Separate Trends

The position now is that starting from the fact of unity, they have diverged into two separate trends. The attempts to recreate oneness—the movement for Hindustani—has failed conclusively. Hence the talk of bringing them nearer each other is trying to do violence to history.

Let us not be misled by the fact that the Hindi reactionaries are also vehemently opposed to it. Their angle is altogether different, and we shall examine it later.

What is to be noted is that as all unnatural and anti-historical attempts are, this too is fraught with dangerous consequences. And although the sponsors of the move appear to be motivated by love for Urdu, in actual result it is Urdu which will suffer in the scheme with Hindi remaining unscathed.

Has it not already been said in certain quarters that after the evolution of "simple Hindi" Urdu news broadcasts will be given up!

Dinkar very correctly stated in his Rajya Sabha speech that Urdu should be served as an independent language. Truly it is no service to Urdu to tack it to Hindi.

Do we reach the position that there can be no simple Hindi, or a case for simplification does not exist?

Dinkar said that if the AIR thought that it could achieve simple Hindi by completely boycotting Sanskrit, it would very soon find out by its own experience that there was no scope for simplification of AIR Hindi.

There is, however, another side of the medal and the weakness of the stand of our Hindi writers who think along Dinkar's line, which as I have

of the Hindi language and that it (Persian) should enjoy a position similar to that of English or any other foreign language in relation to the development of Hindi." (M. S. Rawat in Times of India, July 25, 1962)

The same was stated in a more overt and plainer form, in a syndicated article by "Radio-Keep" which found wide publicity in the Hindi press. It said—"Urdu has no commonness with our country's ethos; it has already taken an aggressive attitude. Its aim is to wreck our unity."

### Both Positions Inimical To Hindi

Both positions—one which wishes to reject Sanskrit and the other which will have no truck with Persian—are inimical to Hindi. What is more, simple Hindi can never be had if any of these positions is taken.

Let us take the two, one by one, in order to grasp the meaning of the above words. First, let us take the position that rejects Sanskrit. No Indian language could or can ever put Sanskrit out of court. None has viability and strength enough to dispense with a classical language. Urdu, the only Indian language which is not dependent on Sanskrit, leans on Persian—another classical language—and has acquired its distinctive form and viability only by doing so. The conclusion is that Sanskrit is a must for all the Indian languages (excepting Urdu).

This position, however, has been reduced to a dogma by many of the Hindi protagonists.

Proceeding from this, they have become inveterate Sanskritisers. They have been developing a new, Sanskritised Hindi, which is an unnatural growth and doggedly negates the demand for a simple language.

One of their pet pleas is that all the other regional languages of India also draw on Sanskrit, hence Sanskritisation is essential for integration and securing the position of Rashtrabhasha for

Khan (writer of Rani Ketaki Ki Kahani-G) wrote the most idiomatic and fluent language. This was primarily due to the fact that Khari Boli in Urdu poetry had already been refined and polished which gave to the Urdu writers an abundance of idioms."

### Urdu Idioms Integral Part Of Hindi

The idioms developed by Urdu became an integral part of Hindi. The founders of modern Hindi were at the same time masters of Urdu and they carried forward all that Urdu had achieved by way of refinement and standardisation of Khari Boli essentially with the help of Persian. Simple and beautiful Hindi stands on that foundation only.

Reactionaries and communalists have started a trend which strikes at the root of Hindi's development. Taking a stand which squares with their communalist bigotry, they have sought to weed out well-acquired and fully-digested words and idioms. They are attacking the treasure-house handed to us by our great masters.

When such elements raise a hue and cry about the form of Hindi being vulgarised, they, in fact, seek to uphold their vandalism and wish to perpetuate the Raghuviri freak.

It is unfortunate that AIR's misconceived scheme should have given them a handle. As it happens, the Congress Government's inept handling of problems brings grist to the mill of the worst reactionaries. Even such an unexceptionable desideratum as the call for simple Hindi leads to distortions and mischiefs. The scheme is ill-conceived because it is based on a vulgar demagogic approach.

Its sponsors have rightly been attacked as people who either do not understand or are callous in regard to the

\* ON PAGE 14

# Beyond Arctic Circle

★ By Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW:

I was going to the extreme North, to the northernmost edge of the Soviet land mass. I remembered all that my geography teacher had told me at school about the polar circle and the Tundra and its strange inhabitants, the reindeer and dog-sledges, the white bears and the eskimoes and their shelters of ice and the land where the night and day lasted for months and months...

I HAD listened to all this with deep interest and fascination, as if under the spell of a beautiful fairy tale, but with some disbelief, as it all sounded so strange, impossible and so far away. Could I even dream then that one day I shall be travelling to that far-away fascinating land beyond the polar circle?

But here I am in the train going on my "polar expedition" as we call it in fun. We are going to check up on our geography textbooks were right, fellow journalists say. We are all excited, but most of all I, an inhabitant of the far South. Did any Indian ever go that far North, they ask. And I wonder, did any?

After leaving Moscow late at night we had passed the beautiful city of Leningrad in the morning, and our train was rushing fast to meet the winter again. Yes, having breakfast in a comfortable dining-car we were travelling backwards in time, or so it seemed to us.

We had left Moscow at the height of summer in June, and it had been a really hot day full of the din and bustle of the big city as we made the last preparations for the northern journey.

And now we were leaving summer and entering spring again. It was a strange experience passing from summer into spring. Here the trees were in bloom and one could see spring flowers covering the field.

And the day became longer and longer, and we waited for evening and sun-set but the sun refused to go down. The trees became smaller and smaller so that they looked like miniature toy trees and the thick forests gave way to thinner vegetation and the ground seemed more and more bare.

The Taiga was coming to an end and we were entering the zone of the Tundra. The sun was still up at 9.45 p.m. and I was reading my newspaper in sunlight!

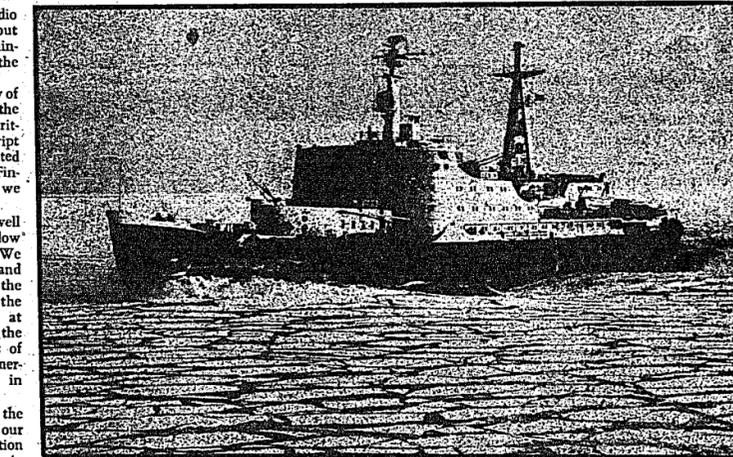
We passed the station Sorokskaya and the town of Belomorsk, which means the White Sea, and at 10 p.m. the sun did reluctantly and very slowly go down—formally. For the night never came and it was light all the time.

At a quarter past ten the train stopped at Kem which is even north of Archangelak and situated on the western coast of the White Sea. There were some pretty girls

in our train on water. Hence you can go for hundreds of miles on water and only now and then carry your boat to the next lake over short stretches of land.

The thin, bare branches of trees danced with the rhythm of the train creating the illusion of a strange mist as our electric train sped fast taking us north all the time. There were innumerable fast

(Our correspondent recently visited the Far North of the Soviet Union. He saw the flourishing town of Murmansk beyond the Arctic Circle, visited factories and farms and spent a day cruising on the atomic ship, the icebreaker "LENIN". Here we publish the first article of his impressions of an area never visited by an Indian before. —Editor.)



Atom-powered Soviet icebreaker "Lenin"

moving rivulets and then the river Kola, which gives its name to this huge peninsula 600 km long and 400 km wide between the Arctic Ocean and the White Sea.

Its area is about 100,000 sq. kilometres. Western parts, bordering on northern Norway and Finland, are mountainous. The rivers are fast and contain great reserves of electric energy. The northern part of the Kola Peninsula is Tundra, and the southern part which we passed earlier is covered with woods of pine and birch.

I said we were back in winter again, but for this region this is not winter but the summer season. With snow lying about in June the climate is supposed to be "mild" for an area which extends to 70 degrees of the north latitude, thanks to the Gulf Stream which reaches so far starting from the shores of Cuba and brings some of the warmth of that sunny island to the shores of the Barents Sea which is a part of the great Arctic Ocean.

We had seen our last sunset in the train. We shall see no more night till we go back. This was the long polar day where the sun remains in the sky for months. On 70 degrees north latitude for 64 days the sun does not go down

in summer and in winter it does not appear for the same period.

At 80 degrees north (and of course near the South Pole it is the same) the sun does not set for 133 days. At the North Pole, 99 degrees, the period is 186 days with sun and 179 days without it.

Travelling through the polar day I somehow thought of the Muslim month of Ramzan which sometimes falls in summer and the pious are not supposed to eat from before sunrise till after sunset. Obviously Islam was not meant for the inhabitants of this area.

On the northern borders of the vast Soviet Union, washed by the cold waters of the Arctic Ocean, this zone of Tundra extends from West to East over an area of two-and-a-half million sq. kilometres. At first it seems to be a cruel desolate land where three-fourth of the year is taken up by an extremely cold ice-bound winter in the long and dark polar night.

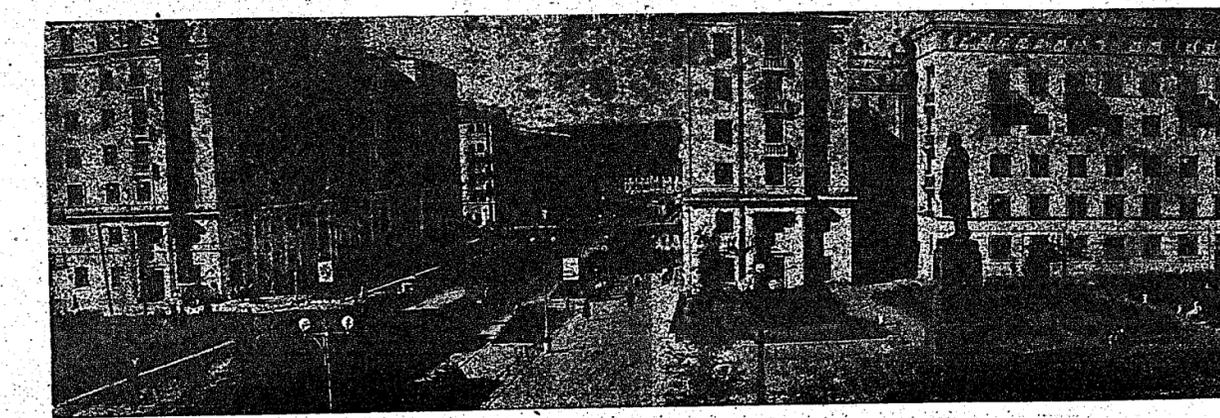
Only the cold moon and the scanty light of the far-away stars and sometimes the strangely beautiful polar lights on the ionosphere, caused by solar eruptions and the rush of cosmic particles to the magnetic poles of the earth, only these give a dim mysterious light

to the snow covered treeless expanses of the far north.

But in summer on the ground which is eternally frozen, in some places up to ten, twenty and fifty metres in depth, grow moss and heather and lichen, and a little to the south, small bushes. But if the train stops and you give them a closer look you find that they are not bushes at all but miniature trees—the little birch and the miniature willow and the small pine together make a wood so small, it seems you have arrived in the land of Lilliput. How different this all is from our thick jungles where the tigers roam.

Soon we arrived at the terminus Murmansk, the end of our journey. Murmansk is the biggest city of its kind so far north, situated more than 250 kilometres beyond the Arctic Circle. With my electric shaver buzzing away, I looked out of my hotel window over the wide clean street. Its tall painted buildings and people dressed like Moscovites and buses and cars, shops and squares, were surprising and I asked aloud to myself "Well, is this the desolate Tundra of the Arctic region?" There were lots of surprises for me ahead.

(To be continued)



A view of the street, "Lenin Prospect" at Murmansk

# Gujarat's Mammoth Protest

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

AHMEDABAD, JULY 31.

People of Gujarat once again expressed their unshakable support for progressive elements on July 30 when a call given by the leftist Nutan Janata Parishad to stage a hartal and organise processions and mass rallies in protest against soaring prices of essential commodities, Government's taxation policy and its educational policy of not introducing English from standard V, was spontaneously responded to in almost all major cities of Gujarat.

On July 30 cities like Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach, Surendranagar, Drangadhara, Wadhwan, Rajpippa, Cambay and others observed complete strike.

MAMMOTH processions and unprecedented mass rallies were organised, amidst strong police handbust in most of these cities. Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat well-known for its democratic struggles, added one more page of victory to its glorious history by responding peacefully and magnificently to the Parishad's call. Business in the city came to near standstill as the major markets like Maskati and Parichkwa cloth market, the vegetable market and other shops kept their shutters down.

Although the Ahmedabad Stock Exchange, the West Indian Cotton Association and the Ahmedabad Oilseeds Merchants Association were officially open, there was no trading.

## Recollection Of Glorious Past

The dawn of July 30 brought with it the recollections of historic Mahagujarat movement as thousands and lakhs of people came out of their houses in support of the Nutan Janata Parishad which consists of Communist as well as non-aligned progressive elements.

July 30 made history when, in spite of the threats of victimisation from Congress dominated college and school authorities, all students came out of their classes with books in their hands shouting slogans despite the obstinate efforts of the principals of some

colleges who wished to show their high handedness.

Textile mills in Ahmedabad except one functioned normally as the INTUC along with PSP-dominated union advised their member-workers not to participate in the hartal.

In Ahmedabad, a huge mammoth procession was taken out from Manekchowk. Nearly two miles long, the procession, led by Indulal Yagnik, MP, and Dinkar Mehta, Vice-President of the Parishad, was joined by a number of smaller processions as it passed through the main routes of the city and terminated outside the prohibited area of the State Assembly where it turned into a huge public meeting.

## More Than Two Lakh People

It is estimated that more than two lakhs of people participated in the procession which was enthusiastically hailed and cheered by over 5 lakhs of people. A 22-feet high huge effigy symbolising soaring prices was burnt amidst the resounding slogans of protests against Government's taxation policy.

Indulal Yagnik told the huge public meeting that this was only the beginning of the prolonged agitation against the "attack on the standard of living of the common man".

He said that in subsequent phase of the agitation, the Parishad would mobilise the working class Government and semi-government employees and even the police who are equally affected by the spiralling prices.

Dinkar Mehta, Manubhai Pul-

khiwalla, (Communist MLA) Vasudev Tripathi and Abdul Razak, Secretary of Ahmedabad District Council of the Communist Party also addressed the meeting.

While the meeting was in progress, a four-man deputation, led by Dinkar Mehta met the State Chief Minister Dr. Jivraj Mehta and Home Minister Rasiklal Parikh and submitted a memorandum containing the demands of Parishad. The deputation included besides Dinkar Mehta (leader), Manubhai Pulkhivalla, Dr. Somabhai Desai (Corporator), Pranlal Shah and Dr. Ashok Mehta (Corporator).

The leader of the deputation, Dinkar Mehta told the pressmen that he was not satisfied with the Chief Minister's arguments. He invited the Chief Minister and Home Minister to face the huge public meeting and convince the people of government's case if they could, but they are reported to have refused to accept the challenge.

The State Chief Minister claimed that there was no rise in prices for the last three years and the condition of peasants had improved. He also claimed that the level of taxation in Gujarat was lower than in some other States. He refused to state the amount of expenditure that will have to be incurred on the proposed construction of a new capital for Gujarat and also obstinately reiterated his Government's resolve not to permit the raising of martyrs' memorial at the place where they laid down their lives opposite the Congress House.

## Increased Cost Of Living

The deputation leader refuted the Chief Minister's arguments by pointing out that the dearness allowance given to the Ahmedabad textile workers this July was more than Rs. 12 higher than that secured twelve months back. This could not happen unless the cost of living had gone up to that extent.

He also pointed out that the new State taxes would raise the present tax level in Gujarat by over 16 per cent. He pointed out that the price of not a single commodity had gone down, all prices had shown a marked rise. Match boxes are now sold at 8 p. show-

ing a rise of 33 per cent during the last three months.

He also pointed out that Government estimates of expenditure usually proved wrong, as in the case of Kakrapar dam in Surat district where the original estimate of Rs. 6 crores made ten years ago has already risen to Rs. 19 crores while the work is yet to be completed. The construction of a new capital would similarly cost no less than Rs. 40 crores, while the Gujarat Government are to receive only Rs. 10 crores from Maharashtra Government. He demanded that such a grandiose scheme of wasting such huge sums of money should be abandoned and Ahmedabad the present capital should be developed at a much lesser cost of Rs. 6-7 crores.

Finally he vigorously pressed the demand for the martyrs memorial and warned that the Government's refusal to meet such reasonable demands of the people would only widen the already wide gulf that exists between the Government and the people. He pointed out that the Government was completely cut off from the people whose sufferings and patience had reached the limit.

The day did not pass off without police repression. Section 144 was imposed and the area surround-

ing the State Assembly was declared prohibited.

Hence Indulal Yagnik had to declare in the public meeting, "It is the right of the people to lead processions to State Assembly and any restriction amounting to depriving them of their constitutional rights." He warned amidst applause that if any such restrictions were imposed next time, "the people will be compelled to enforce their will."

Nearly 70 persons were arrested by the nightfall and the next day 13 more persons were arrested. Police repression in Baroda was the highest. Here, even processions were not allowed to be taken out and the District Collector refused to accept the memorandum. Nearly 15 persons were arrested.

## Resort To Lathi Charge

Resorting to lathi-charge, the police authorities tried to provoke the people but the determined people rebuffed the police authorities by maintaining peace. Only a few minor incidents of stone-throwing took place because of police provocation.

Not to speak of Congressmen, some PSP workers were reported

to have tried to sabotage the mass mobilisation under the banner of Nutan Janata Parishad. People were furious against their disruptive activities.

In Baroda a big crowd surrounded the PSP Office and could be calmed down by the Janata Parishad workers only with great difficulty.

It is to be noted that the Parishad had invited all political parties to assemble under one flag to fight out the menace of spiralling prices but contrary to people's expectations, all parties except Communists refused to form a united front and consequently faced political isolation.

The PSP instead of joining hands with the Parishad on such a vital issue tried to take up the problem in its own way with the intention of exploiting the sentiments of the people against increasing prices and prepare a political ground solely for its own self, but failed badly. It is reported that Ahmedabad city Congress roused by the magnificent success of Parishad in mobilising the masses is thinking of preparing a programme to fight soaring prices.

Preparations are afoot now to observe the annual martyrs' day on August 8. The Sahid Smarak Samiti formed in 1960, comprising leaders of various political parties has issued a call for a peaceful procession to the martyrs' square opposite the Congress House at Ahmedabad.

PRABHAT KAR EXPLAINS

# BANK EMPLOYEES WILL RESIST ATTACK

Explaining the stand of AIBEA with regard to the Award of Bank Tribunal Prabhat Kar, M.P., General Secretary, All-India Bank Employees Association, told press correspondents on August 4 that a wrong impression had been created amongst the public that the Tribunal had treated the bank employees generously. "I am extremely sorry to say that the facts are otherwise," he added.

dent Fund and Gratuity calculation at 8% and 7% of the new basic pay in the case of clerical and subordinate staff respectively.

men. The actual increase will in no case go beyond 7% in whole of the industry.

Prabhat Kar said that many issues of vital importance have been left undecided. The Tribunal has drastically curtailed and withdrawn many benefits including those enjoyed by the employees in the shape of pay and allowances. There are cases where the wages of the bank employees will stand frozen for a few years to come.

Besides this the Tribunal did not give retrospective effect even to this meagre increase in the wages, although in December, 1960, it promised to do so if the employees would make out a case for increase in wages. In the Award, the Tribunal has clearly admitted that employees have made out a case for an increase. Kar argued.

Class IV Area has not been abolished although the Tribunal proclaimed that it has done so, because for another four years wages of this Area will continue to be less than the wages in Class III Area.

Prabhat Kar informed that AIBEA has requested the Bankers to sit across the table for adjustment on the basis of Desai Award so that the dissatisfaction among the employees could be removed.

It was emphasised that the Tribunal has completely failed to appreciate the difficulties of middle class employees in the context of rising trend of the prices. In this connection it is worthwhile to note, Prabhat Kar said that the State Bank of India and Foreign Exchange Banks did not plead their incapacity to pay. And most of the other big banks are today making profits over Rs. 1 crore and in some cases the same are well-near Rs. 2 crores.

He said that the Central Committee of the AIBEA is of the considered opinion that the Award if sought to be implemented in its present form, it will further embitter the employer-employee relations and make it difficult to establish normalcy in the industry. Under no circumstances any attack on the existing rights shall be tolerated.

"It has been admitted by the Banks, Reserve Bank of India and the Tribunal itself that the deposits by the end of Third Five Year Plan will go up to 4,000 crores. Consequently Gross earnings and net profits would continue to increase."

He added that the AIBEA is anxious to maintain the industrial peace in the Banking Industry but it is not possible if some improvements are not made over Desai Award.

"The wages of the bank employees are lower than those prevailing in other comparable concerns. It appears the Tribunal was very much bothered about the imaginary difficulties of the Banking Industry and that is why it failed to take cognizance of the above mentioned factors."

The AIBEA feels that in an ever prospering industry like the Banking where the prospects for another 10 years can well be envisaged in view of increased planned expenditure, the wages of the employees cannot be allowed to be kept so low.

He said that the President of the Indian Banks Association has stated that the present Award would put a load of 10 to 12% increase on the Banking Industry. Assuming it is so, it is much less than the percentage of increase in profit in one year which is 41 per cent.

Prabhat Kar also pointed out that there has been an inordinate delay in publication of the Reserve Bank Award. The hearing in the Reserve Bank case concluded in December, 1961. The Central Committee of AIBEA has decided to start an agitation with a view to exposing the callous attitude of the Tribunal and the Government in delaying the Reserve Bank Award and for bringing pressure for its early publication.

He explained that the principle of merger of dearness allowance with the basic pay has been accepted but the only benefit that could accrue to the employees out of such merger has been taken away by providing Provi-

As usual the bankers have raised a bogey of increase in advance rate on the plea of wage increase. This has been done deliberately with a view to antagonising the Banking Public against the Bank-

RABHAT KAR stated: "Since the Banking was brought under Central Sector in 1949, this is the second All-India Award, the first was the Sastry Award which expired on March 31, 1959."

"During the proceedings before Sastry Tribunal and LAI in the years 1952 and 1953, the economy of the country was still in the fluid stage and the country was in the early phase of the First Five Year Plan."

"The Banking industry which suffered as a result of partition of the country was still striving hard to consolidate. Naturally the wage structure in the previous Award reflected the hesitancy of the Tribunal about the prospects of the industry."

## Madhya Pradesh

# Anti-Tax Satyagraha

More than two thousand people have so far been arrested at Bhopal in the course of Madhya Pradesh anti-taxation campaign and satyagraha. Among the arrested persons are members of Parliament and Legislative Assembly besides leaders of political parties, particularly the Communist Party.

The campaign was initiated by the Communist Party on July 16 and later on followed by others. On August 6 alone more than 900 people were arrested while defying the ban for entering the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha premises and among them was Homi Daji, Communist MP from Indore.

On August 3 when the Land Revenue Bill was being discussed, spectators from the Assembly gallery shouted slogans and threw handbills decrying the anti-people step of the Government.

Homi Daji, just before offering satyagraha told press correspondents that the Congress Government in Madhya Pradesh which was elected on a minority vote had no right to impose new taxes except on a fresh mandate from the people.

While the satyagraha was in progress on August 6, thousands of spectators watching the scene shouted slogans condemning the Government and cheering the satyagrahis.

The powerful mass support which the campaign has already achieved in Madhya Pradesh is unique and perhaps, never before has the Government had to face such stiff opposition. The campaign which is still going on promises greater mass participation in the coming days.

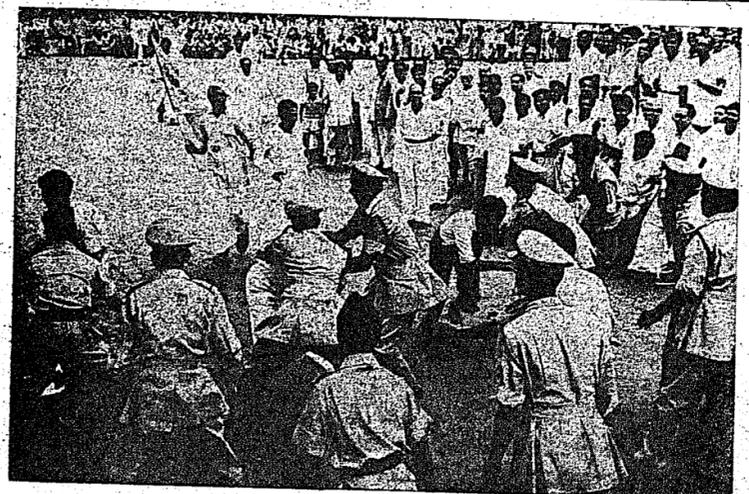
(August 7.)



36 women volunteers led by Mohini Srivastava offering Satyagraha on July 27.



Shakir Ali Khan MLA leading a batch of satyagrahis marching towards the Assembly on July 27.



Police arresting the satyagrahis trying to defy ban on entering Vidhan Sabha premises on July 27.

Assam's drive against Pakistani infiltrators has again been intensified. It was with that end in view that the Police organisation of the State was recast with a new special wing with the sole task of dealing with the infiltrators. It appears the new wing has gone into action with full vigour.

IT is, however, alleged by well-informed and responsible quarters that in the current drive against infiltrators little discrimination is made between those Muslims who have been residing in Assam for a long time and those whose claim to Indian citizenship is doubtful. Consequently, tension has been mounting in the State, particularly in those areas where the current drive has been going on.

Assam's problem of immigration dates back to the beginning of the century. Peasants, mostly Muslim peasants of the neighbouring districts of East Bengal, ruthlessly exploited by the tyrannical zamindars of those districts, in their frantic search for relief from that oppression and with the peasant's natural urge for land, began to migrate to Assam. The district of Mymensingh in East Bengal where zamindari oppression was extreme sent the largest number of immigrants to Assam. Density of population in Assam in those days was comparatively low and an immigrant could expect to find some land without much trouble. Except one district of Brahmaputra valley, the rest of the valley was ryotwari area and hence the peasant who migrated

escaped from the tyranny of zamindars.

They came and after some time could secure some land where they cultivated and, perhaps, the first generation of the immigrants did not encounter much opposition. But as the number of immigrants began to increase with the entry of successive generations of immigrants, pressure on land began to increase and that naturally made the local people resent this immigration.

Meanwhile, some local exploiters found their prey in these immigrants. These exploiters again got their ally among a section of early immigrants who had managed to grow a bit well-to-do meanwhile. The immigrant found his new exploiters in some revenue officials, some headmen from among the early immigrants who simply gambled with his life. Moreover, with the increasing pressure on land the new generation of immigrants had to find a plot of land fighting against rather a hostile nature. In their desperate bid for life, how many lost their life to wild creatures — snakes, elephants, tigers and the like — and how many fell victims to malaria and kalazar has not been recorded by any one.

# Assam's Problem Of Immigration

★ By Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

But still fighting against wild creatures whose life the immigrants disturbed and the more wild human sharks, the number of immigrants, however, began to increase. So also increased the opposition to this process of immigration.

Meanwhile the Muslim League had evolved its scheme for creation of Pakistan. It looked upon Assam also as a part of its proposed territory. A Muslim League Ministry came into office in Assam and with a view to increasing the Muslim population of this State, so that its claim for inclusion of Assam into Pakistan might be strengthened, it encouraged immigration of Muslim peasants.

However, faced with growing opposition from the local people, some restriction had to be imposed on this immigration. Certain areas were demarcated as immigrant areas. Nonetheless, some

immigrants still came surreptitiously and eventually found some land in one part or another of the State.

Though certain areas had been demarcated as immigrant areas, immigrants can be found in almost every district of the Brahmaputra valley — their number being different in different areas.

It is to be noted that the immigrants were mainly, even if not entirely, peasants. Naturally, they settled in rural areas and not in urban areas.

## Independence And After

Then came Independence and partition of the country. But the inflow of immigrants did not stop. Landless peasants from East Bengal still came to Assam and sought land here. Some managed to get land, while others became engaged as labourers in different fields.

Following communal flare-up in 1950, quite a large number of Muslims left Assam for East Bengal; but after the Nehru-Liaquat pact, most of them came back. But there was one significant result of this temporary migration. The 1951 census enumeration was conducted in the background of the communal atmosphere.

While all those who had migrated following the disturbances had not yet come back at the time of enumeration, and so were not included in the census, it cannot be said that all those who were physically present were enumerated. After all, the census enumerators, mostly young hands temporarily recruited for the purpose of enumeration, could hardly be blamed if they had not been able to rise above the prevalent communal atmosphere. Few indeed dispute it.

Only those of them who found some more or less permanent kind of employment obtained valid documents for their stay here, even among them, perhaps, not all thought it necessary. As for the rest, those who came and went back, passport and visa was an "unnecessary harassment".

## Ban Visa For Sneaking In

Most of them know where on the border a few chips were to be paid for coming or going back. Some of them are too poor even for that. If you can get hold of anyone of them, and ask him how he came, he would tell you that he came with "ban (forest) visa". Through some unguarded points in the 620 mile long Assam-East Pakistan border he simply "sneaked in".

Normally a human being who is not driven to desperation for a morsel of food, would never hazard a journey through those secret paths across which these people come and go. Occasionally they are detected when they have to part with a portion of their hard earned money "to buy their way" and at times a few blows, kicks, slaps or a thrashing is their "extra earning".

Even the anti-Ministerial group of Assam Congress that is now crying hoarse about Pakistani infiltration did not think it necessary when they were in power, to put a total stop to this seasonal immigration.

Once they had crossed the border, they could find some shelter with those who earned at their cost. Long years of coming and going naturally established some personal contact.

Moreover, there are some who perhaps have a near relative

ON FACING PAGE

AUGUST 12, 1962

Though Panchayati Raj as an institution is of recent origin, the concept of democratic decentralisation, of "genuine transfer of power to the people," had always been an integral part of our understanding of freedom during the long years of our independence struggle.

THIS concept meant not just a devolution of power-handing over administrative and developmental work at what is called the grass root level to the people, it meant the establishment in India of a polity which assured an honourable place to the weakest and lowest elements in the society.

The constitution that was framed after freedom laid down as a directive principle that the "State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

Though the First Five-Year Plan itself had assigned to the Panchayat the role of a developmental agency, the Panchayats that were then formed had no powers relating to development.

The present Panchayati Raj institution originated from the report of the (Balwant Rai Mehta) study team on Community Development and National Extension Services set up by the Planning Commission in 1956. The study team found that these schemes had failed miserably in mobilising the people for development activities and suggested decentralisation of administration to make popular representatives of the villages responsible for planning and executing development programmes.

The National Development Council in January 1958 endorsed the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee. The Central Council of local self-Government later left it to the States to work out the "form and pattern" of Panchayati Raj since the "country is so large" and "Panchayati Raj is so complex a subject".

## Certain Basic Principles

The Government of India, hence, has not insisted on the States following any set pattern but has only laid down certain basic principles like:

★ It should be a three-tier structure or local self-governing bodies from the village to the district, the bodies being organically linked up.

★ There should be genuine transfer of power and responsibility to them.

★ Adequate resources should be transferred to the new bodies to enable them to discharge their responsibilities.

★ All developmental programmes at these levels should be channelled through these bodies.

★ The system evolved should be such as will facilitate further devolution and dispersal of power and responsibilities in the future.

Beyond laying down these principles, it is very doubtful whether the Government of India has done anything to see that the State legislations and implementation of the programme conformed to these basic principles.

If it had made any such efforts, it would not have become necessary for Union, Community Development Minister S. K. Dey to say in Bangalore recently that he did not find "a trace of Panchayati Raj" as conceived by Parliament in Mysore State and that the newly constituted village panchayats and taluk boards were no better than their predecessors for there did not seem to be a real and full transfer of power.

Panchayati Raj has functioned for too short a time, the exercise is still inadequate to make a thorough evaluation of the institution. All that can be done now is to draw in broad outline some

of the problems that have cropped up in the course of its functioning.

Panchayati Raj was first introduced in Andhra Pradesh which began with 20 blocks in July 1958 and Rajasthan was the first State to introduce the system in the whole of the State on October 2, 1959. Apart from these two States, Panchayati Raj is under implementation in Assam, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, while legislations have been drafted or adopted in the other States.

The three-tier in the scheme are the panchayat at the village level, the Panchayat Samiti at the district level. This is the general pattern with minor variations in some of the States.

The Panchayats are constituted by direct elections while the Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads are generally indirectly elected — except in cases like Maharashtra where the Zila Parishad is partly directly elected and partly indirectly in Assam and Mysore where the block-level body is

directly elected. This is actually a step backward from the old institutions like taluk boards and district boards, which used to be directly elected though with limited franchise.

Even in the case of the Panchayats, though elections are held directly, in many cases there is no provision for secret ballot and elections are held by show of hands. Considering the present state in our villages and the terror in which the feudal gentry hold the peasants and other backward sections, it is obvious that such open elections put only the representatives of the local landlords in control of these institutions.

Though there is a lot of talk by the ruling party that there should not be any party politics in these local self-governing institutions, and though in many cases local leaders of the ruling party contest these elections without their party's label, the effect is generally the same as if they had contested as Congress candidates.

# ASSAM'S PROBLEM

FROM PAGE TEN

settled here. Hence a shelter is no big problem for them. At the end of the season they go back through the same way that brought them here. A few of these seasonal immigrants may even now settle down, at least that possibility is not ruled out.

In addition to these seasonal labour, some others also come. According to the Chief Minister of Assam it is the economic compulsion that brings these immigrants. Though this statement of the Chief Minister exposed him to a spate of uncharitable criticism from his opponents in his own party as also certain other elements, unbiased observers share the view of the Chief Minister on this aspect of the problem.

While it is admitted on all hands that Muslims from East Bengal have infiltrated into Assam, few could give any authentic figure about the likely number of these infiltrators. ["New Age" readers will recall that earlier it was pointed out that the Union Government also tried to ascertain that number but with little success.] The State Chief Minister candidly admitted that it was not possible for him to give even a near accurate number of these infiltrators.

## No Country Can Allow Infiltration

Whatever may be their number, no country can allow such infiltration into its territory. Whatever may be the sufferings of the poor people of East Pakistan, and however much one may sympathise with them for all that, one cannot say that these people should seek their relief at the cost of this country and her economy. It is pointed out that these suffering people will have to seek their relief in the struggle of the people of that country and not by illegally entering this side of the border.

The heavy strain on the economy of this country apart, this illegal immigration breeds a number of other problems also. It whips up communal tension and brings to the mill of the communists and political opportunists.

Consequently, it endangers the security of the minority

# PANCHAYATI RAJ

★ By Ramdass

The Ministers keep in touch with the local leaders and all their group rivalries are imported into the village. To get their groups into office, the administrative machinery is very often used. Additionally, appeals to caste become an important weapon in the hands of the reactionary elements in the rural society.

In Rajasthan, for instance, where the organised democratic movement is rather weak, leaders of the reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad and Swatantra Party came before the electorate without party labels and by appealing to casteism and exploiting the discontent of the people captured a number of panchayats. Apart from them, even many Congressmen in the Congress-dominated panchayats were representatives of landlord interests.

While in States where the democratic movement is weak, the feudal interests thus found no

difficulty in capturing these institutions; in States where the democratic movement is comparatively stronger, the ruling party has resorted to countless stratagems to capture these institutions.

In Andhra Pradesh, for instance, there have been instances where the officer conducting the elections by show of hands, have declared the majority as minority. The aggrieved party can go to the court but then it takes three years for a decision and the major period of the Panchayat would be over by then.

There was another instance where the Congress and the opposition had an equal number of seats and in coopting the woman member, the officer who was drawing lots put the name of the same woman candidate in both the slips to ensure her cooption.

In Nagonda, where the opposition had absolute majority in votes and seats, it was another trick that was employed. Advantage was taken here of the provision for nomination of M.P.s, MLAs and M.L.Cs to the Zila Parishad, MLAs and member of the Lok Sabha have to be nominated to the parishads in the districts from which they have been elected.

community of this country. It poses a grave threat to the much-needed national integration. In addition to all these, in the case of Assam there is another aspect which cannot be ignored.

The infiltrators are not Assamese speaking. The Assamese Hindu, particularly of middle class, feels worried that if a few lakhs of these infiltrators get into Assam and settle here, the linguistic balance of the present composite State may also be upset.

## Problem Of Linguistic Majority

For, unlike most other States of India, the majority linguistic group here cannot count upon an absolute majority even if a few lakhs of East Bengali Muslims, in addition to the refugees from that country, should come over here. This consideration also, arouses grave concern. And the political fortune-hunters do not fail to make a good use of it.

It is, therefore, demanded by all sections of the people of the State that the illegal infiltrators should be found out and deported. It is demanded that the border check-posts should be further strengthened and made immune from various corrupt practices to check infiltration.

If the State Government have taken certain steps in this direction, they are to be welcome. But what worries democratic section of the people of the State is the method employed by the police in detecting and deporting infiltrators.

In their drive against illegal infiltrators the police now do not care to distinguish between the genuine Indian citizens and the infiltrators. It seems that the police authorities have been acting on a fallacious belief that every Muslim, speaking Bengali, is an infiltrator.

While this drive has started in most of the districts of the State, the main concentration seems to be Nowgong district. Incidentally Nowgong is the home district of the main leader of the anti-Ministerial group of Congress.

As pointed out above, a good section of immigrants who came to Assam settled in different parts of the State. There is a large number of Muslim settlers in

Nowgong district also. There are certain Mouzas (revenue circles) in that district where there is a large concentration of Bengalis of whom quite a good number is Muslim.

The current Police drive against infiltrators has been concentrated in three such Mouzas, namely Hojai, Jamunamukh and Lanka. According to available reports here, police cordon a village, round up all the male adults, in certain cases leaving the women and children behind, while in certain other cases include the children and women, and hustle them away to the border for deportation.

## Price To Escape Deportation

Unless one has the backing of some influential source, one can hardly escape this wholesale deportation. After they have been rounded up, it is alleged, a bargaining starts and those who can offer a "price" ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 per head, however, become "Indian citizens" and the rest are usually taken to the border for deportation.

The situation is such that if one has some longstanding grudge against another and is eager to settle accounts, he has only to report to the police that so and so is a "Pakistani" and he is taken away. If a greedy peasant, big or small, has an eye on the land of a neighbour, he has only to go to the police and report that so and so is an "illegal infiltrator" and the man will be whisked away leaving the informer free to grab his land.

All those who are taken to the border, however, cannot be deported. Pakistan border guards would not let every deportee cross over. Cases have been reported when the "Pakistani" border force aimed their guns at the deportees and threatened that should they try to cross over, they would be shot at. Such unfortunate persons find themselves as much undesirable there as here. They are left stranded at the border with no place to go.

One can well imagine the condition of those families, the male adult members of which have been deported, leaving behind their womenfolk and children.

But in the case of the M.L.Cs and members of the Rajya Sabha there is no such restriction since they are not elected from any particular constituency in any district. So a number of them were nominated to the Nalgonda Parishad to manufacture a majority for the ruling party.

Ministerial interference does not end with the elections. The Panchayat in Venigalla was served with notice though it was doing exemplary work because it was not in the hands of the Congress. Even panchayats dominated by the Congress are not safe if they belong to the rival group. This was the case in Tavanamalli where the panchayat dominated by anti-ministerialists was superseded in the name of a dispute between

OVERLEAF

This has resulted in mounting communal tension in the whole area. Apart from that alarming communal tension, it also has had some economic consequence. Panicky at this wholesale deportation, Muslim male population in some villages are reported to have fled from their homes and taken shelter in nearby jungles to escape deportation.

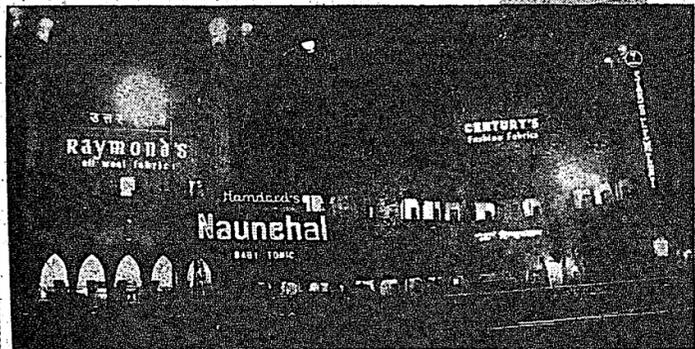
Except rabid communalists, every one views it with concern. But few would stake their "popularity" by raising their voice against this indiscriminate drive. Instead, it is found that as if to back up the police operation, certain sections of the press have, of late, stepped up their campaign against Pakistani infiltration in a way that makes the reader panicky about the future of Assam.

Perhaps, their campaign is designed to "keep the pressure" on the State Government so that it might not "stop halfway" until the whole State has been "cleared of Pakistanis" which in their dictionary means every Muslim.

It is only the Communist party that has raised its voice of protest against indiscriminate deportation in the name of driving out the Pakistani infiltrators. It is believed that the campaign of the party will be able to draw in other sections of democratic elements into the campaign against indiscriminate deportation, while at the same time demanding deportation of all illegal infiltrators.

PAGE ELEVEN

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PAGE TEN

NEW AGE

AUGUST 12, 1962

NEW AGE

## TENSION IN RAJASTHAN CONGRESS

★ From Our Correspondent

Only a few months ago in March this year when the Congress Cabinet was formed in this State, the leaders of the State Congress to some extent overwhelmed and over-awed by their severe reverses at the polls, gave the impression of being united and voices started being raised for a united and serious effort to fight the reactionary forces of the State.

WITHIN these few months things have moved and changed. Today the Rajasthan Congress leaders are engaged in an open and serious quarrel. Initiated by the now well-known Khandubhai Report on the causes of the Congress reverses in the State, the Seven-man Disciplinary Action Sub-Committee of the High Command called upon Chaudhari Kumbharam Arya to resign all elective posts in the organisation.

Chaudhari Kumbharam did not accede to this position. He repudiated the Khandubhai Report, openly characterised the Report as tendentious and one-sided, and demanded a fresh enquiry into the whole episode. He issued an open press statement criticising some of the important policy lapses of Sukhadia, which he claimed were the real causes for these reverses. Chief Minister Sukhadia accused Kumbharam of having followed a policy of adjustment with the Jaipur Maharaja, and of having worked for the defeat of the Congress candidates specially in the Jaipur region. Khandubhai Report too follows the same pattern.

At this moment dozens of important Congress leaders of the State, including some 25 Congress MLAs and District Congress office-bearers and prominent people are in Delhi trying to impress on the Congress High Command that any action against Chaudhari Kumbharam Arya would only result in a greater setback for the Congress Organisation in the State.

### Serious Internal Strife

It is thus obvious that internal strife has assumed serious magnitude in the Rajasthan Congress. It should be borne in mind that the Congress has only 50 per cent (88 out of 178) seats in the Assembly and it added on one independent after the elections to raise its strength to 89. Chief Minister Sukhadia has accused Chaudhari Kumbharam of having adjusted with the Swatantra forces and the Jaipur Maharaja in Jaipur region, and in this way of having assisted and maintained the defeat of the Congress candidates ensuring the success of these reactionaries.

It seems the High Command too is following this very approach. But what is surprising is the fact that it is Chief Minister Sukhadia himself who was the main initiator of the policies of "making up" and "patching" with the feudal forces before and right in the midst of the General Elections. Congress tickets were given to Rajas, and the Maharaj-kumars and Nawabs. Hukum Singh of Jaisalmer, the founder Convener of the Swatantra Party was given Congress Ticket under this orientation. The Nawab of Loharu was

given the Congress ticket and so on.

No candidate was put against the Bikaner Maharaja. Sukhadia's chief lieutenant Damodarlal Vyas, former Revenue Minister, even went to meet the Jaipur Maharaja in a desperate bid for reconciliation, and this he did after his name was announced as the candidate to contest Maharani Gayatri Devi. Having failed in this prestige-losing effort, he finally ran away from the contest.

All these are facts of recent history. In view of all this, now to find Chief Minister Sukhadia accusing the other side of having a soft corner for the rightist reactionary forces is rather amusing.

Chaudhari Kumbharam accuses Sukhadia of following retrograde policies in practice. He says, "the Ceiling law's implementation is being intentionally delayed only to placate and please the feudalists; powers of the Panchayats are being reduced and of bureaucracy are being raised."

But never has Chaudhari Kumbharam or his associates raised this question or any such question in a proper manner inside the Party or the

## PANCHAYATI RAJ

\*FROM PAGE 11

the two groups on the question of a health centre.

Factionalism and group rivalries also guide the distribution of funds, fertilisers and other resources and the panchayats are thus made into hotbeds of corruption, misuse of funds, etc.

If the Programme Evaluation Commission has admitted that really successful panchayats are still very rare, the reason for it has to be found in what has been said above.

### Powers Of Panchayats

Now, regarding the powers of these panchayats.

The scheme for democratic decentralisation has given the Panchayat Samitis substantial powers in respect of development activities, primary education, backward classes' welfare, public health, construction and maintenance of small irrigation works, disturbance of land, etc.

In the case of the Zila Parishads, except in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, they are advisory bodies without any executive authority. The Zila Parishad in Maharashtra has executive powers and in Andhra Pradesh the Parishad exercises executive powers only in certain specified fields.

There is a growing feeling that these local self-government institutions should have more powers. Balwant Rai Mehta, for instance, made the plea at the recent seminar organised by the Central Institute of Community Development for the transfer to panchayat institutions of all powers except those

Cabinet. If these are the real issues of fight then this ominous silence is, to say the least, utterly inexplicable.

The High Command talks loud about taking action against those who sabotaged the Congress campaign and sided with feudalist reactionaries. But the same High Command has so far not even served Jai Narayan Vyas with a charge sheet for having openly done such a thing.

From all accounts therefore it cannot be said that this fight is for principles and policy matters in essence. The Cabinet has recently decided to truncate the Third Plan of this State, and slow down the pace

of development work; and all this has been done in the name of lack of resources.

These decisions were not contested when they were taken. What is more, these are reported to be unanimous decisions of the Cabinet. It is a funny policy disagreement (if the claims of Kumbharam are taken seriously) where no voice is raised against precisely on these main issues.

In an overall manner it can thus be assessed that though these policy matters have been raised now, they do not seem at all to have figured in the inner party discussions, at any stage so far.

Some of the policy matters raised by Chaudhari certainly have some ring of correctness. But despite all this, it is certain that some policy matters of course have thus been thrown into the open and in the forefront as far as the

Congress leadership is concerned.

At the moment, therefore, whatever may be the issue now being raised, the character of the fight is essentially of group differences mainly concerning the relative importance of contending groups in their grip over the State and its administration.

Rajasthan's political situation is thus entering the stage of instability for the Congress Government and there will naturally be a series of opportunistic manoeuvres for retaining power at any cost.

The implications of such a situation in a State where the reactionaries have had one of the biggest successes in the last General Elections, can be easily imagined. At the same time this expresses the bankruptcy of the Congress and its policies. It also reveals that the policies followed so far have come home to roost.

## Calcutta Mercantile Employees' Anti-Retrenchment Convention

From Ajoy Dasgupta

At the call of the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions an anti-retrenchment convention was held on August 1, in the Indian Association Hall to focus the attention of the public on the menace of retrenchment in the mercantile firms in Calcutta and to mobilise the employees for a sustained struggle to defeat the offensive of the employers.

CALCUTTA is the busiest port and biggest commercial centre in India. While economic activities are increasing in the country, it seems strange that the actual number of the

employees in Calcutta's commercial firms is going down. During the year 1955 when the new Company Law was being discussed in the country, the bosses of big firms, mostly foreign, launched a retrenchment offensive and more than 1,000 employees lost their jobs.

Agitation which followed this attack stayed the hands of the bosses for the time being and it was not until 1958 that they started the game again. This time it was at first sniping here and there which has now developed into a big offensive. During the last one year alone more than 500 employees have been retrenched, again mostly in foreign companies.

Apart from direct retrenchment the managements of different companies are

adopting other methods also. Recruitment has practically stopped in the mercantile offices in Calcutta. Posts falling vacant due to retirement and resignation are not filled up. This has led to enormous increase in the workload on existing employees.

At first the employees directly affected tried to resist but naturally could not achieve much success. But slowly the resentment and desire to resist developed among the employees in general and when the retrenchment came in Hoare Miller company and the employees there began the resistance movement, the Federation took initiative in mobilising the entire body of the mercantile employees and a widespread movement has now developed.

Committee meetings and general body meetings in 90 and odd affiliated units of the Federation were held where the situation has been explained and zonal demonstrations were held.

\*SEE PAGE 15

Parishad instead of leaving them in the position of advisers to it as at present.

Intimately connected with the problem of powers is the question of resources. Here again, there has been quite an improvement in the situation though the reality still is, as the Prime Minister said, that there has been far too little real transfer of resources.

The complaint has been raised in many states that part of the land revenue is not being given to these bodies and, instead they are being goaded into imposing fresh taxation on the rural people like surcharge on land revenue, taxes on artisans and workers, etc. In addition to Central taxes and State taxes which include local cesses, the panchayats are forced to impose further unjust taxes on the poor people that will not rouse them, they will get suspicious of the whole institution.

Panchayati Raj is a step in the right direction and it has been welcomed as such.

The additional powers given to the local self-governing institutions should to an extent improve development activities in the villages. The resources allocated to them have improved their financial position.

But with even the limited experience it is clear that it is necessary to hold direct elections by secret ballot to all the bodies, that more powers and resources should be transferred to them and official interference and interference by the ruling party should be eliminated.

But with all this, Panchayati Raj has not succeeded in moving towards the creation of a polity which assures an honourable place to the weakest and lowest elements in society. And this failure is due to the domination of the local self-government institutions by the feudal vested interests.

Panchayati Raj can really succeed only when this situation is changed, when the economic base for this institution has been created, and it can be created only by thorough-going land reforms and ending of the feudal stranglehold on our rural society. While fighting for this, the democratic movement will strive to see that these local self-governing institutions are functional efficiently, that they get more powers and resources, that their funds are properly utilised, that corruption, favouritism, etc., are eradicated, while at the same time defending the people against unjust taxes.

## VIII WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL APPEALS TO ALL

# "Let Us Have A World Free From War & Strife"

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The astounding prospects open to mankind which a peaceful world promises for the future were described in picturesque terms by world's first cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin at the VIII World Festival of Youth and Students at Helsinki.

armament and national independence, about the responsibility of youth, particularly the young workers, for the destinies of the world.



"We Sing for Peace"—a chorus during a break at the Festival.

THE striving of young people for unhindered development was amply expressed by him when he said that in a very short time, maybe in 70 to 90 years, the 25th or the 30th youth festival "might indeed be held on some other planet".

The unlimited scope for greater and greater achievements which is offered by modern science today can only be utilised in a world free from the madness of war and strife, was the keynote of the Helsinki festival, which ended on August 6.

The Helsinki festival was the biggest ever youth assembly of the world where 18,000 young people from 142 countries participated.

Jean Garcia, Secretary of the Standing Commission of the International Festival Committee declared at Helsinki festival that no other international meeting had been "so representative". Envoys from 1,500 national organisations, which was 300 more than the participants at the Vienna festival, took part in the VII world festival.

These organisations included 40 national youth councils, 750 political and religious unions, 175 students organisations, 50 sports and 25 international organisations. The world youth rally was greeted

by the heads of 22 states and governments.

Reactionary forces operating from Washington and Bonn tried their best to slander and vilify the festival through their "psychological operations" and intense campaign was whipped up in the press of the so-called "free world", but, as facts have proved, these attempts failed to bring about any effective result.

A common bond of friendship and "let us work together" was the guiding spirit of the rally and shoulder to shoulder youth from the USA and USSR, France and Algeria, USA and Cuba stood together and participated in the festival.

Young writers at the festival declared: "We are with you, peoples of the world". "The programme for cultural East-West exchange will be successful only when an end is put to the colonial system once for all and conditions for social and cultural progress are created in all countries", declared the meeting at the festival on the UNESCO theme: "Cultural values of interest for youth in the East and West".

The young workers' conference discussed and stressed the necessity of stepping up the struggle for general dis-

The students' seminar emphasised that all students' organisations should exert still greater efforts to revive the principles of teaching in a spirit of democratisation and to make the wealth of science and culture still more accessible to all young people of the world.

Similar were the conclusions arrived at the numerous seminars and conferences of youths from various walks of life which were held as parts of the programme of the world youth festival.

The festival is over. The delegates to the festival are

returning with the message of friendship and peace to their respective countries. A great and sustained work in favour of establishing peace will now be the guiding spirit of the young people of the world.

## Appeal To The Youth Of The World

The final gathering at the Eighth Festival of Youth and Students adopted an appeal to the youth of the world, which says:

WE have spent ten unforgettable days here. We compared our viewpoints and exchanged opinions. We were guided by the search for what is common that unites us. We learned to understand each other and be friends.

independence and peaceful co-existence of states with different social regimes

The Festival in Helsinki, with its fraternal meetings and its manifestations, artistic performances and athletic competitions was a supreme expression of the common will of the young generation to achieve the triumph of peace, friendship and international understanding, to assert everywhere the right to national independence, and to make the discoveries and achievements of science and technology serve mankind.

By our powerful manifestations at the Festival we demonstrated our common will to peace and international friendship, to end all nuclear tests, to ban nuclear weapons, to conclude a disarmament treaty, to ensure the triumph of the principles of national

And at the moment when we address this appeal to all without exception, we pledge to dedicate ourselves to the joint fight for peace, and to give all our strength for the triumph of friendship and mutual understanding among youth and the peoples of the world.

May our unity, welded together by the Festival, grow stronger and wider! May it become the unity of the youth of the whole world!

The youth of the whole world represented at the Festival addresses this appeal, which bears evidence to its desire to achieve the triumph of peace and friendship the world over, to the entire young generation.



A view of packed olympic stadium at Helsinki during Festival.

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JATWARA, NETAJI SUBASH ROAD, DELHI - 6

# CHANGE IN NATO COMMAND WHICH PARTNERS DON'T APPROVE

Just a few days ago, President Kennedy reshuffled the commands of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, American Army, American Armed forces in Europe and the NATO.

GENERAL Lauris Norstad was made to resign after 26 years of hot and cold war service out of which he served for 12 years in NATO and 6 years as supreme allied commander of European occupation forces.

General Norstad was to continue in NATO command post at least until 1964. But his pronounced differences with U.S. President over military strategy in Europe, America's relations with NATO and creation of a NATO nuclear striking force (which he strongly advocated) hastened his retirement.

Taking over as the supreme Commander-in-Chief of NATO in 1956 General Norstad in the next six years consistently promoted a policy of intensified arms race.

It was under his leadership that the West German military machine began to revive. On his initiative Bundeswehr divisions were included in the joint armed forces of NATO.

With his assistance those fascist generals who survived the last war began receiving executive posts in the military organs in his aggressive bloc.

He put pressure on NATO member countries to increase each year the numerical strength of armed forces and their military expenditure.

Norstad's retirement was resented by French and West German governments. NATO's new Secretary-General Dirk Stikker said "Norstad's resignation marks the end of an era".

President Kennedy has picked General Lyman Lemnitzer, who was hitherto chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff as Norstad's successor. General Maxwell D. Taylor, President Kennedy's personal military adviser was chosen to take

over as chairman of the joint Chiefs of Staff of U.S. armed forces. Lt. General Earle G. Wheeler was selected at the same time as new U.S. Army Chief.

The U.S. President has now got a top U.S. command more to his liking. General Taylor and Wheeler rate highly with Kennedy's policies though Taylor has had many an encounter with General Lemnitzer over military strategy.

Ever since NATO was set up fourteen years ago, every single supreme commander has been an American chosen by the U.S. President and accepted by his faithful servants in Europe.

This time the reshuffle of top command posts was not heartily approved by European partners. As soon as the news broke out, President de Gaulle expressed his deep regret over the resignation of Norstad as supreme allied commander in Europe and indicated he would not rush to appoint the successor.

## Washington's Undue Haste

A communique from his headquarters, as well as numerous press comments in Paris echoed his view that there had been undue haste in Washington to name Lemnitzer to replace Norstad. In fact, NATO is under exclusive direction of U.S. Government and President de Gaulle does not like it. He seems to be in favour of less U.S. interference in Europe and European leadership in the NATO.

West Germans are most unhappy over Norstad's exit. West German militarists were at logger-heads with General Taylor over the question of European military strategy when Kennedy picked him as presidential strategy adviser.

A leading West German defence expert said this week that differences over Western military strategy existed between Europe and General Maxwell Taylor, the new chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Gerorg Kleiesingh, spokesman for Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party in West German Parliament's Defence Committee, told a press conference in Bonn that he considered General Taylor's shifting to his new job from that of President Kennedy's military adviser "as of more far-reaching importance" than the appointment of General Lemnitzer as NATO Supreme Commander.

He amplified the differences as: "General Lemnitzer's view coincides in some strategic questions with the European conception, and of General Taylor's does not coincide in all cases".

Where does Taylor differ from the Europeans? "General Taylor foresees the use of nuclear weapons only in the case of a direct nuclear attack on the United States or a major nuclear offensive against Europe".

The fear of West Germans is that General Taylor as

head of U.S. Chiefs of Staff may water down NATO's war strategy based on a European nuclear striking force may leave "Europe to the fate of conventional war only."

The Foreign affairs commentator of New York Times, Sulzberger, writing from Bonn, has confirmed this. He wrote on July 30, "publicly our NATO allies agreed to accept General Lemnitzer as a replacement for General Norstad and privately they did not. Some of them including our strongest continental partner West Germany are distinctly, if discreetly, worried".

For, according to Sulzberger,

# Wall Between Worlds

BERLIN, August 6: On Monday, August 13 the biggest international controversy of today, the Berlin Wall, will be one year old. GDR Government closed its open frontier with imperialist occupied West Berlin and set up a visible border on this day in 1961.

THE GDR Government introduced on that day some forms of control (customary on frontiers of any sovereign State) all along its frontiers including the borders of Western sector of Berlin. Check points were set up and guards were put in order to prevent subversive activities.

The citizens of GDR can pass the frontier by special permission only. Revanchist elements and militarists are not allowed to enter democratic Berlin while peace-loving West Berliners can pass without any difficulty. Foreign passport holders can pass freely after declaring their money.

These measures were taken to prevent hostile activity of the revanchists and militarist forces of West Germany and West Berlin. The imperialists and their agencies called it a wall against freedom.

Who provoked its erection? On April 30, 1945 the Red Army liberated the whole of Berlin and hoisted the Red Flag on the Reichstag, while Hitler committed suicide in his underground shelter.

On July 1, 1945 on invitations from the Soviet Union, American, British and French troops were admitted into Berlin to participate in joint occupation and administration of the German capital.

When cold war began, General Clay, U.S. Military Governor dissolved the allied control council and introduced a new currency for West Berlin and split the city in 1948.

In July, 1948, General Clay called Western tanks to force their way to Berlin when GDR asserted its sovereignty.

In April 1956, a tunnel was discovered in East Berlin where American and British occupation authorities were tapping international and internal telephone connections of the GDR Capital.

In June 1961, a Hungary-like uprising plot for Berlin was revealed, from documents and plants recovered

Norstad had promised West Germany that "before next December NATO meeting", he hoped to obtain Washington support for, "European defence plans including a multilateral nuclear force" for NATO. Norstad gave this promise to Chancellor Adenauer in a secret meeting on Lake Commo.

Soon after this the Kennedy administration explained that Norstad could not speak for U.S. Government nor as an international representative can he represent any crystallised Alliance opinion.

Bonn fears now that any tendency to "isolate tactical nuclear weapons in a separate command" would put NATO out of commission. They are for the creation of an inde-

pendent NATO Atomic Force with its own nuclear command. That is why they mourn so much over Norstad's departure.

Recall of Norstad, however will not in any way alter NATO's aggressive policies. The reshuffle helps Kennedy to tactically streamline the strategic commands, maintain its military power in Europe and dominate over NATO which was declared as a fourth atomic power by Norstad under President Eisenhower.

Commanders go and new commanders come. But NATO remains the NATO of Atlantic aggression, aimed at conquering East Germany, changing the post-war borders of European states, launching military adventures against socialist states, effecting economic blackmail against newly independent nations and forcing armed intervention against national liberation struggles in Africa and the Middle East.

That is a fact of life. It is not a matter of my or any one else liking or disliking it, it is a fact that has to be recognised" declared Prime Minister Nehru.

"Today we see that there are two German States, each with its own social system. We believe that every country has the right to choose freely the social system which accords with it, whether it is a Communist or capitalist system" said President Nassar.

"The great powers must also agree to the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from their respective sectors in Germany and the demilitarisation of Germany" urged Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

"The Oder-Neisse line must be recognised as the valid frontier, as it is, in any case, the frontier in fact... an agreement is necessary that West Germany may not be allowed nuclear weapons", stated Lord Bertrand Russell.

"Every nation fearing aggression seeks protection. Berlin wall is a wall of defence", argued Henri Alleg, Algerian journalist.

"The Berlin wall is really the visible projection of a security and control system along the open frontiers with West Berlin. There is nothing illegal or aggressive about this, as every sovereign nation has the right to close its frontiers against hostile forces... that is why the wall should be welcomed as a symbol of peace-loving humanity's resolution that Hitler shall not pass again", exhorted R. K. Karanjia, Indian Journalist.

"It serves no purpose to negotiate with the Russians a settlement on Berlin", declared Chancellor Adenauer.

"This is a wall against expansion of the free world" stated Robert Kennedy.

"We wish that Berlin is more perforated", emphasised Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt.

"We shall soon start new attacks on the suburban railway and also get rid of the so-called railway police", Willy Brandt also stressed.

"A relaxation of the regulations on the use of fire arms by the Western side would only aggravate tension at the wall and increase the number of victims" wrote Der Abend, a West Berlin paper.

# Intrigues Continue To Corrode M.P. Congress

From Our Correspondent

BHOPAL, August 4: AFTER the forced resignation of Deshlahra from the presidency of the MPCC, the situation in the ruling party instead of showing any sign of improvement has further deteriorated. The anti-people taxation policy and the resulting struggle against it launched by the Communist Party and followed by other opposition parties has further complicated the issues for the Mandloi cabinet.

Intrigues continue to corrode the ruling party. The idea of the Katju group that with the resignation of Deshlahra, decks will be cleared for the "Old Man" to stage a come-back proved illusory. And as yet the Congress High Command has not given any indication about the possibility of change in the leadership. Although Dr. Katju has arrived in Bhopal in a triumphant mood, facts prove that the so-called exit of Deshlahra can in no way help him in assuming leadership of Madhya Pradesh Congress legislature party.

The constitution of the 3-man committee consisting of Sadiq Ali, S. S. More and Ranga Reddy has further com-

licated the issues. This committee, formation of which is regarded as the victory by the Deshlahra group, is expected to go into the charge of sabotage during elections by some of the strongmen of the Katju group. Sadiq Ali's inclusion in this committee who is considered to be a strong supporter of Deshlahra has made many ministers belonging to the Katju group apprehensive about their future.

They think that the outcome of the committee's enquiries bound to go against them. With the formation of this committee it has become almost clear that the High Command will not take any decision about the change of leadership till this committee completes its work.

Meanwhile Chief Minister Mandloi came out with a statement on the very day Katju arrived in Bhopal to take oath as an Assembly member that he would not betray the confidence which the Congress legislature party had reposed in him by electing him unanimously as its leader. This statement clearly indicates that Mandloi is not ready to step down in favour of Katju unless the issue is decided by a vote.

Katju's followers have ex-

pressed deep resentment over this statement and have described it as "unwarranted" in a communication addressed to the Prime Minister and other members of the High Command. Since Deshlahra's exit, reports are appearing in some all-India papers, which are described by Deshlahra's followers as inspired, that Sardar Swaran Singh has conveyed to the High Command that the majority of Congress MLAs want Dr. Katju as Chief Minister. At present Katju's supporters are meeting daily to chalk out their strategy. The pro-Deshlahra press in the state is accusing the Katju camp of hatching a conspiracy to overthrow the Mandloi cabinet.

Continuing confusion and the uncertainty prevailing in the ruling party are having their evil effect on the people and the administration. The ministers are not giving adequate attention to administrative problems. Their time is being wasted in chalking out strategy for consolidating the position of the groups to which they belong. The people are so much disgusted with this war of nerves in the ruling party that they have lost faith in the present regime. The massive support extended by them to the anti-taxation agitation is a clear proof of this.

Group alignments in the Congress give little choice to

the people. On one side are Deshlahra and his camp followers who are backed by the most reactionary big business interests; on the other side is the Katju group supported by D. P. Misra who is a rank communist, anti-communist, anti-democrat and a fascist by nature. His misdeeds as Home Minister can be termed as a tale of horrors.

# Anti-Retrenchment Convention

FROM PAGE 12

Then the Federation took initiative to hold a central demonstration in the Dalhousie Square area. Federations of Bank, Insurance and other employees expressed their sympathy. The convention of August 1 is the culmination of a stage of this movement.

The Convention, taking stock of the situation, gave a warning to the employees that unless they took up the challenge immediately and fought it out now, it would engulf all the offices big or small.

The offensive of Voltas Ltd., against its employees in the shape of increase in workload and working hours, reduction in leave facilities etc., in complete violation of existing agreement, was cited as the shape of things to come.

The Convention decided to submit a Memorandum to State Chief Minister detailing the situation and demanding effective measures to stop retrenchment and increase in workload, to enforce tribunal

award and to pass suitable labour legislation in the state to protect the jobs of the employees.

It also demanded immediate setting up of a high-power commission to enquire into the retrenchment cases and the functioning of the mercantile sub-committee of the State Labour Advisory Committee and alternative jobs for those already retrenched.

The Convention gave a call for a sustained movement to achieve the above demands in cooperation with other sections of the middle class employees in banks and insurance companies.

The Convention was presided over by Sudhir Ghosh, Vice-President of the Federation and addressed, among others, by Hrishikesh Bannerjee of BPTUC, Jatin Chakravorty, MLC of UTUC, representatives of Bank, Insurance and other sections of employees and Prodyot Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Federation.

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# Massive Protest Against Increase In Land Revenue

★ From Our Correspondent

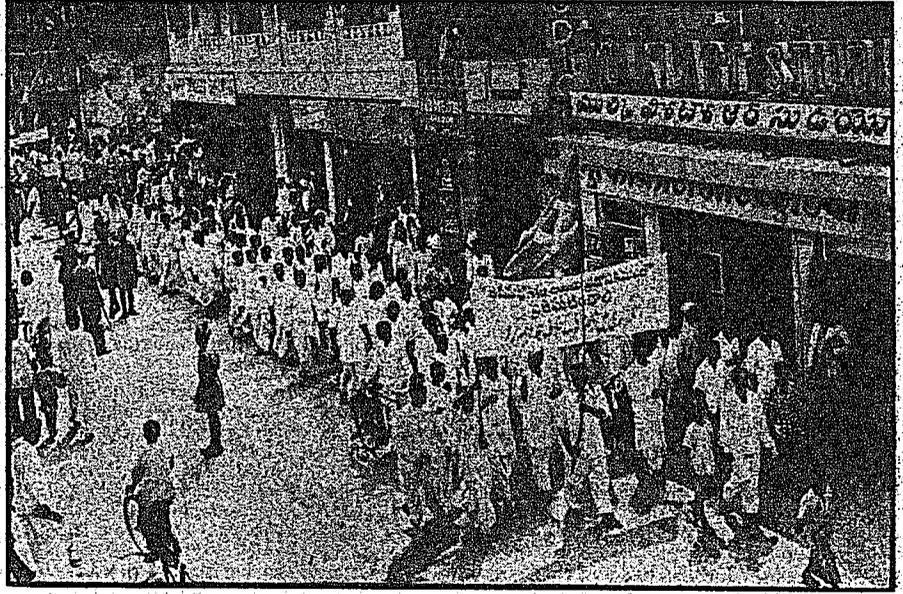
**HYDERABAD:**

The first stage of agitation against the increase in land revenue was rounded off with a 25,000 strong demonstration in front of the Assembly in Hyderabad on July 30.

It was a magnificent demonstration. Citizens of Hyderabad recall that perhaps only when the late Sardar Patel came to Hyderabad and when Nehru came for the first time to this city, there were such demonstrations.

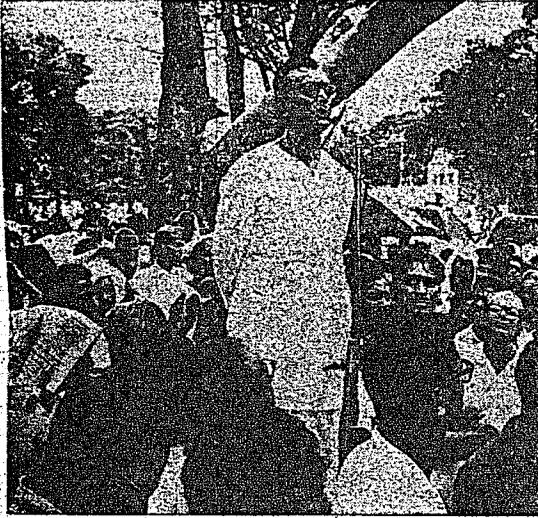
Of significance, however, was not merely the dimension of the demonstration, but the

huge number of peasants who participated in it. Peasants from Telangana clad in their own style of turban and Gongallu (a coarse woollen black shawl), and those who came from far off West Godavari and Nellore districts in Andhra, participated in their thousands and lent an added colour to the demonstration. They came walking for dis-



Top: A view of the procession

Below: N. Satyanarayan Reddi, Y. V. Krishna Rao, Subbataraju, Gopala Krishnayya, B. Yella Reddy, P. Sundaraya and others at the head of the procession



Top: N. Rajsekhar Reddy addressing the rally

Below: A view of the mammoth Rally

tances of 60 miles and more and had been walking for two days to reach the State capital. They came from places even 500 miles away, either by train or by lorries. Among them were some women as well. This indicates their strong determination to resist the bill at any cost.

Noteworthy was another factor: and it was the range of the holdings of the demonstrators which varied from half an acre to 100 acres. All-in peasant unity had become a reality.

There were enough of traffic jams and diversions, for the procession carrying banners, placards, flags of all parties, took as much as 44 minutes to cross any particular point. The procession was so peaceful and disciplined that even the Chief Minister had to pay tribute.

Another significant fact was the participation of hundreds of Congressmen from West



Godavari in the demonstration. Among them could be seen veterans of anti-resettlement satyagraha of the thirties.

They were protesting at that time, carrying on satyagraha against a rise of merely a few annas in land revenue rates. Today, the increase threatened is not merely a few annas nor even a few rupees but by four to six hundred per cent.

As the procession reached the Island grounds just opposite the Assembly buildings, there was a heavy downpour. It continued for nearly an hour. But, not a single soul stirred from his place.

The Chief Minister, who had earlier agreed to meet the demonstrators, came out and received petitions signed by 3.16 lakh peasants from all over 3,000 villages. It was a record effort made by people's organisations in recent years.

The Chief Minister, though unnerved by the strength be-

hind the demand for withdrawal of the bill, could not take the responsibility upon himself. Instead he shifted the blame on the Central Government and quoted Pandit Nehru in support of the measure. This he did in his speech before the demonstrators.

Congress, Communist, Socialist and Praja Party spokesmen exhorted the people to continue their struggle after they went back to their villages.

The impact of the demonstration on Congressmen was unmistakable. Not one of them spoke in support of the measure in the course of the two-day debate that followed in the Assembly after they had seen the demonstration.

The all-Party Action Committee, at whose call this demonstration was held, is due to meet soon and decide the future course of action.

