

A NATIONWIDE ACTION

7- JAN 20
Conv

THE FIRST PHASE OF OUR THREE-FOLD STRUGGLE IS OVER. MORE THAN 50,000 WORKERS, TRADE UNION LEADERS, COMMUNIST AND NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL WORKERS, CARRIED OUT A HUNGERSTRIKE FROM FEBRUARY 20 TO 22, AS DECIDED BY THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

THE unity and solidarity, the discipline and loyalty of the thousands, who sat down on hunger-strike, roused millions to sit up and think.

In hundreds of centres, working class and middle class people, who have not yet been roused to the need for a united action on a national scale against the hunger and famine that the monopolist-banker-landlord raj is im-

posed on us by its policies, their striking batches, despite the fact that in Bombay the foreign-dominated drug industry of May and Baker, Pfizers and others have launched an offensive against their workers for their TU activities.

Every state and every organised industry took part in the action, except Tamilnad which will do its part next week.

The three-day action of February 20-22 was carried

out on a national scale. It has made everyone conscious that the discontent of the people is going to move into an organised, centralised, disciplined, peaceful, powerful all-India battle against the policies of the Congress which enrich a handful of monopolists and

the henchmen of the ruling class at the cost of all the toiling people. Now for the second phase on March 7. On this day, millions of workers will demonstrate before entering their work-places, proclaiming their slogans and demands and calling for a united struggle.

This demonstration must be planned properly. This action, though simple to look at, is more difficult to carry out. One has to hold back and concentrate, fifteen minutes before commencing time, all the workers of the plant, who usually enter singly or in small batches. Belonging as they do to different unions and parties, some may not like to fall in line with us on March 7, as "their" leadership has not asked them to do so. It is our organisers' duty to request them to join in a united action that day.

A fight for unity from below has to be waged in a comradely, fraternal way with those who are not wholly with us. If they do not agree, do not quarrel with them. But, if we create enough en-

NEW AGE

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MARCH 7:

thusiasm and as the demands are common to all, unity can be achieved.

Thus the united voice of millions must rise to the heavens on that day, louder than the sirens of the factories and the threats of the bosses and the bureaucrats, to demand that the policies of the monopolies be dethroned and destroyed.

The National Campaign Committee's call for hunger-strike was questioned by some people, as regards its wisdom and its efficacy. In one place I visited, I was told that while the peasants in that area had moved into a "higher form" of action and looted the shops, what was the use of a "tame" hungerstrike?

In the press conference in Kanpur, I was asked if I ap-

proved the peasants' action and whether hungerstrike and satyagraha were permissible in the theory of the Communist Party.

What could I say? While that looting, no doubt, was the expression of genuine

hunger and discontent of the poor people, yet it is the experience of history that looting does not lead to revolution nor is it a "higher form of struggle". Even if all the shops in India were looted, it would not solve the problem

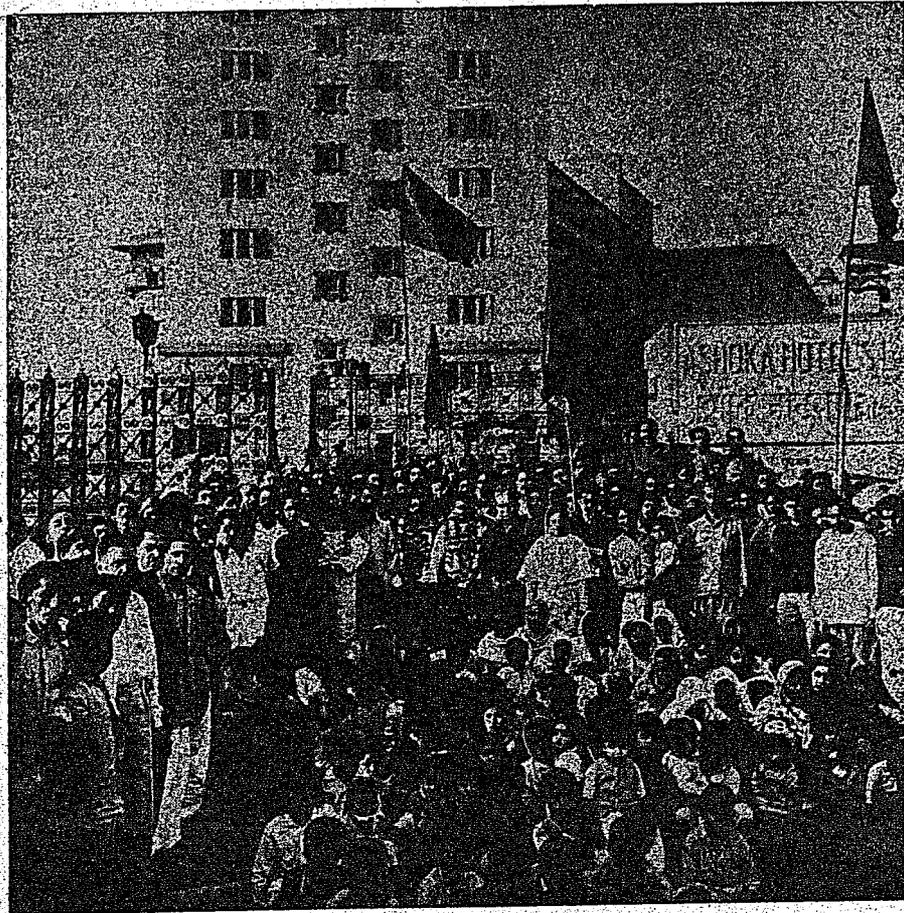
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By

S. A. Dange

MILLIONS TO ACT

The Hunger strikers and other workers of the Ashoka Hotels in New Delhi. (see more photographs and reports on pages 5, 8-9, 12 and 13)



Unholy Pak-China Entente on Kashmir

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on February 25:

THE Communist Party of India notes with amazement and shock the stand Premier CHOU EN-LAI has taken in regard to Kashmir in the joint communique which has been issued on his talks with President AYUB of Pakistan.

The Chinese Premier has thought it fit to publicly support the discredited plebiscite formula which has been long dead as dodo.

The Chinese Premier should know that even the Security Council resolution, which was passed several years ago, did not prescribe a plebiscite without prior fulfilment by Pakistan of its obligations and commitments, including the withdrawal of the Pakistani armed forces from the area which they had occupied through naked aggression. That occupation, involving nearly one-third of Jammu and Kashmir with a population of one million still continues in flagrant defiance of the Security Council and international law.

It should also be known to Premier Chou En-lai that Jammu and Kashmir legally

acceded to India as far back as 1947 and that the accession was absolutely unimpeachable. Since then, the people of Kashmir have unmistakably expressed themselves confirming the accession as well as the State's integration with the rest of India through democratic and constitutional processes.

The verdict of the people of Kashmir has been ascertained through two general elections based on adult franchise. Kashmir is now irrevocably an integral part of India and it is absurd to attempt to invent a dispute over this indisputable truth.

The plebiscite is a cry of the reactionaries of Pakistan. It has also become a favourite slogan of the US and British imperialists who have time and again used it to aggravate Indo-Pak relations in furtherance of their evil designs against both the countries in this sub-continent. One such latest example is the recent speech of SIR PATRICK DEAN in the Security Council. Moreover, the US imperialists have also been backing up Pakis-

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NEW BUDGET REFLECTS UTTER ECONOMIC STAGNATION

CALCUTTA: West Bengal's budget for 1964-65, which was presented to the Assembly on February 19, reveals a dismal picture of utter stagnation of the state's economy.

THE Finance Minister, SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, waxed eloquent on the Congress government's objective of democratic socialism, and claimed that "all our efforts have been characterised by a sense of social purpose to offer increasing prosperity and opportunity within the framework of our own traditions and culture."

But the "Economic Review, 1963-64", which was circulated for the first time this year along with the budget papers, completely knocks the bottom out of this tall claim. This 68-page economic survey of West Bengal makes it abundantly clear that economic and social polarisation has become more pronounced than at any time previously.

Agriculture, it is admitted on all hands, constitutes the base for planned economic development, particularly in an underdeveloped country like India. What is West Bengal's performance in this vital sector of the economy?

Agricultural production has been declining over the past four years. The index numbers of agricultural production (base 1949-50=100) fell from 131.83 in 1960-61 to 130.10 in 1961-62 and further to 121.06 in 1962-63. The deplorable state of agriculture is sharply underlined by chronic deficit in food grains production. Except for only one year since 1947, West Bengal has never been self-sufficient in production of rice, the staple food of the people in this part of the country.

The yield per acre has remained stagnant, and moreover, agricultural operations in this state are still largely dependent on the behaviour of the monsoons. However, this is not all. The index numbers of foodgrains production fell from 132.57 in 1960-61 to 108.63 in 1962-63. In 1962-63 alone, rice production declined by 8.1 per cent over the preceding year.

The Finance Minister's claim that "industrialisation in West Bengal has made a great stride in recent years" is completely belied by facts.

Slow Growth Of Industry

West Bengal held the first position in the level of industrial developments, and nearly 33 per cent of the country's total industrial potential was concentrated in this state. But the extremely slow and halting rate of growth of industries here over the last sixteen years has resulted in virtual stagnation in this sector.

The just claims of West Bengal were ignored by the Centre, and the state government also did very little on their own. Stagnation in West Bengal's industrial sector is reflected in the extremely low rate of growth of per capita income, which increased by Rs. 17 only between 1956-57 and 1959-60.

This was noted by the Finance Minister, and he rightly pointed

out that "as there is practically no cultivable waste in West Bengal, the required increase in per capita income can come mainly from the industrial sector." But he laid the main emphasis on the role of the private sector in developing more industries in the state.

Despite the urgent need to step up industrial expansion, the allocation under the head "Industries" for 1964-65 amounts to no more than Rs. 94 lakhs. Even then, a substantial portion of this meagre sum is earmarked for "investment in shares of cooperative organisations and the warehousing corporation".

It is admitted in the "Economic Review" that among the states West Bengal has the smallest percentage of workers. Not only that. Dividing the decade 1951-61, the percentage of workers to West Bengal's total population of 3.5 crores declined by a whole 3 per cent while in India as a whole it rose by 39 per cent.

Of the workers, constituting 33.2 per cent of the total population of the state, only 15.4 per cent were employed in non-agricultural occupations.

Widespread Unemployment

Unemployment in the state has assumed staggering proportions. Between January 1961 and October 1963, the number of job-seekers on the live registers of Employment Exchanges shot up from 3,28,000 to 5,18,000—an increase of 1,90,000 in less than three years.

The incidence of taxation in West Bengal is the second highest in the country. Tax revenues collected by the state government between 1951-54 rose very steeply, and about 80 per cent of these taxes were in the form of indirect taxation, which hits the common people. In the past four years alone, indirect taxes increased by more than 50 per cent.

Over the last 13 years per capita taxation (central and state taxes combined) in West Bengal went up by about 36 per cent. Besides municipal taxes, panchayat taxes, etc., per capita taxation in the state now stands at about Rs. 451.

The prices of all essential commodities in general and of rice in particular have registered a sharp rise in the state since 1956. During September-October 1963, rice prices jumped up to Rs. 45-50 a maund, reminding one of the calamitous Bengal Famine of 1943.

The prices are still around Rs. 38-40 a maund. Other essential commodities also have become dearer by 20 per cent to 35 per cent.

The Finance Minister made heroic efforts to skip over a vital question: who had profited from 13 years of planning?

In 1961-62 alone, the rate of growth of the paid-up capital of private sector companies in West Bengal was 13.7 per cent over the previous year. It was an indi-

cation of the profits earned by the employers.

The same trend was evident in another sphere. The deposits in 34 banks operating in West Bengal rose from Rs. 285.88 crores in 1960 to Rs. 355.92 crores in 1962—an increase of Rs. 50.04 crores.

The advances made by them, mainly to the industry, during the same period increased by Rs. 77.67 crores. The working results of these banks in 1963 showed a net profit of 10 per cent over the preceding year.

The opposition launched a powerful attack on the state government's policies which have led to these conditions when the general discussion on the budget opened on February 21.

Communist Criticism

The main points of their criticism were the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, increasing burden of indirect taxation, soaring prices and rapid impoverishment of the masses of people. Even some Congress members voiced their grave concern at the worsening employment position.

HARE KRISHNA KONAR, Deputy Leader of the Communist Bloc who initiated the debate cited facts and figures to dis-

prove the government's tall claims of achievements in different spheres and to expose the anti-people policies pursued by it.

The government, he pointed out, swore *ad nauseam* by democratic socialism; but the way the budget was framed, imposing more and more burdens on the people and providing unrestricted opportunities to the rich to become richer, was a clear indication that the government's policies were miles apart from socialist principles.

COMMUNAL TENSION AGAIN

THE situation which had arisen out of the recent communal disturbances in Calcutta, began to look up since the beginning of this month. But a most unfortunate incident during the Muslim festival of Id (February 15) and another - on the following day caused a serious setback.

On the occasion of the Id, many members of the minority community in the city wore black badges, presumably as a mark of protest against the losses in life and property suffered by them during the last riots.

Sober elements among the community, however, tried their best to dissuade them from taking the ill-conceived and provocative step; but their efforts were of no avail.

The dark forces of reaction which had engineered the riots were still operating behind the scenes, and large sections of people of the majority community were deeply agitated over the grim happenings in East Pakistan.

The situation was such that the action of the misguided members of the minority community could touch off fresh disturbances. Fuel was added to fire when,

on the next day, a large crowd belonging to the same community tried to rescue from the police a Muslim Councillor of Calcutta Corporation and his brother. They had been arrested under Rule 30 of the DIR for alleged anti-state activities.

Tension began to mount, and there were a few stray cases of knife attacks.

Some local dailies seized on the above incidents and played them up in a provocative manner. The entire minority community was sought to be tarred with the same brush. It looked as if it was a crime to belong to that community.

It was in this background that the Communist Party took the initiative to organise a public meeting jointly with the six other left parties—the RSP, Marxist Forward Bloc, RCPI, Workers' Party, Socialist Unity Centre and the Bolshevik Party.

The PSP and the Forward Bloc which have been toeing the line of the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha on the communal question, naturally refused to cooperate.

The meeting was held at the Calcutta Maidan on February 22. About 10,000 people drawn from all walks of life, attended it. MAKHAN PAL, RSP leader, presided and those who addressed the rally were JYOTI BASU (CPI), AMAR BASU MLA (Marxist FB), NIKHIL DAS MLA (RSP), and the leaders of other left parties.

The public meeting was the first major attempt of the organised democratic forces in West Bengal, represented by the left parties to intervene in the situation.

Meanwhile, the tension that existed a few days ago has relaxed to some extent. But an uneasy lull still prevails in the city.

Rajasthan Workers Win Important Concessions

From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: The organised working class in Rajasthan has secured some important concessions as a result of a united movement which was initiated in November last year.

A joint action committee of the unions of the AITUC, HMS, Socialist Party and independent unions was set up and under its auspices a grand demonstration was organised in Jaipur on December 16, 1963.

The action committee gave notice and finally called for a one-day protest strike on February 21 all over the state and in every industry including industries and departments-run by the state government.

The main demands included a rise in the minimum wage to at least Rs. 89 per month; linking of dearness allowance with cost of living index with full neutralisation; correction in the computation of the index numbers and stoppage of the discriminatory policy against unions other than the AITUC.

As the tempo went on mounting, the government had to move. Originally it wanted to face the situation and fixed a meeting of the Labour Advisory Board with these very items on the

agenda on February 22. However on seeing that the response to the call of the action committee for the strike on February 21 was gathering more and more support, it changed the date of the meeting to February 18.

On that day the Chief Minister, inaugurating the meeting announced some significant concessions.

Government Announcements

The first was an interim increase of Rs. 5 in dearness allowance of the employees of the government-run industries and departments together with an appeal to the private sector too to follow suit.

The second was the appointment of an experts committee headed by Professor M. V. MATEUR to examine the system of computation of the cost of living index numbers and to suggest necessary changes and modifications.

On a demand raised by the AITUC representative

the government finally agreed to refer to this committee the additional question of suggesting a formula for linking the dearness allowance with the cost of living index. This committee has also been authorised to submit interim reports.

The significance of this announcement will become clear when note is taken of the fact that till now in no industry in the state is the dearness allowance linked to the cost of living index. Even in the textile industry despite the Wage Board award, only in Beawar DA is linked to cost of living and even that linking is so defective and the cost of living index numbers are so faulty that the workers are denied any benefit in practice.

One more important announcement was made in the meeting. It was announced that government would accept the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Advisory Board. It may be mentioned that this board has recommended the minimum wage of Rs. 65 for the lowest unskilled worker.

The action committee has withdrawn the programme of the strike following these concessions.

The Rajya Sabha was astir last Wednesday (February 19), when several members criticised the delay in conducting the inquiry into the affairs of five companies of the Sahu-Jain group.

COMMUNIST leader Bhupesh Gupta openly alleged that "Shanti Prasad Jain was putting pressure in order to frustrate the investigation and create procedural difficulties." (HINDUSTAN TIMES, February 20)

Other members, including Congress MPs Arjun Arora and A. M. Tariq said that "Messrs Bennet Coleman and Company were trying to delay the investigation."

"Mr. Arora asked if the government was conscious of the provision in the Companies Act which, when a prima facie case of embezzlement was found, prosecution had to be launched. He wanted to know why

the government had not taken steps on these lines since a body like the Vivian Bose Commission had found a prima facie case involving large embezzlement.

"This was followed by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's interjection—'Why has Mr. S. P. Jain not been arrested?'" (PATRIOT, February 20)

Behind this short interlude reported in the Rajya Sabha proceedings, lies a matter of serious concern to our entire people. The Rajya Sabha members mentioned above who have drawn attention to the scandal, deserve the thanks of all Indians who

seek the implementation of the repeated pledges of the government to put an end to corrupt practices.

To recall the facts. The Vivian Bose report mentioned several cases of fraud and defalcation in the affairs of five companies under the management of Shanti Prasad Jain. The Company Law Inspector received the full cooperation of the employees of Bennet Coleman and Co. Ltd., and it is understood that consequently a considerable amount of valuable information was obtained by the inspector.

It is alleged that among the more serious items, which were revealed to the inspector by the employees are the following:

(1) A considerable sum is unaccounted, ranging upto rupees twenty lakhs, obtained from sale of newspaper waste and old machinery;

(2) Important records have been destroyed;

(3) Air fares were paid from company funds to certain Rightwing Congressmen to help the anti-Krishna Menon committee during the last general elections.

The management is then alleged to have begun to non-cooperate with the inspector and to refuse to supply him with documents, etc. So grave was this obstruction that the inspector had to appeal to the High Court, as was admitted by Minister B. R. Bhagat in the Rajya Sabha.

Meanwhile the time-limit for completing the probe has been extended to June 30.

Desperate Activities

Attention has now been drawn by informed quarters to the desperate activities of persons concerned to prevent the inquiry from being completed and to avert the logical course of action that must follow.

The Times of India and Allied Publications Employees' Union is reported to have represented to the Prime Minister that money is "flowing like water" to influence persons in responsible positions to take steps to slow down still further or obstruct altogether the machinery which is bringing the guilty men to book. It is significant that a recent issue of a notorious pro-

princes by Sardar Patel?" He suggested that efforts be made to "induce" the princes to give up to the utmost extent possible their rights.

N. M. Anwar said: "If we are going to go back on the sacred pledge that we have given in the name of our nation I believe we would knock the bottom out of all sanctity on which the government or the state stands." "Does he (Bhupesh Gupta) want that the princely order should also join the disgrun-

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

American Bombay weekly, while shedding tears at the so-called "victimisation" of a "good businessman", sought to spread the suggestion that even one of the leaders of the Congress Left has given a good chit to this businessman.

One of the close associates of the Sahu-Jain group is alleged to have boasted amongst his closest friends that "adequate arrangements" have been made to ensure that no action is taken against those reported guilty. This "man-in-the-know" is reported to have gone to the extent of naming certain prominent personalities who, he claims, are "backing" Shanti Prasad Jain.

TOI Support To Congress

Reference has also been made in this connection to the "support" which THE TIMES OF INDIA is supposed to be giving to certain elements inside the Congress, following the recent illness of the Prime Minister. This "support", it is made out by the boastful friends of the powerful tycoon, is a quid pro quo for "assistance" against the Vivian Bose charges and their logical consequences.

This correspondent has also been informed that the editor of the pro-imperialist weekly referred to above has prepared a biography of ex-Finance Minister Morarji Desai (the would be "NUMBER-TWO" who is now only an "ALSO RAN"). It is alleged that this biography is to be published with blessings (and finance) provided by Shanti Prasad Jain.

The air is thick with rumours of the far-fung activities of the key personality named in the Vivian Bose report. This, it is alleged, embrace a large variety of those who are either in authority themselves or very close to those in authority. And pro-Jain circles insist that they have the support of Congress leaders—Right, Left, Centre!

It is to be hoped that these boasts and rumours are totally false. But the continued delays and obstructions give room for suspicions.

Prompt and immediate action must be taken along the lines called for in Parliament by Bhupesh Gupta and others.

Minister Hajarnavis said that the ex-rulers are "the flesh of our flesh, and they are no less patriotic". The government has to respect the commitment made to them. "So far as we are concerned, we believe in making the transformation slowly, allowing of scope to the human being to adjust themselves to the change as it takes place."

RAJYA SABHA

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

CONGRESS TROTS OUT MORAL PLEA IN DEFENCE OF PRIVY PURSES

In the resumed debate on Bhupesh Gupta's Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1962 the Rajya Sabha on Friday last heard further powerful arguments from a number of members against the granting of privy purses to the princes of former Indian States.

EVEN the apologists for maintaining the purses, as indeed there were, some from the ruling party including Minister Hajarnavis, could not defend outright the system but chose to take shelter under the plea that the government was duty bound, "morally" and "ethically", to honour a commitment made to the princes by the late Sardar Patel at the time of the integration of the states.

This retreat into the realm of ethics by the Minister and those others who opposed the Bill brought a sharp and hitting reply from Bhupesh Gupta.

"I am not asking this House to do anything immoral or unethical", he said. "I thought it was highly ethical, that it was highly moral. The demand before the House is that not only in the light of what we stand for, but in the light of thinking and urges of many Congressmen in this country, these privy purses should be abolished." He pointed out it was not a party issue.

The Rajya Sabha discussion also revealed that the demand for ending privy purses was not confined to the Communist Party, though F. N. Sapru paid a compliment to the Party by saying that the Communist Party had from the beginning opposed these privy purses and maintained a consistent stand and therefore could continue to press the demand, whereas the Congress party cannot do so because it is not "morally right to go back upon" the "pledges" it had given to the princes.

Despite the arguments by Sapru and N. M. Anwar and Akbar Ali Khan against the Bill, the strong views expressed by at least two Congress members, Sheel Bhadra Yajee and A. M. Tariq went a long way to vindicate the Bill moved by the Communist leader.

Bhupesh Gupta's Reply

In his reply to the discussion, Bhupesh Gupta referred to the concern voiced by some Congress members about the difficulties of the poor princes and said it would be more appropriate if Congressmen gave some thought to the plight of the really suffering people in the country including those freedom-fighters who have become destitutes after independence.

Many people in the country are not getting a fair deal, not even the pension to which they are entitled, he said. The families of martyrs are starving today in parts of the country and those who took part in the Quit India and Civil Disobedience movements are thrown on the streets and do not have the means of livelihood.

"I think Congressmen will do well to think about them a little more deeply and sympathetically before they are concerned about what happens to the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Maharaja of Ba-

Who Is Shielding The Guilty?

Pressure To Frustrate Sahu-Jain Inquiry

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

to prosecute the guilty persons. In the meanwhile, an inspector, S. F. Chopra, was appointed under the Indian Companies Act to probe further into the affairs of five companies under the management of Shanti Prasad Jain.

The Company Law Inspector received the full cooperation of the employees of Bennet Coleman and Co. Ltd., and it is understood that consequently a considerable amount of valuable information was obtained by the inspector.

It is alleged that among the more serious items, which were revealed to the inspector by the employees are the following:

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TRUE FRIENDSHIP

Editorial

THE NATION'S GRATITUDE to the Soviet Union for its friendship and solidarity with India during the recent Security Council debate on Kashmir, has been expressed once again by Education Minister CHAGLA. In his opening address to the Indo-Soviet Joint Committee, now meeting in New Delhi to discuss the cultural exchange programme for the coming year, the Minister declared that he realised 'the depth of Indo-Soviet friendship', while taking part in the Kashmir debate in the Security Council.

At his press conference on February 21 and his speeches in both the houses of Parliament on February 24, the Minister rejected the imperialist-inspired Right reactionary press propaganda that has sought to see a 'shift' away from India in the attitude of the Soviet Union on Kashmir.

He made it clear that "the USSR and Czechoslovakia supported us throughout and completely".

The frenzy with which Pakistan and the pro-imperialist sections of opinion inside India have sought to build up the impression of Soviet 'lukewarmness' towards India, is understandable. In the face of the nationwide resentment against the Anglo-American powers over their hostility during the Kashmir debate, the only way out for the imperialists and their Indian henchmen was to attempt to create the impression that the Soviet Union had not given its complete support to India.

It was a studied and well-planned manoeuvre. Washington correspondents and local commentators have kept up a non-stop barrage of propaganda aimed at creating suspicions in Indian minds against the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, the emphatic manner in which government spokesmen here asserted Indian appreciation of the stand taken by the Soviet Union on Kashmir, has helped to frustrate the imperialist propaganda offensive, which had succeeded, it must be admitted, in confusing even some of those who should have known better.

The nation has always been grateful for the friendship of the mighty Soviet Union, which is most evident at moments when it is most needed. When the imperialists sought to intervene against Indian forces liberating Goa, it was the solid support of the Soviet Union in the Security Council which foiled the Anglo-American plans.

It is the solidarity of the Soviet Union which is a powerful shield, which India knows it can rely on at all times to protect itself against the onslaughts of the imperialists, and to strengthen the economic and political basis of our independence.

Pak-China Entente

* FROM FRONT PAGE

tan's clamour for plebiscite with lavish arms aid under the notorious US-Pak Military Pact.

By his wholesale endorsement of this discredited formula of plebiscite which incidentally originated in the Anglo-US imperialist intrigues against India, the Chinese Premier has simply fallen in line with the imperialist stand in regard to Kashmir. This would certainly give comfort to the Ayub regime and its imperialist partners in the SEATO and CENTO.

But that is not how one is supposed to promote the cause of peaceful solution of the Indo-Pak problems or the Afro-Asian solidarity. On the contrary, the provocations and manoeuvres of the Ayub regime and the imperialists which recently met with a fiasco in the Security Council, need to be denounced and thoroughly exposed.

The stand of the Chinese Premier will, far from easing tension or helping solution of the problem, will only encourage bellicosity on the part of the Ayub regime, and bring grist to the mills of the imperialists who are constantly prodding Pakistan. The Communist Party of India emphatically repudiates the stand of the Chinese Premier in the joint communique. It still hopes that the leadership of the People's Republic of China will not barter away principles just for the sake of gaining certain dubious narrow advantages but will find its way giving up its patently unprincipled stand in regard to the Kashmir question.

But Shastriji's speech, in all circumstances, was a welcome reassertion of Indian policy,

Breaking India-China Deadlock?

The brazen support given by the Chinese government to the Pakistan stand on Kashmir, through the Ayub-Chou En-lai joint communique, has once again demonstrated the intransigent attitude of the Chinese leadership on the question of breaking the deadlock in which India-China relations find themselves today.

AND yet there continues to be considerable speculation regarding the possibilities of new initiatives to break the deadlock and pave the way to negotiations. The speculations began with GENERAL NE WIN'S visit to our capital to pay a courtesy call on Prime Minister NEHRU. At that time, NEW AGE had categorically stated:

"All those who value peace and the solidarity of Asia, who value the progress and development of our country, would naturally welcome any move by the Chinese government, even at this stage, to accept the Colombo proposals. The continuation of the deadlock only helps the imperialists and the worst reactionaries to work for the reversal of our basic policies and drag India into the imperialist system of military pacts." (NEW AGE, February 16, 1964)

There have been important developments since General Ne Win's visit. Notice has been taken in this country of the wording of the reference to the India-China question in the joint communique issued by General Ne Win with Premier Chou En-lai after the latter's visit to Rangoon. This reference speaks of the opening of India-China negotiations "on the basis of the Colombo proposals".

While there is no occasion to whoop with delight, it would be a mistake to dismiss these words as being of no significance or merely reiterating the Chinese stand. It may "save face" for the Chinese leadership to say that they were always ready to talk of negotiations "on the basis of the Colombo proposals."

But those who have had the occasion to attend non-official international conferences where Chinese representatives were present during the last one year can testify to the vehement resistance put up by the Chinese leadership to any reference to negotiations being "on the basis of the Colombo proposals."

The Ne Win-Chou En-lai communique thus does indicate what may be a lessening of the rigidity of approach, which has characterised the Chinese leadership's attitude during the past one year. There is every reason to believe that the personal contacts and discussions which the Chinese Premier has had in recent months in Africa and Asia have demonstrated clearly to the Chinese leadership that their negative attitude to the Afro-Asian Colombo proposals has earned for them considerable estrangement in the two continents.

It is in the context of this pressure of Afro-Asian opinion on the Chinese leadership that the statement of LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI in Parliament last week must be viewed. In the face of the Rightwing furore, which followed, it was inevitable that government spokesmen should again underline the fact that India's policy on the question had undergone no change.

But Shastriji's speech, in all circumstances, was a welcome reassertion of Indian policy,

with the proper emphasis on our determination to ensure a peaceful solution.

Shastriji emphasised the necessity to end the deadlock, of course, consistent with India's dignity and honour. Here was certainly a reiteration of government policy and not its reversal.

"There is no point in leaving these things in suspense for a long time whether it is Pakistan or China. If it hangs fire for a long time to come, it does not serve the interest of either one country or the other. I have merely put it to the House. I only want that the House might give thought to it. We have to take a realistic and practical view of things."

The Right reactionary forces are up in arms, and have sought to squeeze out "guarantees" from government, which would amount to assurances that in no circumstances would India negotiate!

If the Kashmir debate has taught our people anything, it is certainly this: No reliance can be placed on the imperialists and their Rightwing supporters in this country. They seek only political advantage out of India's problems and difficulties. If they seek to keep alive the tension on the India-China question, they do so not out of patriotic motivations, but solely in order to permit greater imperialist pressure to be exerted on India.

The reassertion of India's anxiety for a peaceful settlement will strengthen India and win it universal support. The pressure of world opinion on the Chinese leadership for the acceptance of the Colombo proposals is growing. It is at this moment that, despite all provocations, bold initiatives for the breaking of the deadlock—initiatives in conformity with our stated and accepted policies, with our honour and dignity—will yield results, valuable for peace and for India's progress.

Public interest has been focussed on certain important passages in the Minister Without Portfolio's speech in the Lok Sabha. Among these are the following:

"India has taken a moral stand and we should stick to it. If the House will allow me to do so, I might put to the House or to Hon. Members a major question: whether we want war or peace? I know how strongly we feel about the

Canadian Party Condemns CPC

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada issued a statement on February 17 condemning the Chinese stand on international Communist movement. It says:

WE are greatly concerned with a recent editorial article published by the editorial departments of People's Daily and Red Flag, titled "The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. are the Greatest Splitters of Our Times." The sole essential content of this article is a call for splits, for disuniting the world Communist movement, and for the establishment of an international centre headed by the Communist Party of China, whose purpose is to impose its own dangerous and non-Marxist line against the line of the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party of China is striving recklessly to split the countries of the world socialist system. By this action it is weakening the world front of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. Our Party repudiates this

Chinese aggression... However I feel that in human affairs one cannot always take a completely rigid and fixed view. The point is, is there any other alternative to violent conflict?"

"I know the House will generally agree that India will always like to avoid any kind of conflagration, any kind of step which will lead to a major conflict." The door of discussion and negotiations should therefore never be closed.

"There is no point in leaving these things in suspense for a long time whether it is Pakistan or China. If it hangs fire for a long time to come, it does not serve the interest of either one country or the other. I have merely put it to the House. I only want that the House might give thought to it. We have to take a realistic and practical view of things."

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(February 25)

S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, issued the following statement on February 24:

THE AITUC congratulates all those thousands of workers who went on a three day hunger-strike from February 20 to 22, in response to the call given by the National Campaign Committee of the Toilers of India. The AITUC congratulates particularly the women workers, especially in Bombay, who have joined in this action.

According to information received, over fifty thousand leaders and workers were on hungerstrike in all states of India except Madras, where the hunger-strike will take place in March. Lakhs of workers demonstrated daily in support of the hunger-strikes and common men and women came in huge numbers to express their sympathy and solidarity with the demands of the campaign.

We hope that this demonstration will have some effect on the government to shed their complacency and will force them to take steps to check price rises, link DA with cost of living, correct fraudulent indices, withdraw excise

DANGE REFUTES GOVT. STATEMENT

CALL TO PREPARE FOR NEXT STAGE OF ACTION

National Campaign Of Toilers In Full Swing

inst the conduct of hunger-strikes by the trade unions. The AITUC may point out that there was no unanimous agreement in the tripartite meeting and most of the workers' organisations, including the AITUC, had expressed their disagreement with the proposal made by government on this question.

As regards the Industrial Truce Resolution and the current agitation by the trade unions, the AITUC may point out that the Resolution clearly laid down as an integral responsibility of the government and the employers that prices would not be allowed to rise. Dur-

ing 1963, even government figures of cost of living indices (all-India) have shown a rise of 10 points between January and December, and it is clear therefore that the government did nothing to arrest the price rise and bring relief to the people, despite all the Emergency powers.

On the other hand, while the Defence of India Rules were used to arrest and detain trade unionists and suppress democratic activities of the workers and the common people, speculators and hoarders were allowed a free hand. Speculative activities such as 'forward trading' were allowed to be resumed.

Working Class Cannot Tolerate

The working class cannot obviously tolerate such a state of affairs and this was precisely the reason why all central trade union organisations, (except, of course, the ISTUC) refused to reiterate their adherence to the Industrial Truce Resolution in the 21st Indian Labour Conference held in July last year and had refused to accept the blanket ban on strikes. We had to make very clear to the government and the employers that we would stand by the workers and defend their interests.

It is absurd to suggest, as has now been done by the official spokesman of the Labour Ministry, that relief from the rigours of rising prices, to protect the real wages of the workers, is not

an industrial issue and that the workers should not agitate on that issue. As we have already pointed out, the crux of the industrial truce was that the price line will be held and that real wages will be protected. Therefore, the question has wider implications, and has to be seen in its national importance. Those who lecture about moral codes should first examine their own conduct in fleeing the people through unjust taxes, rising prices and fraudulent indices.

The AITUC reiterates its firm resolve to stand by the people and lead them in a national campaign to reduce prices and against unjust taxes. Living is becoming impossible for the mass of workers and the common people, and a handful of monopolists and hoarders and bureaucrats cannot be allowed to play with the lives of the people.

Second Phase Of Struggle

The AITUC calls upon all workers, of all affiliations, to prepare for the second phase of struggle—namely, mass demonstrations before and after each shift in front of all factories, offices and establishments on March 7, 1964, along with wearing of demands badges. It calls upon the government to take concrete steps against rising prices in the light of the 11-point charter put forward by the AITUC. Lectures, sermons and threats to the workers will not solve the problem.

BHOPAL SITUATION WORSENS GOVT. GOES BACK ON PROMISE

Union Leaders Arrested : Hunger Strike Continues

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BHOPAL: Industrial relations in the Bhopal Heavy Electricals have again deteriorated due to the apathetic attitude of the government in solving the disputes between the management and the workers.

THE president of the Heavy Electricals Servants Union S. BHOWMICK had resorted to hungerstrike again on February 22 and the state government instead of resolving the crisis, swooped down upon the union leaders and arrested seven of them including Bhowmick. It may be recalled that Bhowmick withdrew hungerstrike on February 13 on the assurance of the government that the demands of the workers would be sympathetically considered.

the minimum emoluments should be Rs. 130, as awarded in Pimpri. The DA in HEL is very low (Rs. 5 and Rs. 10) whereas in Bhalai it is higher (Rs. 30 and Rs. 15).

The union is also demanding that all the dispute about representative character of the non-recognised INTUC union is decided, the HESTU must be accorded interim recognition in some form to facilitate negotiation.

The All-India Trade Union Congress has already supported the struggle of the Heavy Electricals workers. In a statement issued on February 24, S. A. DANGE has said that government has resorted to repressive measures instead of solving the longstanding disputes.

AIPC CALLS FOR

Hands Off Kashmir Week (March 1 to 7)

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: The All-India Peace Council has written to the President of the USA and Prime Minister of UK condemning their stand on Kashmir as revealed in the debate in the Security Council. Simultaneously, it has written a letter to the Soviet Premier thanking him for the Soviet stand.

THE AIPC has called upon the people of our country to demonstrate their anger against the USUK imperialist game on Kashmir by observing a HANDS OFF KASHMIR WEEK from March 1 and to mobilise public opinion against the new danger that is indicated in the Security Council debate.

Explaining the stand of the AIPC at a press conference on February 21, DEWAN CHAMANLALL, chairman of the Presidential Council of the AIPC pointed out that the stand of British representative about the legal effect of the instrument of accession of Kashmir to India would logically mean that the very basis of division of India and the very

existence of Pakistan as a separate nation could be challenged. It would also mean that the accession of 600 odd Indian princes would be thrown into the melting pot. He explained that there is no "Kashmir problem" as such. If anything, it is the question of vacation of aggression by the Pakistani army from the occupied territory of Kashmir, and of stopping the supply of arms to them by foreign powers to retain that illegal occupation. It was pointed out that Kashmir was an integral part of our country and no amount of pressure from any quarter would succeed in changing its status.

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper (NEW AGE) to be published in the first issue every year after last day of February.

FROM IV (See Rule 8)

- 1. Place of Publication... NEW DELHI
- 2. Periodicity of its publication... WEEKLY
- 3. Printer's Name... D. P. SINHA INDIAN 4/7 ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI.
- 4. Publisher's Name... D. P. SINHA INDIAN 4/7 ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI
- 5. Editor's Name... ROMESH CHANDRA INDIAN 6 JUMNA BHAVAN ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI
- 6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital. COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

I, D. P. Sinha, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief. Date: 24.2.1964 Signature of Publisher D. P. SINHA.

Pre-Budget Publicity

MONOPOLY PRESS OBLIGES TTK

It has become the custom for the Finance Minister to present an economic survey of the outgoing year along with his budget. The more studious of the Members of Parliament might pick up some figures and facts out of the survey to drive home their points during the budget debate. Otherwise, the economic survey is ignored by all, especially the press.

THIS year, somebody in the Finance Ministry with a public relations angle—it is not known whether the 'somebody' was actually T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI himself, the darling of the capitalist press—came up with a bright idea to get some publicity. The economic survey was presented to Parliament a week before the budget.

The expectations of the Finance Ministry were fully realised. Despite the fact that most of what is stated in the economic survey were made known through the mid-term appraisal of the plan months ago, the survey got banner headlines in the daily press and evoked some editorials too.

Allround rise in prices; little increase in per capita income; stagnation in agriculture; private sector's failure in the industrial sector—these were some of the facts revealed in the survey. What did the monopoly press have to say about all these?

THE TIMES OF INDIA wrote on February 22: rather longish on agriculture's failure and measures to remedy it, among them such 'novel' ideas as "intensifying production effort in districts which have an assured rainfall or adequate irrigation facilities," giving first priority to "programmes which hold the promise of quickest results" and providing better "administrative effort."

But there was not a word in the whole editorial about the real bottleneck in agriculture today: protecting the interests of the actual tiller of the soil. It had nothing to say about the urgent necessity of effective land reform legislation and its implementation without which there cannot be any breakthrough in agriculture.

As far as the spiralling prices are concerned, the paper quoted appreciatively from the survey: "The survey is right in arguing that 'while the ultimate solution to the price problem lies only in increasing production, and an un-

These might have contributed to the grim picture of the economy today, but more such concessions to the monopoly capitalists was what the paper wanted. For, it said: "The several steps taken in the recent past add up to the philosophy that impulses of growth should be aided and all the obstacles in their way should be gradually dismantled" and they provided "better indices of hope than the actual performance of the economy."

The paper was not satisfied merely with concessions to the Indian capitalists; it wanted the Finance Minister to help the brothers from abroad too. The specific demands were spelt out in an editorial on February 20 dealing with the report, "Foreign Investor and Tax Reform" produced by that inveterate champion of private sector, the National Council of Applied Economic Research.

India had all the attractions for the foreign investor, said the paper, INDIAN EXPRESS wrote on Feb-

Real Reason

But the drab language of the survey could not be reason enough for the wrath of this Birla mouthpiece. And the real reason came out just a few lines later:

The survey failed because "its lugubrious recital does not communicate the distinct change in the economic climate in the second half of the year, thus doing less than justice to Mr. Krishnamachari's... methodical grappling with the problems of economy. These steps are mentioned, no doubt, but the fact that they add up to a meaningful strategy is not brought out."

So, that is the reason why THE HINDUSTAN TIMES was angry. The survey did not sing the praises of the steps which Krishnamachari has taken in the latter half of the year. The "meaningful strategy" was of course the concessions given to the capitalists and the decontrol of many commodities.

so on, while in respect of foreign companies there should be a lower rate of super tax and super profits tax." The editorial hoped that the coming budget would contain "some redeemable features" on the above lines.

It was not satisfied with the demand for concessions to foreign investors; the case for Indian capitalists also was not left out. Said THE HINDU:

"It will not be correct, however, to imagine that a 'bigger inflow' of foreign capital alone will bring about the desired results. Indian enterprise also has to be enthused and Indian technical and managerial personnel have to be suitably encouraged."

WHEN ARGUMENT IS ILLOGICAL

NEVER has the monopoly press in this country relished the idea of the people moving into mass action to achieve their demands. Even if they have to grudgingly admit that the grievance is genuine, the monopoly press would not like the people to take recourse to direct action.

This fear for the people's initiative and movement was reflected in the editorial which THE



including "a splendid record of financial scrupulousness that has given the necessary basic reassurance to prospective investors that their profits and capital are not only safe but readily available for repatriation."

Then what was the trouble? According to THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, "of the factors that daunt, the most important are the procedural maze and taxation." Procedural troubles were being overcome by the open door policy initiated by Krishnamachari. So what remained was taxation.

It cited from the NCAER report to show that taxes are higher in India than in any other country in the world and demanded on that basis that "scarcity economics has a special application in the context of a global clamour for capital from many underdeveloped nations and we should tailor our policy accordingly."

But then why not accept the demands put forward by the workers so that there is some relief to their misery caused by the rocketing price-line? THE INDIAN EXPRESS had no reply.

The same agitation-phobia was seen in an editorial in THE TIMES OF INDIA on February 17 when it opposed the kisan agitation in Andhra for the abolition of the additional land levy and distribution of banjar lands.

The paper virtually pleaded for increasing land levy all over the country and said regretfully: "Almost every attempt to increase the land assessment rates and charge betterment levies leads to an agitation, and sooner or later the authorities concerned submit to the agitations."

It warned that "unless the Andhra Pradesh government deals more firmly with the situation, the satyagraha launched by the opposition parties in the state... might get out of hand."

LETTERS

Unit Trust Of India

DETAILS about the formation of the Unit Trust of India have been appearing in the press for some time. The other day THE TIMES OF INDIA gave the names of the trustees appointed by the Government of India.

The fact that this new instrument of economic power has once again gone into the hands of those "chosen people" who already control the economic lives of the 400 million Indian people is most frustrating and disappointing. It is the dreaded octopus of monopoly, which has throttled the average middle class and small entrepreneurs and which has cornered most of the means of production and sucked the country dry, which has got control of the Unit Trust also.

This is very sad indeed. Congressmen including Prime Minister NEHRU frequently talk of socialism and of ending the monopoly of the few "chosen people." Yet in practice, they help the very same monopolists to concentrate more wealth and more economic power in their hands.

Take for instance WAGLE who is one of the trustees of the Unit Trust. He represents the Karamchand Thapar group of companies whose web has entangled every available field of industrial production. Take MITTER another trustee: he is of Andrew Yule and Co. which has 200 Indian companies under its control, all directed and managed from London. Then there is H. T. PAREKH, general manager of the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. His record in that post is not very commendable and there have been allegations that most of the money invested by the Corporation has gone to a few business houses belonging to Gujaratis. And then there is TULLI of the Punjab National Bank, who should be taken as representing the Sahu-Jains about which the Vivian Bose report had much to say.

These are the custodians of the Unit Trust. What hope can the people of India have from the present Congress regime?

G.A. FERNANDEZ
Maredpally (Andhra Pradesh)

Acquisition To Bring Unemployment

THE Government of India has decided to acquire the Rowrah tea estate in Assam for the extension of the Rowrah (Jorhat) aerodrome. The tea garden has an acreage of 400 and a population of 800. With the acquisition of the estate 300 workers will be thrown out of employment. These workers will also be rendered homeless since they are recruited from outside Assam and are living in quarters provided by the company.

In a memorandum submitted to the state government by the Chah Mazdoor Union, demands for providing alternate employment to the workers and payment of adequate compensation to them have been raised. But the state government has shown no sympathy to the workers. It is not even prepared to assure the workers of alternate employment.

The union of the workers are not against the decision of the government to acquire the tea estate for construction of the aerodrome. But what they protest against is the callous attitude of the government towards the suffering of the workers. The voice of the workers here in far away Assam does not seem to reach New Delhi. Let the workers all over India raise their voice so that New Delhi might come to senses and rehabilitate the evicted workers.

Jorhat D. C. MAHANTA

MARCH 1, 1964

Fourteen Communists are languishing in detention in the state of Maharashtra since November 7, 1962. Their offence: no body knows precisely, only the state considers them dangerous for the security of the country.

THEIR detention has turned law into a farce and government action in detaining them has been a complete disregard of fundamental rights. Time and again, the illegality of their detention has been pinpointed and all that government did was to release them and rearrest them at the jail gates. This was done only to circumvent judicial directives ordering their release.

Originally, the detenus were arrested under the

10, 1962 which the detenus had challenged and the hearing in respect of which was pending. After cancelling, the government simultaneously issued fresh order of detention exactly on the same grounds as before.

The ground advanced by the government justifying its decision to cancel the earlier orders of detention were not genuine. The order cancelling the earlier detention stated that the High Court of Bombay had held in criminal



Dhulap addressing the demonstrators after meeting the Chief Minister

Preventive Detention Act and within five days they were released and rearrested under the Defence of India Rules. During the next 15 months, this process was repeated twice, each time when the judicial pronouncements were awaited.

It is proved beyond doubt that for 9 months out of 15 months of detention, these detenus have been kept under illegal detention. And government had been trotting out the plea that the illegality was only technical. Against this unjust and unconstitutional action of the government, the Communist Party of India carried on a legal battle. Here are some facts concerning this battle:

History Of Detention

After the detenus were released and rearrested in November 1962, Habeas Corpus applications were filed on their behalf in the High Court of Bombay. These were dismissed and the detenus approached the Supreme Court against this decision.

The constitutional issues involved in the appeals were decided by the Supreme Court on September 2, 1963. The various other points raised in the appeals were not considered at that time and the court directed that they should be heard by a Constitution Bench and decided in accordance with law. The date for hearing was fixed on October 14, 1963.

But on September 25, 1963 the government of Maharashtra cancelled these detention orders of November

MARCH 1, 1964

COMMUNISTS UNDER DETENTION MAHARASHTRA GOVT'S BID TO CIRCUMVENT LAW

Massive Demonstration Demands Immediate Release

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

to their cases. That judgment was in respect of persons who were detained by the orders of the District Magistrates and in respect of construction of Rule 30(a)(6), whereas these detenus were detained by orders of the state government and came within the purview of Rule 30(a)(9).

The question of confirmation of detention orders by the state government did not arise in this case. Besides, none of them had continued beyond the prescribed period of six months without review.

Illegal Detention

The state government decided to cancel their earlier order of detention and to detain them under fresh orders of detention after it had received orders from the court for the production of the detenus on October 14, 1963 before the Supreme Court.

The above facts were admitted by the state government in its affidavit filed before the Supreme Court.

It is therefore clear that the orders issued by the government on September 25, 1963 for cancelling the earlier detention were intended for achieving the indirect and ulterior object of continuing the detention by delaying and defeating if possible the course and ends of justice as laid down by law, since these orders were issued without reasonable, probable or justifiable cause.

When the appeals came up

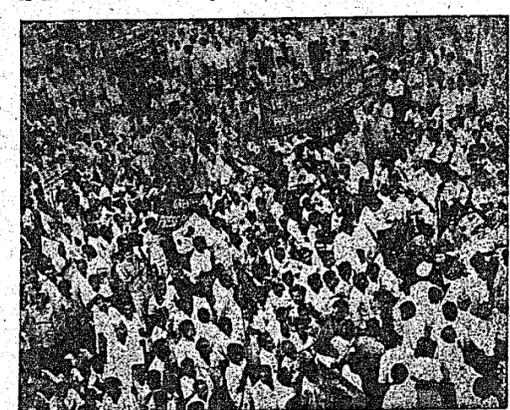
fresh Habeas Corpus petitions in the High Court of Bombay in January 1964, challenging the fresh detention orders. The court admitted the petitions on January 28, fixed hearing of the petitions on February 5 and directed the government to file its affidavit by February 3 at the latest.

During this interval the Supreme Court delivered the judgment on January 29. The appeals were dismissed and it was held that the detaining authority who issued the orders of detention on November 10, 1962 was constitutionally competent to detain a person for reasons of defence of India under the Rules of Business framed by the

Maharashtra did not file their affidavits till as late as February 3, which was the last date fixed by the court for filing them.

On the contrary, the government decided precisely on that date i.e., February 3 to cancel the orders of detention which were challenged by the detenus.

On February 5, when the Habeas Corpus petitions came up for hearing, the government had not filed any affidavits. The counsel for the state pleaded that the petitions did not survive in as much as they had become infructuous in view of the fact that the orders of detention had been cancelled and the de-



A view of the demonstration before the Assembly to demand the release of Detenus

Governor under Article 166(3). The reasons why the then detaining authority was constitutionally compe-

tens were in detention under fresh orders of detention. The court directed the government to file affidavits to that effect and fixed the hearing on February 10.

Mockery Of Law

The state government had neither cancelled earlier orders of detention nor issued fresh orders of detention in respect of detenus who have not filed Habeas Corpus petition to challenge their detention. This circumstance implies that the policy of the government is to cancel earlier orders of detention and issue fresh ones if the detenus filed or were likely to file Habeas Corpus petitions to challenge their detention.

If this is not mockery of law, then what is?

Protesting against such unjustified actions of the government and demanding immediate release of the detenus, a huge demonstration was held in front of the Assembly on February 18. A memorandum was handed over to the Chief Minister urging him to release all the detenus immediately.

The Government of Maha-

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

JUST OUT

THE NEW LINE AND THE DOGMATISTS

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Reports from States

Andhra Pradesh

HYDERABAD: Three thousand trade union activists went on hungerstrike at 73 centres all over Andhra. On February 22, 6000 workers joined them in a one-day sympathetic strike. More than a hundred unions with a total membership of 1.25 lakhs had moved into action.

In Hyderabad city 212 hunger strikers sat in eleven different centres for three days. Thousands of workers and other citizens streamed in to visit them. Poets and squads of musicians came every evening. Rallies and meetings went on throughout the day and late into the night.

The biggest camp was at the Charminar crossroads in the industrial area where 81 people under the leadership of MAKHDOOM MOHIUDDIN had gone on hungerstrike. Seven thousand workers gathered to greet them on February 22 when they broke the fast. P. SUNDARAYYA and M. SATYANARAYAN REDDY addressed the gathering.

In Sanatnagar 36 hunger strikers were led by K. L. MAHENDRA and AMLOK RAM. A handful of INTUC rowdies set fire on the night of February 20 to the shalimiana under which the hunger strikers were sitting. But the hunger strike went on as scheduled. On February 23, the rowdies again attacked a small group of workers who were returning after the public meeting. The workers were undaunted by these provocations.

A prominent INTUC leader NIAZI, came to the Charminar hungerstrike camp and addressed the gathering. He regretted the absence of united action despite the common demands of the workers.

At the state government secretariat gates sat 43 hunger strikers led by RAJ BAHADUR GOUR.

There were also smaller batches like the one at DBR mills with SAMBAMOORTHY as the leader, in front of the corporation office under the auspices of the Zinda Tilasmath Union, and in front of the Tata stockyard under the auspices of the Highway Employees Union.

The Independent Road Transport Corporation Employees Union also participated in the hungerstrike. Under its auspices two hungerstrike camps were organised with RAM MOHAN RAO, RAMLOO and GOURISHANKAR as leaders. Transport workers also organised a big demonstration on February 22 from Secunderabad to the Charminar crossroads.

In Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress president K. L. NARASIMHAM MP led the hunger strikers. Three thousand workers including 1000 cycle-rikshawmen demonstrated.

In Guntur 146 people went on hungerstrike led by KANPARTI NAGAYYA, MALLAYALINGA, M. LINGAM and T. NAGALAH. A five thousand strong demonstration greeted the satyagrahis.

In Adoni J. SATYANARAYANA led the hunger strikers. He was greeted at the railway station by more than 3000 workers. The hunger strikers

included A. N. RAMANNA, P. DURAI AH, K. BHAKTA VATSAL, K. RAMAIAH, D. FAKRUDDIN SAHEB, S. MUNISWAMY and D. RAMASWAMY.

In Rajamundry G. BALAJI DAS led 50 hunger strikers. In Vishakapatnam the hunger strikers were led by M. V. BHADRAM. In Eluru the 32 hunger strikers were led by VIMLA DEVI MP.

In Nellore four workers went on hungerstrike and another four in Amalapuram.

Reports have come of hunger strikers from Masulipatam, Guntakal, Bhimavaram, Gudur, Kothagudem, Gndivada, Chellampalli, Chirala, Pithapuram and Chittivalasa.

Bihar

PATNA: More than a hundred trade union activists went on hungerstrike in 15 industrial centres of Bihar on February 20, 21 and 22 according to the decision of the national campaign committee.

In Patna, seven workers led by RAMAVTAR SHASTRI went on hungerstrike before the gates of the state government secretariat.

In Jamshedpur the hunger strikers were led by KEDAR DAS, RAMAVTAR SINGH MLA and APPAL NARSAIYA while in Barauni CHANDRASHEKHAR SINGH MLA led the fasting workers.

In Jhinkpani hunger strikers sat before the Chaibasa Cement Factory gates. Among them was an INTUC leader, MUKUL BALMUCHU and AITUC leaders RAMESHWAR MUNDU, SHIB NATH DAS and K. K. SINHA.

In Giridih the hunger strikers included RAM SAHAJ and SHIVANANDAN JHA while in Bermo DARSAN GOPE and BUDHAN went on hungerstrike. Before the hungerstrike began, there was a procession by workers at Bermo.

In Hazaribagh RAM LAKKAN SINGH led the hunger strikers while in Bhukunda M. N. BHARTI was the leader. In Begusarai DEOKINANDAN SINGH, RAMACHANDRA MODY and others were on hungerstrike for three days.

In Dalmianagar five workers were on fast on the three days including NIRMAL CHANDRA DASGUPTA and KAILASH CHANDRA JHA. In Barajamda MUNESHWAR PRASAD was on hungerstrike.

Other centres in Bihar where there were hungerstrikes were Kenudih, Ma-

heshpur, Sindih, Giridih, Ghatsila, Katihar and Bhagalpur.

The AITUC state council is negotiating with HMS and UTUC, which are also supporting the workers' demands, for joint action.

It has already decided to conduct the second and third phase of the national campaign jointly with the Kisan Sabha and Khet. Mazdoor Sabha.

The second phase is demonstrations in front of factory gates and block offices on March 7. In the third phase 50 volunteers will be sent to Delhi to offer satyagraha before Parliament on April 6 to 8. There will also be a mass demonstration before the Bihar Assembly on that day.

Gujarat

AHMEDABAD: The hungerstrike campaign coincided in Ahmedabad with the five-day fast undertaken by INDULAL YAGNIK from February 17 against the harassment of workers who join the Samgram Samiti.

There was mass fasting by 85,000 textile workers in Ahmedabad on February 21. The workers did not take their tiffin on that day to the mills and did not go to the canteen also.

In Baroda, 50 workers of 15 factories observed three day fast at eight centres. Among them were representatives of textile, engineering, chemicals and rubber industries.

In Jamnagar 25 workers went on hungerstrike before the various mill gates, including the woollen mills.

In Surendranagar five workers went on hungerstrike before the mill gates while in Surat another five fasted on the three days.

Other places where workers went on hungerstrike include Navsari and Billimora where there were two batches.

Kerala

TRIVANDRUM: Fifteen hundred workers and trade union activists observed the three day hungerstrike in Kerala. Workers belonging to all industries, from state transport to plantation, beedi, textile, coir and cashew, participated in the action.

In one centre, there were women workers also among the hunger strikers.

In view of the session of the Kerala Assembly, the district TUC decided to have a mass hungerstrike in front of the secretariat gates in Trivandrum. The hunger strikers there, numbering 110, were led by GEORGE CHADAYAMURI and G. KARTHIKEYAN.

The hunger strikers were greeted by opposition leader E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD and UTUC leaders PANKAJAKSHAN and SUKUMARAN. Leaders of banks, insurance and other organisations also came to express solidarity with the fasting trade unionists.

Inside the Assembly, C. ACHUTHA MENON, P. BALACHANDRA MENON and T. K. RAMAKRISHNAN sought to move an adjournment motion on February 21 over the hungerstrike, but it was not allowed by the Speaker.

In Quilon district headquarters the mass hungerstrike was under the leadership of J. CHITTARANJAN, district TUC president. As many as 121 worker leaders participated in the mass fast.

In Kottayam 41 workers under A. M. ABRAHAM went on hungerstrike for three days in front of the district collectorate.

In the whole district, more than 200 workers participated in the movement. Among the centres where workers went on hungerstrike were Mundakayam, Vandiperiyar, Elappara, Vaikom and Munnar.

In Alleppey 69 workers went on hungerstrike near the boat jetty. Among the hunger strikers were representatives of the heroic coir factory workers.

In Shertallai and Mavelikkara batches of 25 workers went on hungerstrike for the three days.

Hundred and thirty work-



ers observed the three day fast in Ernakulam, Paravoor and Fort Cochin. A batch of 51 hunger strikers in Kalamasseri the heart of the new industrial complex coming up in Kerala, was led by E. BALANANDAN.

In Trichur a batch of 51 hunger strikers was led by K. P. PRABHAKARAN. More than 100 trade union activists were on hungerstrike in the district.

In Alagappanagar P. D. DEVASSY led a batch of ten; in Palapilly C. O. PAUL led a batch of 12; in Chalakkudi K. S. KRISHNAN; in Irinjalkuda K. V. UNNI; in Karuvannur P. N. PISHARODY. In Anthikad ten workers were on fast.

In Palghat the hunger strikers were led by KRISHNADAS; in Olavakkot by

YUSUF. In Ottappalam ten workers from various industries led by M. P. KUNCHU went on hungerstrike and in Kulappulli a batch under P. P. KRISHNAN. Three workers went on hungerstrike in Cherplacheri.

In Calicut 52 workers went on hungerstrike in 12 centres. The fast before the district collectorate was inaugurated by A. K. GOPALAN MP. Leading the hunger strikers in various centres were KALLAT KRISHNAN, AYYAPPAN, KUNHIRAMAN, C. DAMODARAN NAIR, M. KANARAN, AYYAPPATTI, N. P. KUTTIAMU, K. P. HAMEED, T. MOIDEENKUTTI, GOPALAN NAIR, KUTTIKRISHNAN, MUTHOORAKUTTI, PRABHAKARAN and ABUBAKER.

In ten other centres in Calicut district there were hungerstrikes, among them Mavor, Cheruvannoor, Peroke, Vellayil and West Hill.

In Cannanore 43 workers under the leadership of WILLIAM SNELEX and P. P. MUKUNDAN went on hungerstrike.

In Tellichery the number of hunger strikers was 44, in Kasargode 30 and in Vynad 19.

Madhya Pradesh

BHOPAL: The mass hungerstrike on February 20, 21 and 22 was observed in all industrial and mining centres of Madhya Pradesh. Particularly impressive was the response in the Chattisgarh region to the national campaign committee's call.

Sixty workers went on hungerstrike in Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Raigarh and the mine areas of Balaghat district.

In Ganjvasoda a batch of nine hunger strikers was led by KANHAITYALAL.



Besides these centrally organised batches of hungerstrike, there were many other batches of trade unions. The Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union organised hungerstrikes in 14 centres in Nagpur, Sewree, Lalbaug, Kala Chowki, Bynulla, Delisle Road, Ferguson Road, Worli and Kuria. More than 70 workers participated in these centres.

The General Engineering Employees Union organised hungerstrike in front of ten factories, participated in by 50 workers.

The Chemical and Dyestuff Workers Union organised hungerstrikes before four factories, while the Mumbai Kamgar Union organised a camp at Parel comprising seven volunteers.

The BEST Unity Front Workers Union had seven volunteers hungerstriking at

Namboodiripad greeting hunger strikers in Trivandrum



TOILERS ON THE MOVE

Though the MRTUC had planned to have a batch of hunger strikers in front of the Assembly, due to a ban by the police commissioner the venue had to be shifted to the Flora Fountain. Leading this batch were S. S. MIRAJKAR, K. N. JOGLEKAR, S. G. PATKAR, BAPURAO JAGTAP, DATTA DESHMUKH, BHAGWANRAO SURYAWANSHI, BHAI PATHAK MLA, VITHAL CHOUHDURY, S. Y. KOLHATKAR, SAMUEL AUGUSTINE and YESHWANT KOLI.

Another batch before the municipal corporation was led by GULABRAO GANACHARYA, KRISHNA DESAI, G. L. REDDY, AHILYA RANGNEKAR and VINAYAK KARHADE.

Dadar terminus. The Khosa Kamgar Union also organised hungerstrikes in front of seven factories.

In the suburbs, there were hungerstrikes in Powai, Bhandup, Malad and Kandivli.

The workers of Larsen Toubro, Bright Bros., Koorla Rubber and Dalal Engineering joined the hungerstrike in their full strength on February 21, as a solidarity action.

The Shramik Mahila Hak Samrakshan Samiti sent 40 women volunteers to participate in the hungerstrike on February 22, at Flora Fountain and Azad Maidan.

In Poona 73 workers including 15 women participated in



Four Hungerstrike camps in Delhi (photo: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

ary 28 by AITUC, HMS and Forward Bloc.

The NGOs held a meeting on February 20 at Bangalore to voice their demands.

Mysore

BANGALORE: There were hungerstrikes in all the industrial centres of Mysore and the workers' response to the call of the national campaign committee was enthusiastic.

In Bangalore 52 workers went on hungerstrike at the various industrial centres.

Twentyseven workers went on hungerstrike in Mangalore in three centres. The batches were led by LINGAPPA SUVARNA, SIVANANDA KAMATH and B. NARAYANA.

In Huttli the hungerstriker was NARAYANAN of the Huttli Gold Mines Labour Union.

In Dandeli the Electro Metallurgical Employees Union organised a hungerstrike camp under the leadership of G. V. PAWAR and T. V. JAZEENTH.

Simultaneously with the workers' campaign, the non-gazetted employees of the Mysore Government have also started a campaign for rise in dearness allowance at par with the rising cost of living.

Orissa

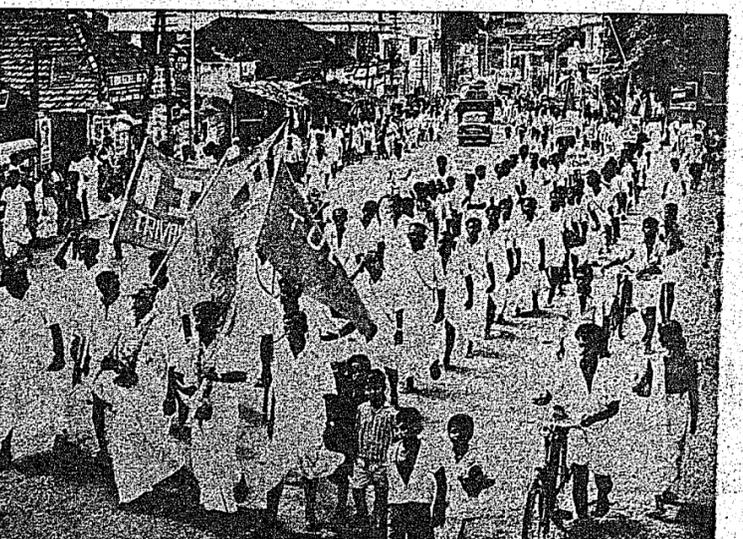
CUTTACK: The response to the national campaign committee's call to observe three day hungerstrike on February 20, 21 and 22 has been widespread in Orissa.

In Cuttack, eleven workers of printing presses observed fast in front of the statue of Gopabandhu Das.

In Choudwar eleven work-



Volunteers marching to the Secretariat led by Chadayammuri and Karthikeyan



ers including a woman worker went on hungerstrike in front of the Orissa Textile mills.

The workers of the Indian Aluminium Company in Hirakud have realised most of their demands from the management. Yet, as an expression of solidarity with the workers elsewhere, 13 workers went on hungerstrike.

In Barbil the workers of the Kalinga Iron Works and of the iron and manganese mines went on hungerstrike under the leadership of H. BEHRA.

In Rourkela five workers of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. went on hungerstrike.

Reports from other places are yet to be received.

Punjab

JULLUNDUR: The response to the call of the national campaign committee for mass protest hungerstrikes on February 20 to 22 has been even beyond expectations in Punjab. As many as 389 TU activists went on hungerstrike all over the state.

The largest number of hunger strikers for one centre was in Amritsar where 150 workers participated in the action.

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THE PARADOX OF PLENTY

By Sadhan Mukherjee

Remember those skinny little things clinging to mothers' dry bosom sucking for a little milk? Remember those human beings going about with battered cheeks and dreary looks having no prospects in life—people for whom living has become a mere existence?

REMEMBER those shacks and shanties giving out the putrid smell of hell where pigs and men live together? Remember those jobless men and women turned beggars? Those street urchins who try to pick up food from dustbins? Or those fine youngsters turned hoodlums because society has no place for them? I suppose every one is accustomed to such sights because they are darned sights much too familiar. But I am not trying to tell the readers of the sights of our country, or of any other newly-liberated developing country for that matter.

I want to tell them about a country for which praise is heaped upon praise, which is the citadel of industry and power—a country where "freedom" is said to have blossomed at its best and the government of which has taken upon itself the "holy burden" of ensuring freedom and prosperity for all countries and postulates wonderful life of happiness and wealth for all. It is a country where poverty dresses well.

This country is called the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and day in and day out the spokesmen of vested interests untiringly tell us about the glory of this country.

I can very well recall the full-throated laughter of a rich American tourist throw-

ing coins at Fatehpur Sikri which a young boy dived to bring up from the well. It was a laughter of fun mingled with hidden pity for the impoverished kid who took risk with his life for a dime. But surely the rich American had reasons to laugh, or had he?

Did it mean that poverty was a new thing the tourist was seeing and therefore had justification to laugh?

It was not so. The intensity and dimension of poverty in the land of dollar itself is no less; in fact, it is much more shocking and painful because the affluent society of America which glibly talks in terms of millions and billions of dollars cannot even guarantee food, housing, employment, or the barest means of livelihood to sixty million people out of a total population of 186 million, i.e., roughly about one-third of the entire population! The tourist obviously did not know that.

Unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds in USA. From 4 per cent of the total working population, the number of unemployed has shot up to about 7 per cent between 1955 and 1963. And as days pass by, more and more people are becoming unemployed and thrown into the garbage heap of social rejects. No where except in the USA, the saying "rich becoming richer and poor becoming poorer", is so much true.

Nothing is so much dreaded by the American workers than the word 'automation', the mechanised production process which promises raising of living standards for the entire society but in fact brings about only higher profits and greater unemployment. The jobless in the USA has been described by the American Federation of Labour & Congress of Industrial

Organisations as constituting a tragedy. But that is an understatement.

Every year automation is ousting about 4 lakhs of workers from the American industry and they can hardly find a new job.

No where can a man feel so much helplessness and no where he is denied with a purpose of living. Once a social reject always a social reject is grim irony of the affluent society. Once you lose a job, you cannot reasonably expect a job again at the same rung of the ladder. More often, one does not get a job at all because the industry demands greater and greater skill and the unskilled just has no place except for janitorial and fly-by-night jobs.

The following is from an article by RAYMOND MUNTIS titled "The Jobless":

Scene: A local unemployment compensation pension office.

Time: April 1962.
Jobless Worker: "I just got my last benefit check. I want to apply for the federal extended benefits."

Interviewer: "You can't apply because the extension was temporary and ended March 31."

Worker: "But I don't have a job yet."

Interviewer: "I'm sorry. There's nothing we can do." The above is an eloquent testimony to the pathos of an unemployed living in the USA and things have not changed for better since then. In fact, they have worsened.

Here is a statement that speaks for itself:

"...the lowest one-fifth of American families currently receive an average

annual income of approximately \$1,500. Ten million persons aged 65 or over receive \$1,600 or less a year; 7 million people are dependent for all or part of their living on public assistance. Certain population groups such as the families of non-white wage-earners, farm families and seasonal agricultural workers, are particularly disadvantaged because of substandard incomes. There are also geographical areas in which chronic poverty adversely affects nearly all the people of the area."

Youth is a phase of life to enjoy and to study. But most of the young people in the USA, except those belonging to higher income brackets, have hardly any chance to grow. The days when a young man looked forward to adulthood and job and family of his own are gone. For most of them today there is hardly anything to look ahead for. There is just not enough work.

According to a study, between 1960 and 1970, about 26 million young people will enter the labour force in USA to seek work for the first time. Between 1950 and 1960, only 19 million did so. The American industry by 1970 will only offer 8 million jobs to them as well as to those who comprise the backlog of the unemployed.

While there are very few new opportunities of work, the shrinkage in working strength which is taking place in existing enterprises is appalling. The index of output per manhour in American industry has shot up from 72 in 1947 to 115 in 1963 and this fast pace is continuing. Rate of production has gone up per man hour and simultaneously replacing men from the production flow. The direct cost on labour is diminishing. And the benefit of productivity is going mainly to the employers.

WAGES DOWN, PROFITS UP

Between 1953 and 1962, eight million additional workers entered the civilian labour force. Only 5.3 million new jobs were created. As a result, the number of jobless soared from two million in 1953 to about 6 million in 1962. "Wages have lagged behind productivity while profits have soared to record levels", is the conclusion of the trade union movement of the USA.

The AFL-CIO journal has admitted:

There is poverty in prosperous America. To find it, push aside the growing statistics which show average family incomes, production of goods and services and profits at record heights. Obscured by the glittering "averages" are some 30 million Americans in families with income under \$3,000 a year or, if living alone, with a yearly income below \$2,000.

What does this mean? If this is compared to India (one dollar is equal to 4.76 rupees), it may not sound like poverty but the fact is that such people can hardly eat two square meals or find shelter to live, or provide education to the children because of the very high cost of living. In certain cases, one dollar in USA may

* On Facing Page

The Portuguese colony of Cape Verde is an archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean facing Senegal. It is made up of ten big islands—San Antao, San Vicente, Santa Luzia, Sal, Boa Vista, San Nicolau, San Thiago, Maio, Fogo and Brava—and several little islets. It has a total area of 4,033 sq. km. and a population of 190,000.

RAIA City, the headquarters of the colonial administration, is situated in San Thiago. The island of San Vicente has one of the finest natural harbours on the Atlantic Coast. The island of Fogo has a volcanic crater and is said to be of an extraordinary scenic beauty.

Cape Verde is notorious for its Tarrafal concentration camp, a replica in every way of the Nazi dens of torture and where numerous Portuguese democrats, defenders of freedom and peace have been deported to face a cruel end. It was known as a destination of no return.

So shockingly was it reminiscent of its Hitlerian prototypes that in order to save face SALAZAR had to close down this infamous and monstrous creation for some years. However, probably thinking that the world would have forgotten about it, the concentration camp in Tarrafal was reopened again about two and odd years ago.

African Inhabitants

The majority of the population of Cape Verde are the Africans and the people of mixed descent. Even among the "Whites" who are about 3,000, the majority are of mixed blood. The pure Portuguese are only the high officials, big businessmen and industrialists and a few commercial employees and specialized workers.

The vast majority of the present inhabitants who are African or mixed are the descendants of the African slaves, mainly from Guinea and the Europeans. The Europeans were mostly political offenders and ordinary criminals deported there from Portugal besides prostitutes and traders.

A considerable portion of the population speak the Portuguese language. But the majority speak Creole—a mixture of various African languages and various Portuguese.

Illiteracy which is less than in other colonies is about 79 per cent. Before the abolition of slavery, Cape Verde was a slave depot where slaves from all over the African coast were collected and exported to other parts of Africa, to Brazil, to North America and Portugal.

With the abolition of slavery, the Portuguese introduced the system of plantations, called "roças" and serfdom. All the land was distributed among Europeans and their descendants on the islands and the Africans were made the serfs to work for the masters.

Comouflaged Slavery

This system has today given place to the camouflaged slavery which is in force in the Portuguese colonies in Africa under the name of "contract labour" and with the sanction of Portuguese law.

THE OTHER GOALS BY BERTA BRAGANZA

CAPE VERDE RISES AGAINST SALAZAR

This system which for them such dire consequences, the Africans say, is much worse than serfdom. For, the serf, they say, was at least fed and did not have to die of starvation like the Capeverdean "contratado."

Till 1879, "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde were a joint administrative unit and the seat of the colonial administration was in Cape Verde in the island of San Thiago. From then on it has been considered a separate colony.

The people have gone through all the changes of denomination as the other colonies and according to the different colonial laws of the different regimes through which Portugal has passed.

But at no time they had any say in the making of the laws by which they are ruled and they have no say in the affairs of their country. They are ruled by Lisbon through the representatives of the Portuguese sovereignty in the so called "provinces."

Though Cape Verde has no dearth of natural resources, the archipelago is today, under the Portuguese system of colonial loot, one of the most poverty stricken and miserable regions of the world.

The characteristic of the colony is the periodical famines which when they occur wipe out thousands and thousands of people at a time, with the all powerful rulers doing nothing to prevent it.

The latest of these "crises" as the Portuguese call these examples of both their criminal exploitation and inefficiency, occurred in 1959 and killed over 10,000 people. Another in 1952 wiped out over 15,000 people and one before that in 1940-42 over 30,000.

From 1774 to 1939 the "crises" that have occurred, each lasting from one to six years duration, have decimated 2,10,000 inhabitants of that "Portuguese Overseas Province," that is, more than the present total population of the archipelago.

This almost regularly occurring calamity is attributed by the colonialist "civilisers" to droughts and climatic conditions. The fact is that during all the long centuries of their possession and domination of the islands, they have done nothing to meet the natural climate deficiencies, like preservation of water, irrigation, storage of food grains etc. as has been done in areas with climatic conditions very much like those of Cape Verde and others very much worse off—as far as natural conclusions go.

The main occupation of the people is farming, fishing and cattle breeding. But the occupation of the largest section of the population of 80 per cent of the people is agriculture, specially of the people of San Thiago, San Antao, San Nicolau and Fogo.

Backwardness Perpetuated

Yet not more than 12.5 per cent of the land has been brought under cultivation. And even on this restricted area, instead of the production increasing and improving, it has with the antiquated processes of production and with nothing to enrich the spent fertility of the soil, considerably dropped.

The sugar cane production is not encouraged, in order to protect the sugar industry in the hands of Portuguese enterprises and the Portuguese share-holders. The same is the case of the fishing industry and the exploration of the mineral waters of San Antao and Brava islands which are left unexplored for fear they might compete with the fish industry and the mineral waters of Portugal.

The Port of San Vicente is left undeveloped in order that it might not deviate ships from the port of Lisbon. The scenic beauty of the islands which offered such a wide scope for the tourist industry is neglected lest it competes with Portugal.

And another reason is that too close a contact of the Cape Verde people with the outer world might not be very convenient to Salazar and his mystification of the international public opinion regarding the conditions and happenings in the so-called "overseas provinces of Portugal."

Like the other colonies, Cape Verde is nothing more than a centre for producing and exporting raw materials.

Foreign trade is the monopoly of Portuguese enterprises, who enjoy special privileges like fixing convenient prices for products by the government and a discriminatory tariff system which benefits imports of Portuguese manufactured goods.

The Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank) which has the right to remit currency also has the banking monopoly.

All the commercial enterprises and even the insignificant and rare industrial ones are exclusively Portuguese. And whatever landed or urban property might belong to Capeverdeans—the mixed among them—is mortgaged to the Bank or the Postal Savings Bank.

Thus, the whole wealth of the archipelago is owned by the Portuguese. Driven to despair by destitution, unemployment and starvation combined with inhumanity and humiliation thousands and thousands of Capeverdeans flee from the islands.

Freedom Struggle

This clandestine emigration, sometimes become a wholesale exodus. There are today about 30,000 Capeverdeans in the city of Dakar in Senegal alone. Nor are these self-exiles to be found only in the neighbouring and friendly African countries like the Republic of Guinea, but in Brazil, Argentina and even the USA. In fact, according to Capeverdean nationalist sources there are in America more Capeverdeans and their descendants than on their native islands.

To all this tragic predicament of the people of Cape Verde—attributed by the Portuguese colonialist "civilisers" to droughts and other such climatic inclemencies—is now added the terror of the PIDE, the political police, Director Salazar's Gestapo, which stalks the land with its suspicions, persecutions, arrests, tortures, murders and court-martials.

The new times that have been dawned over the great continent

of Africa have brought a new consciousness towards Cape Verde. They know that it is not droughts that are the cause of their immeasurable misery but the loot of their wealth by the Portuguese colonialists. They are determined to root it out. They know that Cape Verde has ample resources, which if developed can bring a new life to them, a life free of poverty and starvation.

The Capeverdean struggle for freedom has the cooperation of all sections of the Capeverdean society: the vast masses of peasants and labourers, the middle class and the intellectuals, both on the islands and outside. In fact, the intellectuals play a prominent part in the national independence movement as its leaders.

The struggle is, as it cannot but be and as it is in all other Portuguese colonies, clandestine. It is led by the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) the same party and leaders of the struggle in Guinea.

The struggle of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde is the united struggle of two fraternal African peoples with a common ancestry and common interests against their common colonial oppressor. It has always been part of the Portuguese colonial policy to keep these two peoples apart and their unity today in their struggle has been a disturbing factor in the colonialist strategy.

United Movement

The very presence of such a large number of troops and PIDE agents on the islands tells its own tale.

As in all other colonies, the national independence movement of the people of Cape Verde is not only a fight for political freedom but for economic and social justice as well. In the past there have been peasant revolts and labour strikes for asserting their rights and against exploitation. These have been ruthlessly put down with guns.

Today, the PIDE tyranny knows no bounds even against peaceful demonstrations, in its futile efforts to salvage the sinking ship of colonial oppression. Nationalists are hunted down, houses are raided, all correspondence is censored, all ships touching the port and the person of every Capeverdean passenger is searched. A large number of people have been sent to Tarrafal concentration camp.

Nor is the persecution of the Capeverdean patriots by the PIDE limited to the islands. Many young Capeverdeans have been arrested among students in Lisbon for their patriotic activities, and in order to escape the ordeal numerous students have fled to other parts of Europe from where they endeavour to help the struggle at home.

The Capeverdeans are a small population and the oppressor monstrous. The battle is a hard and unequal one. But the Capeverdeans are determined to liquidate their oppressor of centuries and participate in the new life that has already begun for the great majority of the American people, a life with the bright vista of prosperity and happiness for all.



Children without a future (Courtesy: NEWSWEEK)

Toilers on the March

*From Centre pages

In Ludhiana and Khanna two women workers also participated in the hunger-strike. In Ludhiana as many as 30,000 people put their signatures to the eleven-point charter of demands during these three days—an indication of the popular response to the call of the campaign committee.

At Muktasar, Mansa, Chogawan, Bhikhi and some other centres agricultural workers and peasants joined in the hungerstrike.

In Faridabad, the new industrial centre of Punjab near Delhi, 45 workers went on hungerstrike in 17 different centres.

An important aspect of the action here was that three workers belonging to the Goodyear Employees Union affiliated to the INTUC also participated in the hunger-strike. It sent three volunteers.

Some other INTUC unions participated in the demonstration on February 22 with their own flags. The demonstration was notable for the working girl participation also.

In Achalpur the hunger-strike was by JAHAGIRDAR while in Charkhi Dabri HARI SINGH, KISHAN LAL MADAN and AMI LAL went on hungerstrike.

In Yamunanagar eleven workers observed the three-day hungerstrike in front of the State Bank of Patiala offices.

In Bilaspur five workers participated in the hunger-strike while in Surajpur nine workers observed the fast led by DAULAT SINGH, MALIK RAM, VISHWANATH BALI and RAMJI DASS of the Bhupendra Cement Workers Union. There was a huge demonstration on February 22 in which many women also participated.

In Patti GOPAL SINGH, HAZARA SINGH and GOPAL SINGH VALTOHA participated in the hungerstrike.

In Phagwara the hunger-strike of four workers was led by AMAR SINGH. It was organised by the Jagatjit cotton mills workers union.

In Una five workers went on hungerstrike. There was a mass demonstration on February 22 when the volunteers broke their fast.

In Nangal the hunger-strikers included KASHMIRLAL and DARSHEAN SINGH of the Fertiliser Mazdoor Union. The hungerstrike in Abohar was by R. K. SABONI.

Rajasthan

JAIPUR: Reports of hungerstrike in various industrial centres in response to the call of the national campaign committee are still coming in. In Beawar 5000 textile workers went on a protest strike on February 21 in support of the eleven-point demands charter, on the call of the Textile Labour Union.

The strike was complete in the textile mills in the town. Two processions were taken out which culminated in a mass rally.

In Bikaner seven workers went on hungerstrike in various centres such as power house, water works, municipal office, PWD office.

In Udaipur four workers observed hungerstrike on the

desh in response to the call of the national campaign committee.

In Lucknow the hunger-strikers were led by nine Communist MLAs, namely JHARKHANDE RAI, S. S. YUSUF, BHIKHA LAL, UDAL SURJAN RAM, RAGHUNATH RAI, CHHANGAR RAM, RAM SUNDER SHASTRI and JHILMAR RAM.

The number of volunteers who participated in the hungerstrike before the Council House was 60. Both workers and peasants were among the volunteers. Inside the Assembly, CHANDRAJEET YADAV sought to adjourn the house for sometime on February 20 so that members could meet the hunger-strikers. The demand was rejected following which Communist members left the house.

On February 21 four independent MLAs also went on a one-day hungerstrike before the Council House to protest against the government's inaction in the face of rising

centres in the city. One batch was led by RUSTAM SATIN.

In Agra 56 trade union activists went on hungerstrike at eight centres in the city. Among them were ROSHAN LAL SUTEL, MAHADEO NARAIN TONDON, HAR DAYAL SINGH, RAM SWARUP DIXIT, SYED ABUL HASAN, R. D. SHARMA, MUNSHI LAL VERMA, ROSHAN LAL SHARMA, GHULAM MOHAMMED, MOOLA RAM, HARI SINGH, GURSEWA SINGH, INDERJIT SINGH and MOHAMMED SADIQ QUERESHI.

The Electricity Supply Workers Union volunteers were GULAB SINGH, BHAGWATI, CHANDRA SHEKHAR, MATHURA PRASAD, MANOHAR SINGH, MEWA LAL, RAM LAL, ANT RAM SINGH and MEGH SINGH.

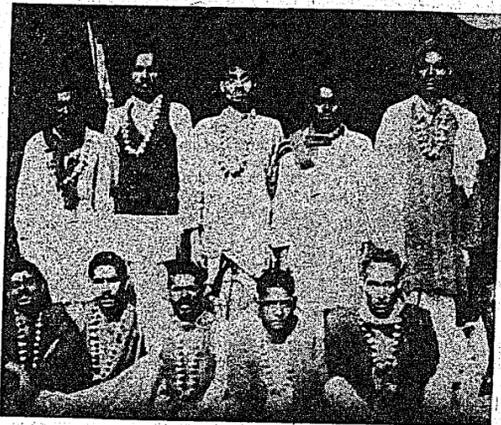
BINDRABAN, VASDEO, PREM NARAIN MISRA, RAM LAL, BANKE and JHAMMAN SINGH of the PWD Empl-

yees Union formed another batch while the oil workers batch included AMAR SINGH, UDHEY RAM, RAM CHARAN, VASDEO, MOOL CHAND, INDER, BHAGWATI, BALJ NATH and RAM NARESH.

The batch from the Mechanical and Technical Workers Union consisted of SUSHIL KUMAR DASS, BALKISHAN, HIRA LAL and BENGALI, while that of Spinning Mills Workers Union consisted of MANIK RAM, SANNO RAM, PUNIYA DEVI, NARENDRA SINGH YADAV, HAR SAHAJ, MANGAL SEN, PARWATI, OM PRAKASH, RAM PRASAD, JALMA, JAI PRAKASH, RAM BHAROSI and TEJ SINGH.

In Shamli all members of the Eharatiya Mill Mazdoor Union and the Distillery Mazdoor Union observed hungerstrike while on duty.

In Hardoi the hunger-strikers numbered 14. They were RAMAVTAR SHARMA, KI-



Two batches of hunger strikers in Kanpur

three days. On February 22 there was a demonstration and a public meeting. There were hungerstrikes in Jodhpur, Alwar and other places also.

Uttar Pradesh

LUCKNOW: About five thousand workers and peasants are estimated to have gone on hungerstrike in various parts of Uttar Pra-

prices. The fasting MLAs were NEK RAM SHEARMA, BHAGWAN SAHAI, BAJOJI AGARWAL and CHANDAN SINGH.

In Kanpur more than 150 workers went on hungerstrike. The batch of 17 at Mutr mills was led by SIRI RAM; the one at Victoria mills of 19 by SHAJI MOHAMMED, Elgin I 10 led by JAMALUDDIN Swadesh 27 led by RAGHUBIR PRASAD.

At district courts the batch of 15 was led by S. C. KAPOOR, at Iron Engineering 21 led by NIZAM, J. K. Cotton three led by RAM PAL SINGH, Elgin II four led by YASIN, Kailash ten led by RAM PRASAD, Cawaltoll six led by BABULAL, Kanpur Tannery five led by MAHESH, Cooper Allen eight led by SHIV SHARMA.

The huge public meeting in Kanpur on February 22 was addressed by S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the AITUC.

In Fategarh district 31 workers and peasants had gone on hungerstrike. Centres where hungerstrikes took place were Farrukhabad, Gursahaiganj and Kannauj.

In Varanasi 65 workers went on hungerstrike at two

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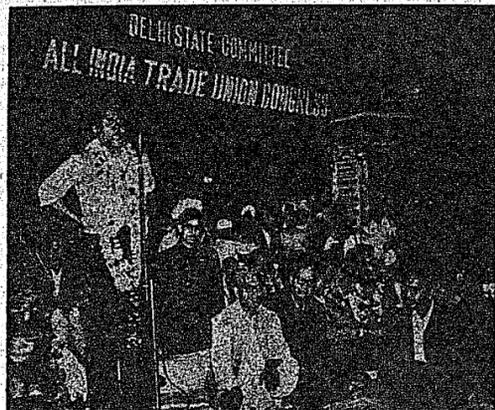
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B. D. Joshi speaking at meeting in Delhi on February 22

SHORE CHAND AGGARWAL, RADHESHYAM TRIPATHI, ABDUL QUASSIM, GAJRAJ SINGH, SHIVRAJ, RAMJIT, ABDUL LATIF, SIDHDHAGOPAL, RAMIAS UPADHYAYA, MATAPRASAD TIWARY, KHANJAN SINGH, BALDEV and RAMKISHAN.

In Dehra Dun the hunger-strike could not be conducted because of the imposition of section 144 in the city. In the rural areas the hungerstrike was observed on a wide scale.

In Harbanswala those who went on hungerstrike were RAM PRASAD, RAM BHOOREY RAM UDDY and SARJU RAM, while in Arcadia the batch consisted of BALJ NATH, BISHESHWAR and KHEM CHAND.

There were hunger strikers in Premnagar, Raipur, Banjarawala-Ajabpur, Mulakawala-Panditwari, Herbertpur, Udiyabagh and Goodrich.

Thirtytwo plantation workers representing all the estates in the Doon Valley went on hungerstrike.

In Sultanpur the hunger-strikers were RAM SUMER, KAMAL and HARICHARAN.

In Ghaziabad, industrial suburb of Delhi, 11 workers went on hungerstrike outside the court of the subdivisional magistrate.

The independent Hindustan Aircraft Employees Association also joined the action in Barrackpore. Five workers of the factory participated in the hunger-strike.

In Rishra-Konnagar-Serampore belt the hunger strikers sat before Alkali Chemicals, Hindustan Glass, Sree Engineering, Jay Shree Textiles, J. K. Steel, Heylas Paints, Bangaswari cotton, Luxminarayan jute, Presidency jute and Luxminarayan cotton mills.

In Burapur, the hunger-strike camp was at the Bari maidan. Among those who took part were BAMPADA MUKHERJEE, PASUPATI PANDEY, HIMANGSHU CHATTORAJ, RAM SURAT DUBEY and RAM CHANDRA PROSAD.

In Kulti the hunger strikers were NITIS SETT and KARUNAMOY GHOSAL.

In front of the Sen Raleigh works in Kanyapur the hunger-strikers were SUNIL RAY, BIDYA PROSAD, J. N. GAN-GULY, SANGAM DUBEY and MOHIT MANDAL.

In Suryanagore before the Dakaswari cotton mills CHANDRAMA SINGH and GOPAL KUNDU went on hungerstrike for the three days.

In Asansol there were hunger-strikes before Bankola, Prosonnon Datta Kajora, Searsole, New Jemehary Khas,

New Ghusick and Kallpahari collieries. In Hooghly there were hunger-strikes in many centres. About 50 workers led by GIRAJA MUKHERJEE MLA, JADU GOPAL SEN, GOLUM MOHUDDIN and BISHENU DUTTA participated in them.

In the Mohini mills at Belghoria the hunger strikers were RANJIT KUMAR DAS, GOPAL PAUL, DEHUBA KHATUA, JAGANNATH RAM, KALIPADA DEBNATH and KRISHNA GOPAL ROY.

The hungerstrike of tea garden workers in Jalpaiguri was led by DEB PRASAD GHOSH, BIMAL DASGUPTA, CHINMOY GHOSH and PUNAI ORAN.

There were hungerstrikes in the tea gardens of Doors, mills and factories in Thaghur, Shallmar, Bhadrashwar and similar other places in the state.

Among them were SARVAJEET SINGH, GAJANAN PATIL, IBRAHIM SULEMAN, PRASNATH PASSI, J.F.H. ROCHE, ADAM AGHA, PARISH CHODANKER and IBRAHIM SHAIKH HUSSAIN.

The hungerstrike began with a mass meeting in Panjim addressed by ROQUE SANTANA FERNANDES and GERALD PEREIRA. The meeting was organised by the Goa government employees who observed February 20 as demands day.

In San Vordem, the mining centre, RAYMOND CARDOZO of the Mine and Transport Workers Union went on hungerstrike.

ANAND COULECAR and RAGHODA CHODANKAR of the Taxi and Bus Drivers Union also went on hunger-strike.

In Marmagosa the Port Dock

workers before, all the four textile mills in Delhi, namely Swatantra Bharat, Delhi Cloth, Birla and Ajodhia.

On February 22 there was a procession of 5000 workers from Rajpur Road to Chandni Chowk. Later a public meeting was held to greet the breaking of fast by the leaders.

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Delhi

NEW DELHI: More than 250 workers and trade union activists participated in the three-day hungerstrike at 30 centres in Delhi on February 20, 21 and 22 on the call of the national campaign committee.

Except for eight TU leaders, all the participants in Delhi were actual workers and employees. The venues of the hungerstrike were chosen so as to cover all areas of the city and suburbs.

Streams of visitors, including INTUC and UTUC workers, visited the hungerstrike camps and greeted the volunteers expressing solidarity with them and extending support to the eleven-point demands charter.

The hungerstrike before the central labour office at Rajpur Road was led by B. D. JOSHI and A. C. NANDA, president and general secretary of the Delhi AITUC.

In Shahdara the hunger-strikers before the labour office were led by NATHA SINGH of the Engineering and Allied Workers Union.

The hungerstrike before Karampura labour office was led by K. C. GARG, leader of the Indian Oxygen employees union.

A big batch of corporation employees led by J. F. KHARE went on hungerstrike in the Company Gardens while the shop employees' batch observed the fast under their leader D. N. BAGHI in Chandni Chowk.

In front of the Ashoka Hotel in Chanakyapuri, a batch of hotel employees offered hungerstrike under the leadership of M. M. GOPE.

GOPAL RAO led the hunger-strikers in front of the Medical Institute in South Delhi.

A batch of vendors went on hungerstrike before the Roshanara Road police station under the leadership of BANTA SINGH. The police station was selected as the venue, first, because the vendors have no employer in the sense others have, and second because they were protesting against police harassment also.

The press workers organised a hungerstrike in Connaught Circus at a place where four presses were located.

There were batches of hun-

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WORKING WOMEN'S MARCH

THE Committee for the Defence of Working Women will lead the Great March of women workers to present a petition signed by 50,000 women workers to the Legislative Assembly in BOMBAY on March 6.

This march of the working women is the first of its kind in the workers' movement, in which women workers from textiles, engineering, chemicals etc., will participate and also observe the INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY.

Railway Budget

*FROM BACK PAGE when the revised estimates come. He also said that the railways are running a perspective planning.

Warior demanded a reorientation in freight structure and said that "unless the railways can manage to have a freight structure based on the cost of haulage as well as national demands and necessities, in the long run they would become bankrupt".

He suggested that railways must acquire the knowledge of technical and scientific development in other countries and pointed to the need for effecting economy and elimination of wastage. He criticised "political tracks", tracks decided for political reasons.

Referring to the need for co-ordination between railways and road traffic, Warior suggested that railways should not undertake the transport of goods for which they are not fitted and for which trucks are the most fitted. He called for gradual elimination of the metre gauge.

On the question of stores purchases from abroad, he recalled the findings of the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee and said that the state of affairs in regard to stores purchase was "scandalous". He asked the government to end the "contractors' paradise" in the railways too.



HOW CAN SOVIET UNION JUSTIFY ITS STAND ON CONGO?

Q What excuse can there be for the shameful manner in which the Soviet Union cooperated with the United States in crushing the Congo by bringing in the United Nations to that country? (P. T. VERGHESE, Kottayam, Kerala).

A The question is full of mis-information or worse, i.e., slander. It is fully in keeping with the stream of poisonous lies that the leaders of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is pouring forth.

In their fourth comment on the July 14 Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the CPC leadership states: "Again let us examine the part played by the leaders of the CPSU in the Congo question. Not only did they refuse to give active support to the Congolese peoples' armed struggles against colonialism, but they were anxious to 'co-operate' with US imperialism in putting out the spark in the Congo."

Let us, indeed, examine the part played by the Soviet Union in the Congo question. But just as a small digression, let us note another fact. What was the CPC leadership doing at the time?

Roaring and shouting against colonialism, undoubtedly. But what practical action did it take to help the Congolese people? Not one. Not a single concrete action was taken by the CPC leadership to give aid and succour to the oppressed and embattled Congolese people.

We need not doubt that the CPC leadership had all the good intentions in the world but it just did not have the material means to do anything beyond curses and demonstrations. This glaring fact should teach it some modesty, should make it realise that it can, after all, play only quite a subordinate role in the struggle against imperialism in the Congo or anywhere else in the world, especially as compared to the Soviet Union.

One way the CPC leadership could have helped would have been to engage a small section of imperialist, power by determined action against Hongkong and Macao. But to this day the CPC leadership does nothing in this regard.

What CPC Could Do

Another way the CPC leadership could have helped would have been by rallying and uniting the Afro-Asian powers and peoples. It could have played a very important role in working out a collective plan for diplomatic and other action to aid the Congo. But it was too busy tackling "border problems", questions of overseas Chinese and in "exposing" India to give much time to this pressing task.

Now to return to the Congo. Why does the CPC leadership and questioner fail to mention one simple fact. It was none other than PATRICE LUMUMBA who urgently called the United Nations to the Congo in July 1960. And the UN forces were warmly welcomed by the Congolese people.

At that time the traitor TSHOMBE was using the Belgian and other mercenaries to not only force the dismemberment of the Congo but to pull down the Lumumba government itself. The armed forces loyal to Lumumba were finding it impossible to handle the situation. Hence, the frantic appeal to the

umba was a sterling patriot, and that his name will live for ever as one of the great heroes and martyrs of the national liberation movement of Africa and the world. There is no doubt that he and his party enjoyed and still enjoy great prestige in the entire Congo. But it cannot be denied that the national movement there was weak and immature.

Tribal separatism was strong. The working class was very small in numbers and insufficiently organised. There was scarcely any intelligentsia. The peasantry was insufficiently awakened. Only now a bourgeoisie has begun to emerge in a bureaucratic form. The internal anti-imperialist forces could not measure up to the demands of the situation.

In this context what could the Soviet Union have done other than what it did. It would scarcely have warned the United Nations that it would launch its rockets against the UN building! And not even the CPC leadership suggests that it should have despatched its armed forces to the Congo, when neither Lumumba nor anybody else asked for its help in this form.

Afro-Asia's Failure

Unfortunately, the Afro-Asian nations failed to take anything like a clear cut stand on this vital question. It is to the shame of the Indian government that it took the lead in harping on the so-called unmissability of what it called the "troika" scheme.

Once the UN forces had gone into the Congo, the Soviet Union repeatedly brought it to the attention of world public opinion that its duty was only to aid the Lumumba government to compel the Belgian and other mercenaries to withdraw. The UN had no business to meddle in the internal affairs of the Congo, it pointed out.

Unfortunately, again, the Congolese government of the day and the other Afro-Asian powers did not heed sufficiently these warnings of the Soviet Union, till it was too late.

It has unfortunately to be recorded that for some reason Lumumba placed himself under UN "protection" in Leopoldville, where he was not in a powerful position, instead of consolidating his forces in Stanleyville and demanding the withdrawal of the UN once it had refused to work together with his government and begun to play an "independent" role.

It has also to be unfortunately recorded that the powerful African states like Ghana and the UAR at that time did not work unitedly nor suitably deploy their forces to come to the aid of the Congo. And some Asian states, with India in the lead, did very little indeed, to make the UN force to carry out its mandate or to act unitedly to save the Congo.

Above all, it has to be unfortunately recorded that the nationalist movement in the Congo proved to be disunited and demonstrated a lack of control over such armed forces as existed in the country. Not only was Tshombe a traitor but KASABUVU, ADOULA and MOBUTU—who all occupied very strategic positions in the Congolese government of the day—also danced to the tune of the imperialists.

There is no doubt that Lum-

It is the height of dishonesty to blindly ignore all these factors, refuse to suggest an alternative and just go on slandering the Soviet Union.

It should be noted further that when the Soviet Union pressed for the withdrawal of the UN forces, it was only gradually that one after another most of the Afro-Asian states began to agree with it. The Government of India, however, lowered India's prestige by not only not supporting the Soviet stand but despatching its armed forces to the Congo when it could do no good to the Congolese people and could only estrange the African states and peoples.

To this day the Soviet Union refuses to pay for the UN forces in the Congo since these did not carry out the mandate of the Security Council. And some Afro-Asian states agreed with the Soviet position, only much too late.

All these facts are widely known and it is most dishonest that the CPC leadership now suppresses them. It is because of all these facts that not a single African or a single Asian statesman or popular leader has ever blamed the Soviet Union for the agony and tragedy of the Congo.

The CPC leadership would like the wrath of the Afro-Asian peoples, roused to a stormy pitch by the murder of Lumumba, to be directed not against the imperialists and their tools but against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. A most revolutionary wish!

The CPC leadership would like the Afro-Asian peoples to ignore their own weaknesses, to overlook their own illusions about imperialism and to have the Soviet Union as a convenient scapegoat whenever imperialism has some temporary success. A fine way of raising the level of anti-imperialist consciousness of Afro-Asia!

But the CPC leadership is in the unfortunate position of not being able to quote a single statement by any Congolese leader or any other Afro-Asian leader of any worth to support its anti-Soviet slander. Militant anti-imperialists know their friends and know who can help them.

Already there are signs that despite all the savagery of the imperialists the Congolese people are again on the move.

In an interview to the magazine *Peace, Freedom, Socialism* (December 1963), MWAMBAMUKANYA, a follower of Lumumba, not only gives the correct background to the present difficult position but goes to state that "the uprisings which flared up in various parts of the country are evidence that the imperialists in the Congo are sitting on a powder bag that is liable to explode at any moment."

This is the true revolutionary spirit and not the approach of the carping anti-Soviet slanders contained in the question.

—MOHIT SEN



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Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose, M.A. Ayurved-Sastr, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.

MRITASANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
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Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, M.B.B.S. (Cal) Ayurvedacharya.

The Federal Republic of Germany has announced the cancellation of all economic "aid" to Ceylon, as a reprisal for the Ceylon government's decision to establish a Consulate-General of the German Democratic Republic.

THE Ceylon weekly TRIBUNE has frontpaged a condemnation of "Bonn Blackmail." The paper voices progressive opinion in the country when it writes: "Blackmail and thuggery in international affairs are as despicable as they are in domestic and parochial matters, and the stand the West Ger-

man government has taken in regard to Ceylon's relations to the GDR, is another example of the underlying philo-sophy behind the Bonn government. The Nazis had behaved in a similar way and had led the world to the verge of total destruction."

During the recent visit of the GDR Deputy Prime Minister, BRUNO LEUSCHNER, to Ceylon, the two govern-

ments had agreed to establish consular relations.

The GDR Foreign Ministry, in a statement, just received by NEW AGE from its Berlin correspondent, has condemned the West German blackmail. The statement says: "The Government of the GDR draws attention to the fact that this attempt of blackmail by the West German government represents a gross violation of the principles of international law by which all states are bound. In addition to this the measures announced by the Bonn government against Ceylon constitute a gross breach of contract."

The Government of the GDR has noted with satisfaction that the Government of Ceylon had unmistakably rejected the pressures of the West German government and its repeated attempts to interfere in Ceylonese affairs.

"Nor can this latest attempt of blackmail by the West German government, remove the fact that two German states exist. It will not prevent a further development and consolidation of the international relations of the GDR."

What will be Ceylon's answer? THE TRIBUNE writes: "There can be only one answer to this threat. Ceylon must do without West German aid, as it is now doing without US aid."

"Finally, the people of Ceylon now know just what 'aid' from capitalist countries, whose social systems are built on the principle of the private profit motive stemming from the exploitation of working people and foreign lands, really means. There is no doubt that the economy of this country has to be built without such 'aid.'"

The Cyprus government had been insisting on taking the matter to the UN, but the British and US governments had been constantly threatening "dire consequences", if this step were taken.

The Cyprus government has requested the Security Council to give it protection against the sinister threats to its independence and territorial integrity—the threats being made by the NATO powers.

The Security Council debate on Cyprus shows a similar line-up, as on the Kashmir issue. It is the Soviet delegate who leads the battle for Cyprus' independence, just as he did in the case of Kashmir. It is the US and British delegates who lead the anti-Cyprus campaign.

The issues are clear: The imperialists want the Security Council to give its consent to their plans to interfere in Cyprus and its confirmation of the unequal treaties imposed on Cyprus.

The people of Cyprus are determined to fight to defend their independence. They can count on the support of all forces which stand for peace and independence.



By OBSERVER

W. GERMANY BLACKMAILS CEYLON

BRIDGES OF AMITY

Yugoslav Economic Mission In India

A high-powered Yugoslav Economic Mission headed by JOZE BRILEJ, member of the Federal Executive Council arrived in New Delhi on February 21 for discussions with the Government of India about industrial and scientific cooperation between the two countries.

Other members of the delegation, apart from Joze Brilej, are: TOMA GRANJEL, general director of the Yugoslav Bank for Foreign Trade, TONE BOLE, vice-president of the Federal Economic Chamber, MIHOVIC KAPETINIC, chief of the Asian section in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade, and VERA PEJNOVIC, officer in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade.

Among all the Asian countries, India has the most comprehensive cooperation with Yugoslavia. In terms of trade exchange, in 1960 alone India imported during the year 1963 and includes some of momentous photographs of the period. This is really a very welcome step by the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi to inform the people of our country about the developments in fraternal relationships between the two countries.

Yugoslavia is cooperating with India through active assistance in salt lake project in Calcutta, gas purification project in Durgapur, cement warehouse in Cherapunji and in other projects like setting up of hydro and thermal electric power station and coking coal factory. The total number of such projects is 19.

In October last year, a trade agreement was signed between the two countries effective for a period of five years. On February 23 a further agreement has been signed between the two countries effective for seven years providing for

the Soviet Union includes deputies of both Chambers of the Soviet Parliament.

CULTURAL MISSION FROM USSR

A 4-member cultural delegation from the Soviet Union is also now in our country. This delegation is headed by S. K. RAMANOVSKY, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. The delegation is taking part in the 4th Indo-Soviet Joint Committee meetings which began in New Delhi on February 24 and would continue till March 2.

INDO-GDR CULTURAL AGREEMENT

India and German Democratic Republic have agreed to develop further cooperation in the fields of science, education, public health, literature etc., and a cultural exchange agreement to that effect was signed in New Delhi on February 20 between the representatives of the two countries.

INDO-HUNGARIAN EXCHANGE PROGRAMME

A one-year cultural programme was also signed between India and Hungary last month. The programme provides for the exchange of students, teachers, research scholars as well as other steps including exhibition of films, photographs etc.

DIARY OF FRIENDSHIP

An extremely interesting and useful pamphlet titled "1963: One More Year of Soviet-Indian Friendship" has been brought out by the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi.

Recorded in a chronological order, the pamphlet covers all the events of Soviet-India friendship and cooperation during the year 1963 and includes some of momentous photographs of the period.

SOVIET PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

A 10-member Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by IVAN SPIRIDONOV is currently visiting our country at the invitation of our Parliament. The delegation of the highest legislative organ of

ON GUARD IN DEFENCE OF PEACE SOVIET ARMY DAY (February 23)



Gabon: French Neo-Colonialism In Action

THE crushing of the army revolt in Gabon by French troops reveals the reality of the independence of countries of the French community.

Gabon is one of the smallest states in Africa. Population a little above four lakhs, it is situated on the West Coast between Congo (Brazzaville) and Cameroun.

Facts are not yet clear regarding the coup and the po-

litical character of the men behind it. But the French intervention, invoking the so-called Franco-Gabonese Defence Agreement of 1961 (an unequal agreement imposed by France, when granting independence) has shown up the French Community for what it is.

The recent meeting of the Organisation of African Unity at Dar-es-Salaam had expressed its strong opposition to the entry of imperialist troops into independent African states. As a matter of fact, French troops continue to be stationed in the old "French" Africa. The French troops which came to reinstall the overthrown Gabon government came from Dakar, Brazzaville and other bases.

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the newly independent countries of Africa must be upheld, and French neo-colonialism condemned. The Gabon events underline the necessity for the liquidation of foreign war bases on African soil, and a repudiation of the neo-colonialist "treaties" imposed on countries of the French Community.

Cyprus In Security Council

FACED with the resolute opposition of the Cyprus government to the NATO plans to send an occupation army in the name of "keeping the peace" in the island, the Anglo-American powers decided to make the best of a bad job, and suddenly took their case to the Security Council.

The Cyprus government had been insisting on taking the matter to the UN, but the British and US governments had been constantly threatening "dire consequences", if this step were taken.

The Cyprus government has requested the Security Council to give it protection against the sinister threats to its independence and territorial integrity—the threats being made by the NATO powers.

The Security Council debate on Cyprus shows a similar line-up, as on the Kashmir issue. It is the Soviet delegate who leads the battle for Cyprus' independence, just as he did in the case of Kashmir. It is the US and British delegates who lead the anti-Cyprus campaign.

The issues are clear: The imperialists want the Security Council to give its consent to their plans to interfere in Cyprus and its confirmation of the unequal treaties imposed on Cyprus.

The people of Cyprus are determined to fight to defend their independence. They can count on the support of all forces which stand for peace and independence.

No Ground to Keep Emergency, Says Opposition

Stop Attack on Misuse of Powers by Govt.

The Grand Remonstrance by the Opposition last week in the Lok Sabha when a private member's resolution seeking to end the emergency was discussed inconclusively left little justification for the government to hold on to its vast extraordinary powers which a united Parliament had bestowed willingly to it in the wake of Chinese aggression over a year ago.

THE misuse of these powers formed the most powerful theme of indictment by the Opposition. Whereas Congress members too agreed that the powers should not be misused, their plea for retaining them on the ground of a renewed threat to the security of the country arising from Pak-China collusion lacked logic and was no answer to the points raised by the other side.

In fact, the view that the emergency has lasted too long is not shared by the Opposition alone. Speaking on the motion of thanks to the Vice-President's Address, only a few days before HARE KRUSHNA MAHATAB had said that the emergency should not become a normal thing for the people, that they should not become acclimatised to it.

TRIDIB KUMAR CHOUDHRY who moved the resolution in the Lok Sabha developed the theme and said that it was not the people who were getting acclimatised to the emergency, but the officialdom, the bureaucracy which enjoyed vast

powers under it; and there lies the danger, he pointed out.

As to the use to which the emergency had been put to, there was plenty for the Opposition to point out how it had been used to strengthen the ruling party. K. K. WARIOR said: "The government actually did not use the emergency powers given to them in the proper way to protect the nation, to protect the interests of the people and the interests of the working class". He charged that it was used to "muzzle" the Opposition and cited the case of the only two MPs and majority of the Opposition MLAs in Tripura detained under the DIR.

Tridib Kumar Choudhry referred to the suppression of TRIPURAR KATHA for publishing a reader's letter criticising a speech by the Chairman of the Territorial Council in which he had dubbed all the tribals as agents of the Communist Party. He contrasted this with the latitude shown to the monopoly press and said:

"The monopoly press in this

country has full freedom to hold up the government and its Prime Minister to ridicule, to run down its foreign policies and to run down its economic policies." The failure of the executive to use the DIR against hoarders and profiteers while coming down on workers' agitations was pinpointed by the Opposition.

The illegality of detentions under the DIR and the violation of the Constitution were forcefully presented in a speech by N. C. CHATTERJEE. "I am ashamed to say that in free and democratic India we have deprived the Indian citizens, under the plea of emergency, to have access to courts of law and no court today is competent in India to issue a writ of habeas-corpus. We have reduced the fundamental rights to a mockery. We have denied the basic human rights to our citizens".

Chatterjee characterised the proposed Constitution (Eighteenth) Amendment Bill as an attempt to legalise a "blatant violation of the Constitution itself." He charged that the "rule of law has been frustrated".

PSP spokesman NATH PAI approached the problem from a different angle and re-nounced his party's position that the

government had not the will to fight the Chinese and therefore it had no right to the powers under the emergency. He spoke about the "gross ineptitude and incompetence" of the government and said they had made a "thorough mess" of the whole thing.

In the Upper House too, the debate on BHUPESH GUPTA's resolution to end the emergency which was also debated inconclusively on February 14 had revealed the weakness in the government's position in trying to cling to the extraordinary powers it had taken under the emergency. Bhupesh Gupta pointed out that "the mere existence of a constructive threat or a real threat does not really provide for an emergency under the Constitution. An emergency is to be called when a threat has assumed certain magnitude and proportion".

To illustrate his point he referred to Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir in 1947 when no emergency was proclaimed in the country as a whole even though the Government of India Act which was in force at that time—section 102—provided almost in identical terms for the proclamation of an emergency. Also there was no emergency when

the border dispute with China arose in 1959 or even after September 8 till October 20.

The emergency had to be proclaimed only after October 20 when a serious situation arose as the Chinese crossed the McMahon Line in massive numbers and advanced into Nefu. But since then, in the 15 months since the unilateral cease-fire from the Chinese side, there has been material change in the situation and today it is not the same as it was in October 1962, Bhupesh pointed out.

He cited newspaper editorials and statements by prominent people including eminent jurists to show that there was no basis for continuing the emergency. Even the government through its actions like holding of elections and release of a large number of detenus had admitted that the situation has changed.

But, he charged, the government was continuing to maintain the emergency "to create an artificial political atmosphere" in order to "divert the people's attention from the real day-to-day issues". He pointed out that defence build-up can be successfully carried out without keeping this emergency.

COMMUNIST MPs CRITICISE UNREALISTIC RLY. BUDGET

Communist members who participated in the general discussion on the Railway Budget in the Lok Sabha criticised the proposal to have a two per cent increase in the supplementary charge on goods freight rates and warned that it would further add to the rise in prices and increase the inflationary pressure.

Nambiar charged that the railways also do not have a coordinated transport policy and he referred to the episode of Neogy's resignation from the Chairmanship of the Committee on Transport Policy and Coordination and the facts that had come out in his statement. He criticised the government for submitting to the pressure of the World Bank team and its interference in our national transport policies.

Commenting on the various problems faced by railway workers and the labour relations in the industry, Nambiar opposed the exclusion of railwaymen from the purview of the Bonus Commission and demanded that at least one month's bonus should be given to all railwaymen.

He disputed the Minister's claim that labour relations were good and raised the question of arbitration and tribunals demanded by the Federations, of recognition of unions, reinstatement of victimised employees in the light of recent Supreme Court judgement and the hardship caused to the employees by increased house rent deduc-

NOW TO SECOND PHASE OF TOILERS' CAMPAIGN

*FROM FRONT PAGE

but would only strengthen reaction.

Those who know history can see that organised revolutionary seizure of power and transfer of land and factories to the people have nothing in common with anarchic looting nor do they begin with it. It has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism nor with empty barren talk of "higher forms".

The three-fold struggle that the National Campaign Committee has launched and the National Hartal and General Strike that it visualises are certainly not for "seizure of power". But it is also not without its revolutionary content and socialist objectives, inasmuch as it organises, unites and puts into a disciplined, peaceful action all the toiling people—the workers, peasants, intellectuals and even the shopkeepers and small traders against the ruinous and atrocious policies of the government which benefit only the big monopolists and landlords and impoverish every creative labour of hand and brain.

Yes, it was MAHATMA GANDHI who united the nation and put the millions into action with calls for nationwide hartals, which led to civil disobedience and

general strikes of the whole people against the "satanic British State".

That action, that technique, that spirit minus its religious, individualistic inhibitions, have now become the inheritance of those very toiling millions, who now want to go over from national independence and political freedom to freedom from the throttling hand of the rich millionaires and landlords, at whose service the whole economy and life of the liberated nation have been put. And that is what action for transition to democracy and socialism means.

National Inheritance

The inheritance of National History must be used in a new way, for the benefit of the exploited classes, according to the genius, culture and specific conditions of the Indian people.

That is what the three-fold struggle beginning, in fact, from the Great March of last September has begun to do. That was my answer to the questioner in the Kanpur press conference. We may deal with it later on when all the experience will have been assimilated in a more organised and proper way and not just as a by-product of

an answer to a provocative questioner.

It is, however, necessary to mention this because such questions are likely to be asked elsewhere. They might sidetrack and disrupt the Great Campaign, unless dealt with on the spot even though partially.

All working people desire that the National Campaign Committee, the AITUC, the independent trade unions, all the other central TU organisations and political leaderships of the Communist Party, the PSP, the Socialist Party and progressive groups should sit together and evolve a joint campaign and action for an agreed set of urgent demands on a nationwide scale. That is also our desire and request to all.

BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, WE MUST GO INTO ACTION ON OUR OWN AS PLANNED, WHILE REQUESTING AND CONVINCING THE OTHERS, WHO STAND ON THE SIDE OF THE TOILING PEOPLE, HOW UNITED ACTION ALONE ON A NATIONWIDE SCALE CAN SAVE THE NATION FROM THE GRABBING HANDS OF INDIAN AND FOREIGN MONOPOLISTS AND GIVE RELIEF TO THE PEOPLE.

25 February 1964

IT was pointed out that by proper budgeting and by improving the efficiency of the railways, the amount of Rs. 11 crores sought to be raised by this increase in surcharge could be realised and there was no justification for increasing freights.

ANANDAN NAMBIAR who initiated the discussion recalled that in the successive years 1962 and 63 fares and freights had been increased by Rs. 21.26 crores and Rs. 40.26 crores. By the present addition, the total impact of increase in taxation for the next year will be to the tune of Rs. 51.26 crores. An analysis of the increase in fares and freights for the last three years shows that it has gone up by eight per cent.

Nambiar criticised this policy and pointed out that it had no

justification in the context of the enough surplus that the railways had. The railways were making good contribution to the General Revenues and the rate of dividend on capital made available to the railways had been progressively increased. Nambiar also criticised the practice of allotting more money than is required for depreciation.

"I consider that at present the Railways are following a negative economic policy. The railways are refusing to meet the necessary expenditure on labour, wage, etc. and are helping inflation to grow which, I consider, is a negative policy and which requires a change..."

"That is exactly the reason why they are putting more on depreciation and on expenditure side, that is, to show that there is no money left for giving a square deal to the workers as also to show that there is necessity for enhancement of fares and freights every time."

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

tions and claims for huge sums as arrears of rent for quarters which were earlier given rent-free.

He welcomed the pension system announced by the Minister and the allotment of Rs. 19 crores this year towards the pension fund. But he suggested that all the retired employees should be fully covered by the scheme.

HOMI DAJI participating in the general discussion characterised the Railway Budget as a "routine budget" and called for a more dynamic budget. He referred to the report of the Railway Board and said it was a "document of complacency and smugness". In this connection he challenged the claim of reduction in overcrowding in trains.

Daji said the railways today constitute "the most organised and legalised blackmarketing in the country, where you pay the money and do not even get a

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