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Sec 18

AGAINST U. S. DOUBLE-TALK!

Shed Illusions, Show Maturity!

NEW AGE

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The mind of every politician as well as the press of the country remains agitated and worried over the implications of President Ayub's visit to U.S.A., and what followed from it. The first clear and conscientious and really authoritative reaction came from the Prime Minister himself in his Srinagar speech.

AFTER taking due note of the bellicosity of the Pak dictator, which got very much heightened by the new American promise of giving more deadly weapons, and all the numerous provocative things that were happening on the Indo-Pak border, inside "Azad" Kashmir, the Prime Minister warned: "India would not tolerate any attack on Kashmir and would counter aggression with all her might".

missiles which Pakistan does not have but will now get is certainly something devastatingly new and dangerous.

Pandit Nehru did take note of the above and declared: "If it transpires at any stage that Pakistan was getting new or additional arms, India's attitude in the matter would change. India was not sitting idle". (Times of India, July 21).

The Prime Minister was inevitably led to the leading question whether U.S. policy towards India had changed. His answer was a typical exercise in intellectual Shirshashan:

"I am quite sure that they (U.S. Government) do not desire to change (their attitude to India). But even so some thing that they do, without desiring to do so (to effect a change in the Ameri-

military "aid" as well, surrender our sovereignty, gang up behind the U.S. and join its system of military alliance. There is no more mystery than this about the U.S. policy towards India and Pakistan. No other explanation is real.

It is sad to hear the Prime Minister of Independent India nursing illusions about U.S. imperialism and what is worse broadcasting them among the people which can only dull their vigilance, while keeping official policy confused, weak, and immature.

The U.S. press, its famed columnists, as also the unnamed official spokesman, are busy cooking up and broadcasting "explanations" to assuage Indian public opinion which they know has suffered a nasty surprise and is deeply worried.

On our soil U.S. Ambassador Galbraith has already organised two press conferences, the first in Madras, on July 20, and the second in Calcutta, on July 22. The running theme of Galbraith's song is that there has been no change in U.S. policy. Only the ignorant and the gullible will swallow this plea which flies against all facts.

The American press itself is full of news that most of those who helped to get Kennedy elected President with the hope of imparting "a new look" to U.S. foreign policy now find that it is sinking more and more into the well-trodden Dulles rut.

One expression of this is the outcry in some circles in the U.S. demanding that Chester Bowles be sacked. A well-known U.S. intellectual whom Galbraith undoubtedly knows and whose opinion he ought to respect, Max Lerner, has written an article (Indian Express, July 28) bemoaning the "Campaign against Chester Bowles" and appealing to "Kennedy's Conscience".

He writes of, "a climate inside the State Department which is dishearteningly unfavourable. It is unfavourable to those who — for all of Ayub Khan's forthrightness and Nehru's condescensions and Krishna Menon's intrigues — still believe that what happens to India counts for more than anything else in Southern and South-eastern Asia".

Chester Bowles was also a U.S. Ambassador in our country. His speeches and activities in India and more so his speeches, articles, and the book which he wrote on going back home, show that he wanted to give a liberal coating to U.S. imperialist policy and eschew the insolence and crudities of the Dulles brand.

Galbraith stated that the U.S. remains opposed to U.S. arms in Pak hands being used against India. The Kennedy-Ayub communique, however, directly relates U.S. arms aid not to the old bogey of anti-Communism but to Pakistan security itself of which Pakistan as a sovereign nation can be the only judge!

The U.S. Ambassador also seems to be unaware of President Ayub's statement made on his arrival in Karachi, where he "confirmed that Pakistan would get F-104 Supersonic fighters. He indicated that these planes would be equipped with air-to-air missiles. Pakistan would also secure ground-to-air missiles". (Times of India, July 20)

The U.S. Ambassador simi-

ilarly seems to be unaware of what India's Prime Minister spoke at Srinagar in his press conference which we have quoted above.

Surely the learned U.S. Ambassador is neither deaf nor the little innocent.

Another key point strongly stressed by Galbraith was that U.S. policy towards India had "not changed... It is the policy of support to India's economic development and seeking increasing friendship between the two republics".

Patriotic India does not sell its friendship for dollars. After the new round of arms aid to Pakistan and continuing economic aid to India, thinking Indians

* SEE PAGE 4

He declared in plain and blunt words that: "There was no Kashmir issue except that Pakistan had invaded Indian territory and must clear out". And he added the forthright rider: "Neither Pakistan, nor any of her friends could force India to reopen the issue of Kashmir accession".

He debunked the seemingly democratic slogan of Pakistan about the plebiscite. "There was no question of any plebiscite in Kashmir now or later. India could not be expected to keep waiting for centuries for Pakistan to comply with the conditions for a plebiscite. The agreement had lapsed because Pakistan had failed to fulfil the conditions".

by
P. C. JOSHI

can attitude to India), may have the same effect. For instance if they give them (Pakistan) some type of latest weapons, that certainly has an effect on the situation". (PTI, July 20).

If in the old days of struggle against British imperialism any one else would have used such words, on a similar occasion, Pandit Nehru himself would have attacked him as providing an alibi for imperialism or made uproarious fun of him for being politically very naive.

The Prime Minister rightly stressed that Pakistan was born in and continues the hate campaign. The simple historical explanation of this unfortunate phenomenon, in our own living experience, is that the British imperialism, pursuing the classic policy of divide-and-rule, played up Hindu-Muslim differences and ultimately partitioned the country into India and Pakistan.

U. S. TACTIC— DIVIDE AND RULE

The old mantle of British imperialism has now fallen on U.S. imperialism. It pursues the same policy by giving economic and military "aid" to Pakistan and only economic "aid" to India.

The economic "aid" is to tempt and soften India. The military "aid" to Pakistan is to build and strengthen it as a pressure point against India to compel it to become another Pakistan, accept

CLARITY DIMS

He drove home the point that India had organised elections in Kashmir while "Azad" Kashmir had known none, the Pak dictator himself had risen to power by destroying the system of democratic elections all over Pakistan.

This intellectual clarity and moral indignation got a little dimmer by the time the Prime Minister reached the Capital.

At an impromptu press conference held during the reception given to him by the Press Association, New Delhi, on July 20, the Prime Minister defined anew his Government's attitude. He began by giving an unequivocal warning to the American administration "the supply of latest arms to Pakistan by United States would affect the situation in regard to Indo-U.S. relations".

Answering questions he disclosed that the U.S. Government had given the "assurances" that the supply of new arms to Pakistan was "only a continuation of the help already given to that country and there was nothing new about it". He also added that he considered these assurances "rather vague". (PTI, July 20). This is diplomatic politeness when expression of the nation's holy anger was called for.

The supersonic fighters and

DEPUTY LEADER AGAIN

From Our Special Correspondent

The much debated and postponed issue of the Deputy leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party would come up for discussion before its Executive Committee which meets in New Delhi on August 9.

LAST April, after the supporters of the two candidates, Morarji Desai and Jagjivan Ram, had indulged in intense canvassing which according to Pandit Nehru had reached "deplorable levels", the Congress Parliamentary Party asked for Nehru's arbitration and accepted his suggestion to have two Deputy leaders, one for each House of Parliament. It was also decided to request Executive Committee of the party to suggest suitable changes in the Party's Constitution.

Although Morarji's supporters did not like it yet they had to yield to the majority decision. The proposal for two Deputy leaders, according to them, robbed much of the importance that had been attached to this office.

Ever since then Morarji's lieutenants have been creating problems in the States for all those who either opposed Morarji's candidature or in any case did not actively support him.

Troubles in Bihar, Gujarat and especially in Bombay on the issue of "Local man vs. Krishna Menon", it is learnt, are direct creations of Morarji's evil mind.

As the General Elections are approaching nearer the struggle for power is really being conducted in State election committees. Under these circumstances it will not be strange if the issue of election of Deputy leaders is again postponed and, may be, finally taken up when the new Parliament members meet in 1962.



INSIDE THE CONGRESS

The daily press with sickening frequency, carries stories of the power-mad politicians of the ruling party. All the long-festering factional tensions, inside the Congress, have become intensified, in an unprecedented manner these days because this is the election year.

To get the official Congress ticket for oneself and for as many ones own group as possible and do everything to deny them to the rival group and its leaders has become a matter of political life and death for the Congress leaders, whether at the State or the Central level.

However, the organisational life inside the Congress cannot be correctly understood unless its political reflection in the life of our people is clearly seen and the policies behind it understood. Organisation is a reflection of politics and not vice versa.

A few big items picked up from the news of the week are enough to see how unbelievably damnably has become the political outlook of the Congress leaders.

The countrywide floods have been a national tragedy. There is not a part of the country that has not suffered. Yet there is no public explanation from the Government as to its causes or what it proposes to do to prevent their recurrence.

The Prime Minister's Relief Fund was drained in no time. Pandit Nehru appealed for more funds and they began coming. I have just now read a PIB release giving the list of donors. They are all from well-known firms, both foreign and Indian!

There has been no appeal for united popular efforts for prompt relief to the suffering on the spot. This is certainly not the way of treating the national tragedy in a national and popular manner. It is only when the rulers of the day begin to take themselves for granted that such an atrocious outlook and behaviour is witnessed in the life of a nation.

CHAOS IN AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE is the main occupation of our people from ancient times. The Congress leadership has not distributed land to the tillers. Besides land every tiller needs water and seeds. The Government has started all sorts of projects which are supposed to ensure plenty of water and improved seeds to the farmers.

The Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission has released reports, on July 24, which show up the real state of affairs. The failure to utilise the water from the giant irrigation project has become an old scandal.

This study shows the existence of a considerable degree of under-utilisation of irrigation potential of the minor irrigation works. About 50 per cent of the potential of these works remained unutilised in the Kharif crop of 1959-60 as compared to 31 per cent in the Rabi.

About 5 per cent of the tanks sampled were in poor

PAGE TWO

NOTES OF THE WEEK

to assert its national sovereignty.

The load of Western "aid" has made India drag its feet in international affairs, while in internal policy it is compromise with reaction and the method of party monopolisation of popular tasks. This cannot but produce the rot inside the ruling party. This is just what has happened and expresses itself in power struggle inside the Congress which cannot but go on becoming worse and worse as long as such policies persist.

KRISHNA MENON'S SEAT

IT is only the Rightwing inside the Congress that could prosper and grow stronger under such policies. It has become so confident as to challenge Pandit Nehru's trusted lieutenant and big supporter inside the Cabinet. One would have normally presumed that honest Congressmen anywhere in India would have considered it a privilege to offer their own parliamentary constituency to Krishna Menon. Least of all, challenge him in his own constituency, and yet it happened.

Maharashtra Labour Minister, Shanthilal Shah, Morarji's protegee, organised a "Congress workers meeting" in Menon's constituency with the slogan that they want "a local man" and ran a big press campaign in support. Their favourite candidate turned out to be Babubhai Chenoy, a big capitalist and arch-reactionary himself.

The press reports that Pandit Nehru himself had to intervene to scotch the plot. It is worthwhile noting who else outside the Congress offered to fight Krishna Menon. FSP Leader Amul Desai stated that he was willing to fight Krishna Menon from North Bombay if no one else did. The notorious pro-American Karaka of the Current, in his "The 1/2 Column", wrote, "Acharya Kripalani was in a dead earnest when he told me that if Menon stood from North Bombay he would come down from his safe seat in Bihar and fight Menon".

MAHATMA'S HOME STATE

THE myth has been systematically built up that in Mahatma Gandhi's and Sardar Patel's home State at least, the Congress was clean, constructive and stable. The evil of factionalism rampant elsewhere was unknown on its sacred soil.

The Gujarati bourgeoisie, owned up Morarji Desai as the rightful heir of the Sardar and he has been the unquestioned boss of the Congress organisation so far. After having met a few rebuffs in New Delhi, as over the Deputy Leadership issue, he has been toying with the idea, which is also

a veiled threat, that he might return to Gujarat as its Chief Minister and some back again to New Delhi to succeed Prime Minister Nehru.

He, therefore, planned to streamline the Congress in Gujarat under "the ten-year-rule", which came very handy, and made a clean sweep of Chief Minister Jivraj Mehta, a majority of the existing Cabinet, and a good part of the sitting MLAs.

The organisational wing under Pradesh Congress Chief Thakorbhai Desai launched the offensive with Balvanta Rai Mehta as the prospective Chief Minister. This came like a bomb shell to all concerned.

On July 9, the Gujarat Congress leaders met in New Delhi, with Morarji Desai present. The Prime Minister had already expressed himself publicly against the rigid application of the ten-year-rule. It was also leaked out that Dhebar and Jivraj Mehta had filed their applications for Lok Sabha and Assembly seats respectively with the prior concurrence and approval of Pandit Nehru.

Again on the eve of this fateful meeting Congress president, who according to Nehru had "casually" mentioned the ten-year-rule in his presidential address, now ate his own words and virtually declared in his press conference that there were no such things as the ten-year-rule.

The Congress president also wrote a formal letter to the GPC president on this subject. Again it became known that this had been done at the instance of Pandit Nehru. Morarji Desai is not used to being balked this way and the Gujarat Congress leaders' meeting broke up.

Another meeting was held in Ahmedabad. The press reported that the discussions were "free and frank" but everybody came to know that the charges and counter-charges were freely hurled against each other, in a language that had not been used before by those who swore by Gandhiji's name. The advanced Gujarat versus backward Saurashtra alignment also became evident.

The INTUC wing of the Congress is quite powerful, and from the side lines it has been supporting the Dhebar-Jivraj Mehta axis. The IPA reports "Some quarters even go to the length of ascribing the origin of the present tussle to the attempt by certain influential mill-owners in Gujarat to oust the INTUC men from the Congress Legislature Party in the next General Elections."

Morarji did not attend the Ahmedabad meeting. He, however, met Dhebar informally. He is reported to be sticking to his rigid stand.

It is anybody's guess whether it will be a show down or compromise in Gujarat, whether the High Command itself has to intervene either formally or informally. The organisational burst up in Gujarat has still further

damaged the moral prestige of the Congress.

KERALA GANG-UP

DESPITE the Durgapur directive what is going on in Kerala is a sight, not for the Gods, but for honest Congressmen everywhere to watch and shed tears of shame.

Elections to the local bodies are shortly due in Kerala. The Negotiating Committees of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League met in a joint meeting and decided "to avoid triangular contests and to defeat the Communists at any cost". Explaining the basis of the understanding the KPCC Chief told Pressmen that "The AICC directive would be carried out by Pradesh Congress in spirit without, however, causing any disturbance to the present administration in view of the peculiar character of the Government in Kerala". (PTI, July 15).

Political conscience can not be more elastic!

E. M. S. Nambudiripad, in his Vellore speech, while appealing to Pandit Nehru to call a national convention of all secular parties to combat the forces of national disintegration stated: "In Kerala the Congress had made definite alignment with the communal organisations like the Muslim League, Nair Service Society and the Catholic Church to secure votes."

"He said reliable reports had reached him that the Congress had made definite alliance with the PSP and decided not to contest in places where the communal organisations and Muslim League had full support". (Hindustan Times, July 19).

E. M. S. has helped to throw light on the mystifying formula of the KPCC President.

REAL DANGER

WHEN political principles and moral scruples no more guide the ruling party, which again is the traditional and which despite all its failings is yet the biggest and most influential national democratic organisation of the country, it becomes an evil augury. The faith and confidence of the people gets shaken and the tendency to lose interest in the political struggle grows. This also becomes a fertile breeding ground for Right reaction, which inevitably attempts to channelise the widespread discontent against the existing regime.

Therefore, the way the Congress leadership is going, they are not only damaging and corrupting their own organisation but creating acute negative problems for the nation in the days ahead.

—P. C. Joshi

July 25.

U. S. "AID"—NEW STRINGS

THE American Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith has been waxing eloquent about the "hand" that his country has been giving to India in managing her plan efforts, and the monopoly-controlled press has been equally enthusiastic in passing his derogations off as indications of a "new look" in the U.S. policy towards India.

Kennedy, they say, has revolutionised the old Dulles attitude towards non-alignment, which has now ceased to carry the appellation of immorality with which the late Secretary of State had stigmatised it. It has now become quite respectable, and is now no bar to massive economic aid from the United States for our socialist pattern.

While this "mantram" about the "newness" of the U.S. policy was still ringing in our ears, we came across last week a very illuminating despatch from the Washington correspondent of the Times of India, H. R. Vohra, headlined "Aid with strings". Its very first sentence purported to give the news that the "Era of aid without strings is ending" in the U.S.

This, of course, could be no news to our readers, who have never believed the U.S. aid to be stringless, but for many of the readers of the Times of India it must have really come as a big surprise, for the same Vohra had so long purveyed to them a contrary impression.

What, however, are these "strings", and in what way are these different from the old ones? Vohra himself has actually extolled these strings, for, to him they mark a departure from the old types. And yet, he has given enough material in his despatch to show that the change if at all is only in appearance. "The main objective of external capital" he writes "would be attainment of a satisfactory rate of development within the framework of free institutions".

Putting Pressure

India has long been a victim of discriminatory practices in cloth trade at

Knowing as we do the nature of "freedom", which in the eyes of the U.S. administration actually deserves this appellation, will it be wrong for us to infer from this statement that the U.S. aid, as heretofore, will continue to be given only to countries and regimes, which agree to toe its line—or can be made to do so in course of time? India has so far upheld her freedom, and refused to serve the ends which the U.S. wants her to serve. That is why, she gets only 6 dollars per capita, while Pakistan, with only about a quarter of her population gets 15 dollars.

Lest we be accused of misreading Vohra's or the United States' meaning here is what he himself says, "U.S. will now insist that aid should be deserved before it is claimed". And what will be the yardstick to judge the worth?

"In the first place U.S. ex-

JULY 30, 1961

JULY 30, 1961

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

gressivism" seen by Vohra in its new love for "land reforms", etc., has a definite end in view.

Identified for long with the most reactionary sections in the aided country it now wants to break this tie to win respectability. In this way it hopes the people can be made to believe in its bonafides, and to keep the revolution at bay. According to Vohra "Cuba is mainly responsible for this development (for) it is better to do this yourself than wait for a Castro to do it for you".

With the U.S. "aid", therefore, it is the same old story of old wine in new bottles. Kennedy has, no doubt, changed the bottles, but the stuff he serves is the same old brew, which "inebriates" but does not cheer.

TEXTILE EXPORTS HIT

A REFUTATION of the U.S. claim, that, it, and its allies, alone are the best friends of India and other developing nations is provided by its action in convening the 17 nation Geneva Conference on textile trade, which, on its promptings has decided to impose a ceiling on textile exports of low-cost countries to the U.K. and to itself.

Irked at the strides which the textile industry in India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, etc., was making, and sensing the threat it posed to its own textile trade it rushed to invite this Conference. Outwardly, however, it sought to make out that what it aimed at was an increase in exports of cotton goods from the low-cost countries.

The aim will be to "ensure that the available foreign exchange resources were distributed appropriately in

the hands of the United Kingdom. It had, however, agreed under pressure to a ceiling on textile exports to the latter. Hong Kong and Pakistan too had to accept such ceilings. Now, however, the United States too has joined the U.K. in shutting out Indian and other textiles from its frontiers. The Geneva Conference has endorsed its plea and enforced a standstill on Indian textile exports, which cannot now exceed the level reached by them in 1960-61.

The U.S. has, thus, sought to save its own textile industry in India and other countries. Rightly has the Indian Express (July 25) dubbed the agreement a "Raw Deal".

especially because the year, which is taken as its base, was a "low textile export year of India".

During this year (ended June 1961) it writes "India is estimated to have exported 645 million yards of cloth as against 862 million yards during the corresponding period ending June 1960." "This means" it adds "that at a time when India's foreign exchange reserves have touched a new low of Rs. 103 crores, she will be forced to curtail her textile exports by as much as 25 per cent as compared to her exports in 1959-60".

The Indian Express does not end at criticising this aspect of the U.S. policy. It

MONOPOLIST'S PLAN

S. P. JAIN'S name is well-known to our readers, so also, his "concern" for the country's growth. In his own way he has certainly been doing his best to contribute to this growth, even to the extent of at times landing himself into trouble. Hence, there is nothing strange in his lamenting over the pitiful results which India's planned growth has shown to date. After all, that is also the U.N. verdict. So what harm is done if he too beats his breast?

Jain, however, cannot keep up the face for long. Sooner or later he is bound to split the beans. Last week he told the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta that this lamentable rate of growth has to be given a spur through a careful reassessment of the "policies pursued, plan of investments and regulation of economic activity".

The aim will be to "ensure that the available foreign exchange resources were distributed appropriately in

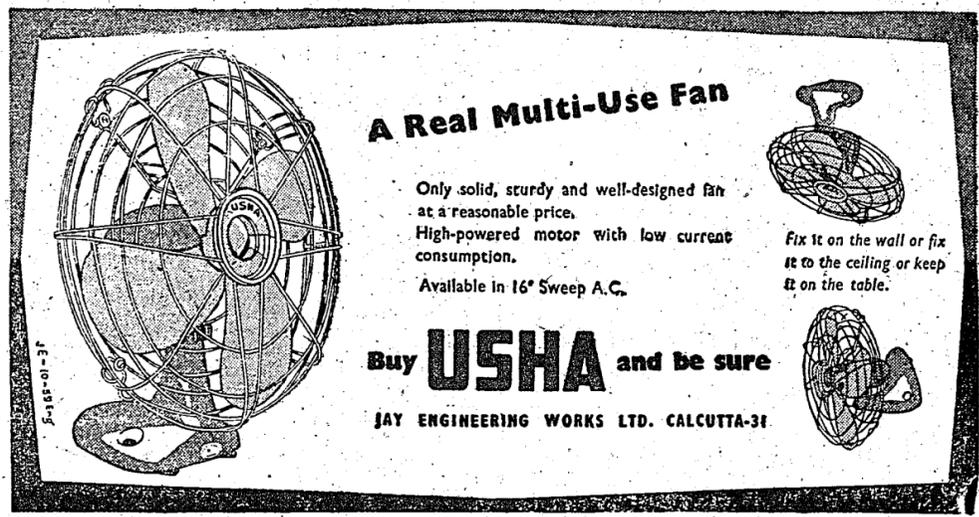
goes farther to connect it with the renewed emphasis in the United States on aid. "It appears" it writes "that the Western textile industry would prefer their Governments to adopt a policy of "more aid and less trade"—a policy which the U.S. has already been pursuing for quite sometime.

This then is the real nature of the U.S. aid—an insignificant recompense for the denial of export earnings which the aided country would have earned if the U.S. trade policy had not been so one-sided, and violative of the ordinary code of international trade.

various fields so as to derive the maximum advantage of development". What precisely he means by this is revealed by him in the sentence that "along with the essential services which was the responsibility of the Government it should be possible for the private sector also to get their requirements on the same basis".

In other words, the Government should redistribute its plan allocations to give a renewed impetus to the private sector. On its own it should provide the essential services, and act as a sort of midwife to enable newer and newer private projects to take their birth. A nice plan indeed—this Jain's—but then why should he not openly propagate it, instead of shedding crocodile tears over the miserable growth of the nation?

—ESSEN



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NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

STUDENTS PREPARE FOR DIRECT ACTION

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The problem of admission of students to colleges, specially in and around Calcutta, has now reached the crisis point. More than 70,000 students have passed this year's School Final, Higher Secondary, Pre-university L.A. & I.S.C. examinations. But they are unable to find accommodation in institutions acutely pressed for seats.

THE attitude of both the State Government and the Calcutta university authorities has been, till now, one of utter callousness. They contend that the problem of admission does not really exist, because there is no dearth of seats! One, however, fails to understand why hundreds of students are being turned away daily on the ground of non-availability of seats.

In view of the apathy of the State Government towards the future and well-being of youth, the students have decided to launch direct action from July 25.

Charter Of Demands

Representatives of five central organisations of students and also of different college unions met in Calcutta on July 14 to decide their course of action regarding the crisis in collegiate education. The meeting set up an Action Committee to build a movement for realising the following demands:

- The scheme of the University Grants Commission (UGC) for a phased reduction in the number of students in the bigger colleges and restriction of the roll strength in other institutions should be suspended pending alternative arrangements for those who would not be able to get admission.
- Introduction of the system of shifts in those colleges where it does not exist at present.
- Facilities for Honours and Commerce studies should be immediately provided in all Calcutta and mofussil colleges.
- Adequate numbers of vocational and technical

institutions, medical and general colleges should be established.

● There must not be any increase in any form in the college tuition fees.

● The system of compartmental examination for Pre-university candidates, who have been unsuccessful in one subject only, should be introduced.

● Greater facilities should be provided for the mother tongue in the field of higher education. For instance, question papers should be set in Bengali.

Prof. Keshaveswar Basu, President of the West Bengal College and the University Teachers' Association, said in a statement that collegiate education in the State was facing a grave crisis.

He criticised the authorities concerned for their thoughtless policy of implementing the UGC's scheme without making alternative arrangements to absorb the increasing number of students seeking admission in colleges.

He suggested immediate suspension, at least for this year, of the phased reduction programme and introduction of morning and evening shifts in colleges.

Satyapriya Roy, MLA, General Secretary of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, also pointed out that the least the authorities could do to solve the present crisis was to relax the maximum capacity limit in colleges.

But the State Government seems to be adamant.

Action Committee Makes Appeal

The Action Committee of Students' organisation, therefore, met on July 18 and appealed to the student community to observe a Statewide "Protest day" on

July 21. The Committee also decided to organise a mass deputation to the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and the State Education Minister and to submit a memorandum, containing the seven demands referred to above.

In case these demands were not conceded, direct action in the form of squatting in thousands inside the university premises would be launched for an indefinite period from July 25.

Meanwhile, students of different colleges in Calcutta organised deputations to their respective Principals. They were told to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the UGC to suspend the execution of its scheme of phased reduction in the number of students. It was pointed out that colleges were implementing the scheme under the direction of the UGC.

Protest Day

In response to the call of the Action Committee, students of Calcutta as well as mofussil colleges observed the "Protest Day". Students of several colleges in the city stayed away from their classes and gathered at the Calcutta University Lawn to hold a meeting.

A deputation met the Vice-Chancellor to submit the 7-point charter of demands. During the discussion that followed the Vice-Chancellor told the student representatives that there was no dearth of accommodation in Calcutta colleges. He, however, agreed to resume his discussion with them on Monday (July 25).

The students then went in a mass deputation to see the Education Minister. When they were held up by a police cordon at some distance from the State Government's Secretariat building some student leaders met the Education Minister.

His attitude was, to say the least, most unhelpful. Instead of paying heed to the cogent reasoning and concrete suggestions of the deputations, he produced his own statistics to "prove" his atrocious claim that there were enough seats in colleges to accommodate even more than those who had passed the school final and higher secondary exami-

RASHTRAPATI'S RECOVERY

New Age joins the rest of our countrymen in wishing Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad a speedy recovery and return to full health. The Rashtrapati's sudden illness came as a great shock and it was with profound relief that we learnt that he had turned the corner. May his progress continue and increase.

(July 26)

NEW AGE

Comrade Jagadambal

WE dip the Red Banner in memory of a grand old woman, Jagadambal, who died on July 17.

Her devotion to the Red Flag amounted to dedication like a Mother. She fed and sheltered our Trichy comrades when the Party was driven underground. She used to personally take her four daughters to the trade union annual conferences in the Railway Workshop township, Golden Rock, and remain there for days together contributing her own bit and encouraging her daughters to work for the success of the workers' conference.

She gladly gave her four daughters to the service of the Party. One married Comrade Fursrottam, for long President of the S.I.R. Union, another Comrade Muthiah our Tamil Party leader, still another Comrade Madhavan, Manager of the New Age and the youngest Comrade P. Ramamurthy. We offer respectful condolences to the bereaved family.

nations this year! So, according to him, there should not be any problem regarding admission of students into colleges in West Bengal.

As matters stand now, direct action will be launched as scheduled unless the Government sees sense in the meantime.

U. S. Dangles Dollars

* FROM FRONT PAGE

cannot but conclude that the present U. S. policy makers think that more dollars crumbs will get their job done in India, duly backed with more U.S. arms to Pakistan, to be put into action as and when necessary, if the dollars alone do not work to make India more and more loyal to the "free and democratic world" as envisaged by U.S. imperialism, in its jargon.

As regards the highly explosive Kashmir question he explained that the reference to it in the joint Communiqué implied "no inimical purpose". He vouchsafed, "President Kennedy's devout wish for a solution". The really devout lover of peace, and friend of our two neighbouring countries, would have publicly pulled up Field Marshal Ayub for his bellicosity and roundly condemned the provocative and aggressive goings on in the so-called "Azad" Kashmir. Piety is not proclaimed but practised. He also reiterated President Kennedy's "desire to minimise points of tension" between India and Pakistan. Kennedy's own practical deeds prove that he is acting the traditional monkey of the ancient Indian fable, and nothing else.

These U.S. lullabies are meant to put India to sleep instead of worrying over what U.S. is doing inside and through Pakistan. If the patriotic Indian people were political children the new music may have worked but our peoples are mature men instead!

Lust for U.S. dollars must not make us politically blind about our nation's supreme interest which is, threatened by U.S. imperialism under President Kennedy. Illustons must no more cloud any Indian mind as the grim reality stares India in the face.

He also stressed that all plans of progress will fall to pieces if the evil communal forces are not immediately surmounted.

The serious and thinking secular elements who heard the Prime Minister spontaneously contrasted his, this Jabalpur speech with his earlier Bhopal speech where he had castigated the Congressmen as parda-nashin women for their inactivity during the riots, where he had frontally attacked the officials for their incompetence and bungling in handling the situation and even criminal complicity of some, when he neatly punctured the myth of the "Muslims-attacked-first".

The Prime Minister's high-powered and large retinue itself explains the difference. The Rajyapal, the Chief Minister and a large number of the Ministers and officials were there on the spot: He saved them from public embarrassment and exposure by keeping silent this time on issues over which he had already sharply and truthfully expressed himself, and which would have had an uplifting and purifying effect on the citizens of our city who had either suffered or erred a lot, and who were the most directly concerned.

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JULY 30, 1961

NEHRU'S VISIT AND AFTER

From Our Correspondent

The Jabalpur communal holocaust shook the country and shamed the nation. It took place in February but the Prime Minister could manage to visit the place only lately after some months. The delay in Pandit Nehru's long-promised and long-awaited visit high-lights the influence that communal reaction from outside and communal-minded elements inside the ruling Party can exert.

THEY can combine with the power-mad but inefficient and unprincipled State Ministry to delay the normalisation of the situation.

However belated, the Prime Minister's visit was welcome. Despite the heavy rains that preceded and followed his visit the sky was clear and blue on the day he addressed the public rally. Over a lakh of people gathered in Subhadra Nagar Maidan and heard him with attention. Besides the entire police force of the city, it is stated that another 5,000 police and intelligence men had also been called in, and they made their presence felt.

Meeting Deputations

Fourteen deputations met the Prime Minister, for about five minutes each. No useful purpose could be served by these very short and formal meetings but they did help to show which way the Prime Minister's mind was working. A deputation of Jan Sangh workers met him, under the garb of some Sahayata Samiti, and was duly rebuffed.

Riots Condemned

Another deputation led by a Congressman included some active riot-mongers and riot organisers. One of them tried to explain how Muslims threw acid on him. Panditji asked him to shut up and left the room in a huff.

A deputation on behalf of the Citizens Committee also met the Prime Minister and talked of popular mass efforts to attack communalism ideologically and politically but the idea of joint action by the secular elements did not seem to find favour with the Prime Minister.

The local unit of the Communist Party addressed an open letter to the Prime Minister welcoming him and appealing to him to rise above party considerations and take the initiative to mobilise all secular forces against communalism and start off with a convention of all secular parties and elements as suggested by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

Panditji has come and gone. His visit and speech did help to tone up the situation but certainly did not help to transform it for the better. Normalcy is coming to Jabalpur in a slow and painful manner. The communal elements remain active and are keeping up their propaganda and organisational activities though not as aggressively as in the past but more skillfully, to escape the clutches of the law.

The Communist Party, in cooperation with other democratic elements, is active in rehabilitating the up-

rooted Muslims. There are certain areas where the people have not yet gone back to their houses because the repair work done by the Government was so defective that the so-called reconditioned houses are in grave danger of falling down any moment.

The repair work was done in great hurry on learning that the Prime Minister's date to visit Jabalpur had been fixed. Tidying up the eye-sores of the living traces of the havoc became necessary to escape a shouting by the Prime Minister. A Congress M.P., Srimati Anis Kidwai saw with her own eyes how bogus the so-called repair work was. She along with the representatives of the Citizens Committee met the Collector who promised that the repair work will be taken in hand soon and done better.

The One-Judge-Commission appointed to inquire into the causes and the course of the riot has started working. All the Muslim organisations have boycotted the Commission because their two demands,

of the transfer of the officials and a three-man Enquiry Commission, have not been accepted.

It was only after a lot of prodding from New Delhi that some of the officials were transferred. But the Senior Superintendent of Police, the key figure and the chief actor, continues to be at his post. It is generally known that he is the favourite of some big ones inside the State Cabinet and Thimayya-style he threatened to resign if he was transferred. The Muslims are apprehensive that as long as this influential official remains on the scene no impartial enquiry is possible.

Secularist Committee

The Secularist Citizens Committee is headed by Prof. M.D. Misra, a Congress leader, and has representatives from the PSP, Communist Party and individual Congressmen and well-known non-party citizens and journalists. This Com-

mittee appeared before the Commission and has filed a written statement.

This is the only group which in a forthright manner pin-pointed the callous negligence, utter incompetence and even criminal complicity of the officials during the riots and has bluntly attacked the Hindu communalists' favourite theory that the Muslims began the attack first.

All other parties, individuals and groups appearing before the Commission, including local Congress leaders, are continuing to harp on their old favourite theme which they themselves know to be false, which their own leader Jawaharlal Nehru has indignantly repudiated. They continue to preach the lie because they hope that it will help them to garner the Hindu majority votes during the coming General Elections!

A heart-warming sign, however, is that some of the leading citizens and intellectuals of the City are moving actively to form a local national integration committee and through it take up seriously the work of educating and rousing the people against the forces of communalism and national disintegration.

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JULY 30, 1961

CHRONIC MALADY OF ROURKELA

From NITYANAND PANDA

Rourkela has now become notorious as the steel plant for frequent troubles, for major breakdowns and for its appallingly low rate of production. The trouble arose first in the L. D. Furnace, then in one blast furnace after another, then the steel melting shop and now in the blooming and slabbing mills.

The commissioning of the third blast furnace is long overdue—more than six months. The blast furnace No. 1, after working for about two years only is now completely shut down for some fundamental repairs.

EVERY time the Hindustan Steel Ltd. (HSL) authorities and the monopoly press had underplayed the seriousness of the troubles.

It is high time that the roots and causes of the chronic malady of Rourkela should be laid bare without mincing words, without fear or favour so that much waste and loss can even now be saved. Also the grave danger ahead can be avoided.

True to the warnings of a West German paper, Rourkela has turned from an expected cradle into an graveyard of West German aid.

Firstly, it is now a decided fact that hundreds of West German technicians will be imported to work in Rourkela. Indian authorities are now feeling helpless to operate this plant by Indian technicians.

Why? Simply because the neo-imperialists of West Germany have not parted with their know-how to Indians.

In this way they will succeed in their cunning design to post in key positions of every department their own trusted agents to run the plant to their own advantage for ever.

After that they can rest assured that all future requirements of Rourkela for spare parts or extension will always be purchased from West Germany alone. After all, it will be the same West German technicians working in every department who will make the specifications for spare parts, etc.

Spare-Parts Dilemma

If India decides to order those parts from the Hatia Heavy Machinery Plant or from some other cheaper source, then West Germans will disown all responsibility. Such is the dilemma before the Indian authorities—either India should turn her dear Rourkela permanently into a West German colony or close down the plant after spending Rs. 210 crores over it.

Secondly, it is now a decided fact that India will have to import spare parts from West Germany alone. These spare parts cannot be imported from any other country inasmuch as the parts which go into the construction of a steel plant belong to different types in different countries. Even some new parts

will be such as to be unavailable in another country.

As such, if India could manage to get a steel plant from some country without political strings, she will not be able to manage to secure the spare parts without political strings. In other words, a success at the first point means succumbing to the other party at the second point unless one has the spare parts independently.

A failure at the first point would have meant no loss and no gain. At the second point of day-to-day running of the plant there is no choice but loss—either loss of the costly plant or loss of political independence. So far as the two new steel plants are concerned, India has now reached the second point.

Soviet Friendship

Soviet Union has proved its real friendship by making India independent in spare parts for Bhilai by giving us the Hatia heavy machinery plant and a tools plant. What about West Germany? Dependence for spare parts on that country is complete.

Refractory bricks at great cost are flown from Germany at the time of emergency. Now when the blooming and slabbing mill has broken down the tools and spare parts have not arrived till the third week after breakdown. We have to close down this crucial section and blissfully wait till things come from West Germany.

Quite the reverse is the case with Bhilai. Soviet Union has generously stored three to four numbers of each spare part right at Bhilai so that little time will be lost in any emergency to repair the machines. This is only an interim arrangement till Hatia produces spare parts independent of the mother country of the plant.

It is a tragedy that the Indian authorities could not foresee these consequences which India has to face in Rourkela.

On the successful solution of the above two problems, i.e., of personnel and spare parts depends the future health, nay, the very life of Rourkela plant, its thousand-and-one defects apart.

As for the first problem of avoiding the engagement of West German technicians, it is comparatively easy to solve.

The present defects in maintenance and operation by Indian technicians are not so much due to lack of knowledge.

In spite of the non-cooperation of West Germany, Indian technicians by now have mastered the special techniques of this plant. Many of them have returned from USA after considerable training. The defects in operation are only due to some lack of attention on the part of Indian personnel for which the steel authorities are solely responsible. They are paid only half of the wages paid to the underpaid technicians of the capitalist sector, say the Tatas.

Tata's Stooges

Secondly, a regular gang of Tata officers are foisted on the heads of these young and highly qualified engineers and technicians. Most of the Tata group are less qualified than their immediate subordinates. Whatever length of experience they may have at the Tatas, that can be no consideration in another type of steel plant inasmuch as steel plants vary according to the country of their origin.

Some high-ups in the Steel Ministry have systematically recruited this group into many key positions with an ulterior motive of protecting the interests of the capitalist sector (private sector is comparatively an honourable term—NP)—so that the production would never rise high to compete with the capitalists, so that wage scales, etc. will never surpass the miserable scales of the capitalist sector, so that all business secrets will guaranteedly pass on to interested capitalists—so that ultimately the discontented employees under instigation of dalal Unions would agitate for the transfer of this plant to the capitalists.

Even now these officers make frequent pilgrimages to their gods.

This group is so very powerful that it could transfer a young engineer with Germany's training in West Germany to the post of a draftsman and summarily discharge another technician after three years of apprenticeship and two years of service, without assigning any reason.

Technicians' Problem

Therefore, this problem of Indian technicians can be confidently solved—

by removing this cancer through a major operation together with those in the steel authority who had planted and fondly nourished this cancer;

by doubling the wages of all employees immediately as an interim measure pending recommendations of the Steel Wage Board.

Result Of Horrible Conditions

WORKER JUMPS INTO FURNACE

July 17 was a rainy day in Rourkela. In the early hours, at 6 a.m., when the A shift has just started, news spread in Rourkela that the well-known skip operator of blast furnace, Sri Satyanarayan Misra, had taken his own life by jumping into the Furnace No. 2.

SRI Satyanarayan Misra had left behind a letter accusing the authorities of the Hindustan Steel Ltd., Rourkela, for his grim death. That letter is a living indictment of the callous and inhuman treatment meted out to the workers of Rourkela.

He has stated that "those officers of Hindustan Steel Ltd. who are wilfully not giving us higher grades of pay and are extracting from us the best type of skilled work, while paying us like coolies and khalasis, are responsible for my death, if at all anybody is responsible."

In his letter addressed to Bejoy, one of his bosom friends and comrades, he has penned his own pathetic condition and those of his co-workers. He wrote: "If ever you meet anybody from my home, please tell them that life cannot be

happy for me, nor can I make people at my home happy. The HSL authorities alone are responsible for my present plight."

His letter shows that he had taken his life with a clear conscience. He was an able worker at his post. After studying Matric he joined the HSL as an apprentice for three years and had worked at his post without any bad remarks till the last moment of his life. He had come to Rourkela as an educated and skilled technician to serve his poor middle class family and the nation.

He was in the forefront of the two-month-long strike of the passed-out trainees in 1959 and had the honour of being one of the three who took to a hunger-strike when the authorities did not accept their just demands even after a two month strike. He had a sensitive and clear conscience through which he had seen and experienced the stonehearted attitude of the authorities of this Public Sector Project.

Sri Satyanarayan Misra has died. But he will live as long as that blast furnace in which he worked and died. His brother steel workers will remember him for ever.

As for the second problem of spare parts, it is more difficult to solve. There is no scope for obtaining a heavy machinery plant from West Germany like the one in Hatia from the USSR inasmuch as West Germany does not accept rupee payment like the Soviet Union, and above all, West Germany will not agree to sell India the hen which lays the golden eggs.

Even if she agrees to sell one, it will be another bigger junk than Rourkela. Indian authorities can insist on getting some spare parts of each type which would be necessary in all possible types of breakdowns for storage at Rourkela. Simultaneously, they should contact USSR and see that Hatia plant be so built as to produce not only spare parts for Rourkela, but also for Rourkela, and why not Durgapur, too?

Divide Functions

The above remedies are long overdue. Any further negligence or delay would result in further loss of crores of rupees to the nation. But then, again the above remedies are not easy to implement under the present set-up of the HSL.

At present the Steel Board at Ranchi has usurped to itself all the rights to decide on even the smallest issue depriving the factory units of all initiative. Beside this, most of the administrative posts are held by officers from the capi-

talist sector with their outdated ideas about management and doubtful loyalties to the State sector.

It is also now evident that the Steel Minister Sri Swaran Singh has miserably failed to do justice to his steel portfolio mainly due to his being overburdened with three big portfolios like Steel, Mines and Fuel. It is high time that a separate Ministry is created only for Steel and Heavy Machinery, including tools.

But will the Government heed to the above remedies and if so, how soon?

(July 17)

NEW AGE

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JULY 30, 1961

TOGETHER WE SHALL MOULD A BETTER WORLD

★ By M. ATCHUTAN

Horace Newbold, Secretary, Trades Council of Manchester told Yuri Gagarin on July 12 how proud he was that "a trade unionist was the first man to orbit the earth". The occasion was the ceremony of presenting spaceman Gagarin with a gold medal as the honorary member, No. 1, of the foundryworkers union.

FRED Hollingsworth, president of the foundryworkers' union, said on the occasion: "The greatest significance for us is that Yuri Gagarin belongs to the working class. Like myself and all my colleagues, he started out as a foundry worker."

"It is his great country which provides the opportunity where one from the ranks of the foundry can, given educational and other facilities, achieve the honour due to him today".

On the medal was engraved the words: "Together we shall mould a better world."

Yes, together, the workers will mould a better world.

And it is this urge which will spur the organised workers throughout the world to send their delegates to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress.

The land of spaceman Gagarin—where the workers by their revolution took their fate into their own hands 44 years ago—will play host to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress. The Congress will meet in Moscow from December 4 to 16, 1961.

Open Forums

The Congresses of the World Federation of Trade Unions are open forums for all workers—irrespective of colour, race, religion, political or trade union affiliation.

It is expected that 1,200 delegates from over 100 countries, representing national trade union centres and trade unions, including non-affiliates of the WFTU, would attend the conference.

In 1945, there were roughly 90 million organised trade unionists in the world. Today, there are more than 175 million. Of these, 107 million are members of the WFTU. At the time of the Fourth Congress, the WFTU membership was only 92 million.

A preview of the forum of unity which will be the Fifth World Congress was seen in Budapest in May 1961, at the Third Conference of the Trade Unions International of Transport, Port and Fishery Workers (Trade Department of the WFTU). Of the 104 trade union organisations represented at the International Transport Workers' Conference, 56 were not affiliated to the Trade Unions International.

Speaking at the transport conference, Louis Sallant, General Secretary, WFTU, said:

"The WFTU has the characteristic feature—and is proud of it—that it includes the trade unions of the socialist countries, those of highly industrialised capitalist countries as well as those of the lesser developed capitalist countries.

"The fact in itself that the WFTU comprises these three categories of trade union organisations coming from the different political, economic and social systems existing in the world, opens up the possibility, in the conferences called by the WFTU and the Trade Union Internationals to make excellent comparisons between different national experiences".

Draft Programme

The Executive Bureau of the WFTU released a 15,000-word "Draft Programme of Trade Union Action at the present stage for the defence of the workers' interests and rights", for discussion by workers and trade unions the world over, in preparation for the Fifth Congress.

The document states: "The Fifth World Trade Union Congress will meet at a time when two different social systems have been formed in the world, when one-third of mankind has already set out to build a new life in the name of true democracy and freedom, the well-being and happiness of the working people.

"The socialist system is growing and expanding steadily and it is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The capitalist system is rotting away, it is shrinking and its internal contradictions are becoming more and more acute every day. The complete defeat of capitalism is inevitable.

"It is an objective law governing the development of humanity and there is no force in the world that can arrest this historical process".

In this new situation, the draft programme points out that:

① "Unity of workers all over the world will make it possible to defeat the forces of reaction, imperialism, and war, to preserve peace and to achieve further success in the struggle for democracy, national independence of peoples and social progress for all mankind".

② "Relying on the power and influence of the socialist and other peaceful states, the international working class and broad sections of the people, by their firm, active struggle, will be able to isolate the aggressors, put an end to the arms race, force the imperialists to conclude an agreement for universal disarmament, and prevent the unleashing of a new world war."

The draft devotes special attention to the struggle for the complete eradication of colonialism.

The complete and final eradication of the colonial system is a primary task for the peoples and for all

forces of peace and progress in the world, says the draft, and adds: "In this situation, the trade unions of the colonial and under-developed countries have an important part to play in the struggle of their people for independence and social progress".

The draft points out that American imperialism is the worst enemy of those who are fighting to achieve or strengthen their independence. It is the mainstay of colonialism. To remove its false mask of anti-colonialism is an essential prerequisite for the success of the struggle for the eradication of colonialism.

And in their efforts to maintain and expand their influence and to implant neo-colonialism in the recently liberated countries, the colonial powers are greatly aided by the undermining, corrupt and disruptive activities of the leadership of the ICTU which is used by bourgeois governments to prevent unity in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The stand and statements of the ICTU on the Congo, which were openly hostile to its immediate independence, are not the only manifestation of this dependence vis-à-vis imperialism; the All-African Trade Union Conference in Casablanca brought forth many other examples.

The WFTU called upon the workers and trade unions throughout the world to support the heroic struggle waged by the Algerian people for national independence to stand by the South African people in their fight for freedom and equality, to support the patriots of Angola, and to campaign for freedom of all peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke by putting a final end to colonialism and the thwarting of imperialist adventures against young independent States such as the Congo and Laos.

Newly-Independent Countries' Tasks

A programme of action in newly-independent countries has also been detailed in the draft.

"The WFTU supports the struggle waged by workers and trade unions in the newly independent countries for:

—higher wages, guaranteed payment of agreed wages, and a guaranteed minimum wage;

—shorter working hours without loss of pay;

—the establishment and extension of social security and social insurance;

—the right to work;

—the introduction and general application of a system of collective agreement and the annulment of all individual contracts; trade union participation in the settlement of problems arising between employers and wage-earners;

—the stocking of markets with food and essential products and the reduction of their prices;

—the introduction of paid holidays;

—vocational training;



—the ending of wage, hiring and dismissal systems enforced by the colonial regime.

The draft programme also states that "by developing their actions for their vital interests, the trade unions of the under-developed countries create the most favourable conditions for the mobilisation of the masses" to fight for the following demands:

Democratic Demands

—nationalisation of foreign monopoly undertakings, the building and development of a national industry and a state sector; the expulsion of foreign monopolies from these countries;

—agrarian reforms benefiting the peasantry, particularly poor peasants and agricultural workers, abolishing colonial ownership and the remnants of feudalism and providing the poor peasants and agricultural workers with assistance for increasing production;

—democratisation of the State, making it possible to mobilise all national forces in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, and against military dictatorship and undemocratic measures hostile to the people endangering national independence;

—a policy of cooperation with all countries and the organisation of state control of foreign trade in order to safeguard it from imperialist domination and interference;

—fully independent participation by workers and trade unions in the preparation and organisation of economic plans and programmes for developing the national economy.

Referring to the socialist world, the draft says:

"Free workers, masters of their destinies and builders of their happiness, are erecting over immense areas covering more than a quarter of the surface of the globe, the magnificent construction of the most just social regime in the world".

The national economies of the socialist countries are developing and making gigantic progress. In the USSR, production has increased 45 times as compared with the period preceding the October Revolution. The Soviet Union leads the world in scientific and technical progress. "It was a Soviet man—the cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin who for the first time in history, flew into space".

The example of the socialist countries encourages and mobilises the oppressed and exploited peoples in their fight for a new life and for the elimination of exploitation and poverty on earth. The united struggle

waged against imperialism by the workers of all countries, in turn, is of great assistance to the workers in the socialist countries, states the Draft Programme.

The document discusses in detail the tasks of the trade unions in the fight for the workers' social and economic claims, against capitalist exploitation and extension of trade union rights and democratic liberties.

The draft concludes with the following appeal from the WFTU:

"Workers of all countries, trade union members of all trade union organisations!

"You represent an overwhelming force which cannot be resisted if you are united, if you form a united front in the struggle for your vital interests, democracy and social progress, for the cause of world peace.

"In order to throw off the chains of exploitation and to win the fulfilment of your vital demands, you need to unite immediately all the efforts of the working class, to re-establish and to consolidate as far as possible, its unity of action.

"Workers! Fight firmly for unity, unmask the manoeuvres of the monopoly capitalists and their agents which bring division into your ranks. Unite all your forces to win better living conditions, freedom and peace in the world, to open the way to prosperity for the whole of humanity".

Elaborate Preparations

Besides the draft Programme of Action, the WFTU has also released for discussion a draft Social Security Charter. An international trade union commission, convened by the WFTU drafted this Charter and in preparations for the Congress, there was also another commission meeting on trade union rights.

No doubt, no international conference is planned and conducted with such great attention to the problems facing the working class.

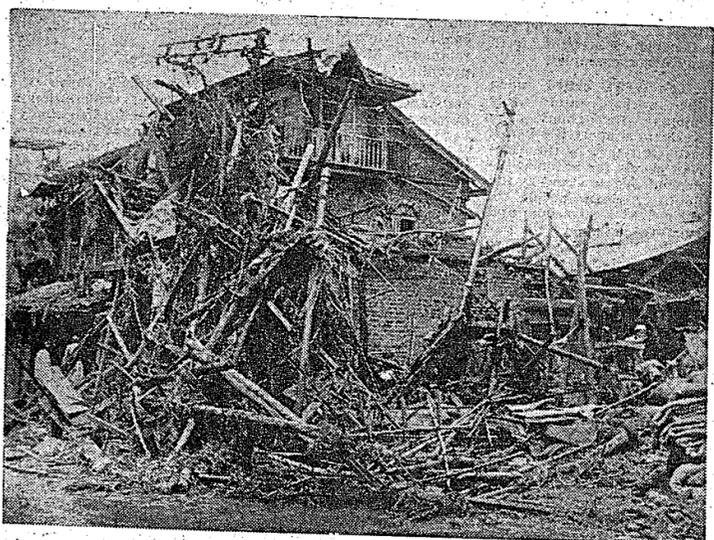
And the Soviet trade unions who are playing host to the World Congress are making elaborate arrangements to welcome the delegates. It can certainly be foretold that the Fifth World Trade Union Congress being held in the year of the first manned space flight, in the first State the working class built, would be the most momentous of the rallies of the working class of the world.

The workers and trade unions in India would not lag behind in preparing for this grand rally of working class unity.

TRAGEDY IN OLD MARATHA CAPITAL



Searching for the Lost



Not War But Deluge



A Bridge Stood Here

The floods this year have hit India harder than ever before. It seems rains that should have spread over months compressed their discharge in a few days and precipitated a very heavy and quick fall. By now several States have been hit by the tragedy leading to loss of life and property.

BUT the tragedy that overtook the City of Poona on July 12, was not due to mere rainfall or flood. Heavy rains had fallen, no doubt. But the Mutha river that runs through the City had not run amuck because of that.

The City suffered the tragedy by the surging waters let loose by the bursting of two dams up the river.

Some ten miles from Poona, there is an old masonry dam built in 1875, which supplied the City its drinking water and also some irrigation to neighbouring villages.

To augment this supply and give water to the dry and famine-ridden areas on a wider scale, a new earthen dam was being constructed in the last three years. This dam, known as Fanshet Dam, was completed only about two months back and had started impounding water in this season's rains.

It is this dam which burst at seven in the morning on July 12, and hurled its waters on the other older dam at Khadakwasla, which started the tragedy. Within four hours, the second dam burst at about 11 in the morning. Within three to four hours, the flood enveloped Poona City.

What, however, heightened the tragedy was the fact that the people were taken unawares.

Schools had assembled in full. Offices were running. Buses were plying on the streets. A passenger bus crossed a bridge and within minutes, a tidal wave, ten feet high, engulfed the bridge.

When the news of the flood spread, people thought it was the usual Mutha river in flood. But the usual floods had never gone a mile and half inside the City. Waters rose to the third storey in nearby houses.

Onrush Of Water

When people ran away from the river, the water came, not only from behind but from the front and all sides. When school authorities hearing of the news, closed the schools, the children tried to run home. They were caught in the flood and several drowned.

Century-old houses of this ancient City, which had never been touched by floods in living memory, collapsed. Whole colonies where working people, slum dwellers, scheduled caste poor lived, were washed away.

Gods in temples crumbled in mud. Some on tougher stones stood. The famous two hundred year old palace of the Maratha kingdom took blows of the tidal wave on its massive towered wall. A side fell but it saved the houses beyond and thousands of lives. The old guard, a symbol of resistance to the British invaders in old times, even now proved of some use!

One lakh of people were rendered homeless. No one knows how many are dead and buried in the mud and

fallen debris. There are numerous instances of heroism, young men and women risking their lives to save others.

Within a few hours of the tragedy, official machinery moved to render relief. Relief camps were set up where those who came were given food. All available school and college buildings were utilised to house those who came for shelter. Over thirty thousand have found shelter in them, while the rest have gone to their friends and relatives. Community kitchens have been established. Those who do not eat there, have been given cash relief. Each family in distress is being given Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 for immediate purchases of a few things like pots or change of clothes.

Relief Begins

People throughout Maharashtra have rallied to the aid of Poona, the biggest aid, of course, coming from the City of Bombay. All working class organisations, political parties and individuals

by
S. A. DANGE

have been roused to the necessity of sending aid. While the Government put Rs. 20 lakhs at the disposal of relief, the voluntary contributions of the people by now have gone to near ten lakhs.

The losses due to the flood are estimated to be over Rs. 15 crores. Seven thousand houses and tenements have been wiped out. It is a problem how to house some forty thousand of those who are now in the refugee camp in schools and colleges and that too, within one month's time before the schools are reopened.

Some big newspapers have had their plant and paper totally submerged in mud. Big publishing houses and bookshops, including one of the People's Publishing House, have been lost.

A Sub-Committee consisting of D. R. Gadgil, Dutta Deshmukh and S. G. Barve are working out, with the help of official and non-official engineers, the problem of tenements for the displaced. The Government has sanctioned Rs. 50 lakhs as an initial sum for the construction of new tenements. Another Committee of the same composite nature with the Chief Minister as ex-officio Chairman will plan overall relief and other aid.

Some papers are already commenting that the State of Maharashtra, not being very much in the good books of the Finance Ministry, may find itself in financial difficulties for the Third Plan. Some say that most of Maharashtra's

future irrigation plans being based on earth dams of the Fanshet type, this disaster may hold up those schemes.

The administration of relief is undertaken as a joint operation of Government officials and citizens' representatives. The City has been divided into six zones and zonal committees of public organisations and citizens have been set up and their work and advice is integrated with that of the official machinery. Some hitches do arise but have been resolved after deliberation and discussion among the leadership on either side.

Both the dams having been destroyed, the greatest menace to the City was the failure of water supply, for drinking and sanitation. The matter was tackled by bringing in the help of the army engineers and other personnel.

Running streams were diverted into the canals, engines for lift were installed, jet water was used to flush the main sewers. Electric lines were put up.

Thus within a week, the City got back fifty per cent of its normal supply of water, sanitation functioned and life began to come back.

With the help of the army personnel and volunteers from among the people belonging to various parties

ter is that the dam had begun to sink at the point where the gorge had been completed and closed this year. The sinking was noticed and the military engineers with equipment were requisitioned to sand-bag the sinking level.

This struggle between the sinking dam, pressed on by the rising waters of the catchment area, which is a vast bowl surrounded by mountains and the sandbags poured by the engineers, workers and army personnel, continued for several hours. The sandbagging proved ineffective and in the end, the dam gave way at seven in the morning of July 12.

Why No Warning?

The question that the people ask is: Why were they not warned of the danger and asked to evacuate in time? Why not when the sinking started? Why not at least when the dam burst at 7 a.m.? Why not when those waters burst the second dam? Why not even when the floods came to the bridges and the by-lanes?

Who failed? Where were the wireless stations, where were the radio broadcasters, the collectors, commissioners, police officials, ministers, the whole machinery that rules the life of the City and the people?

There was no coordination among officials, no one knows who warned whom, who told what and to whom. The whole official world is silent on this, the most important question. If only they had told the City that the dam was sinking on July 11 or if they had told that it had burst on the morning of July 12, lives could have been saved, property could have been saved.

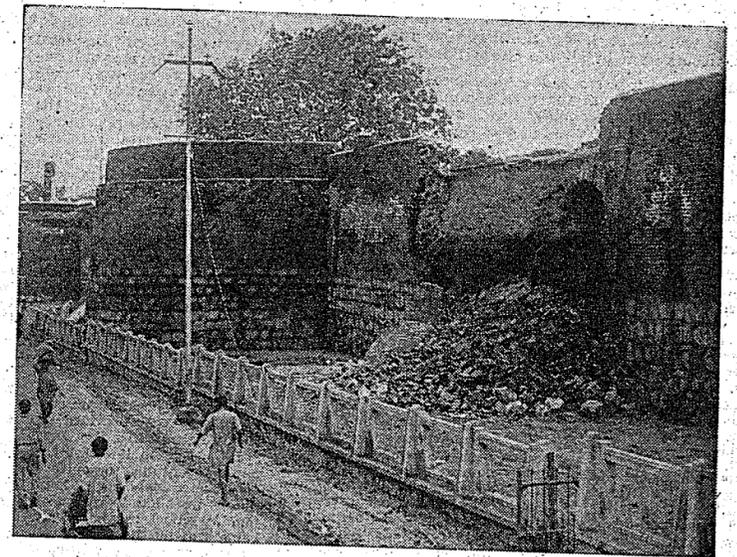
Outcome Of Congress Regime

Even the banks, the City Corporation and Government offices were in supreme ignorance of things till the noon, until the waters came to their doors. Who is responsible for this ghastly murder, this devastation and fall of a City?

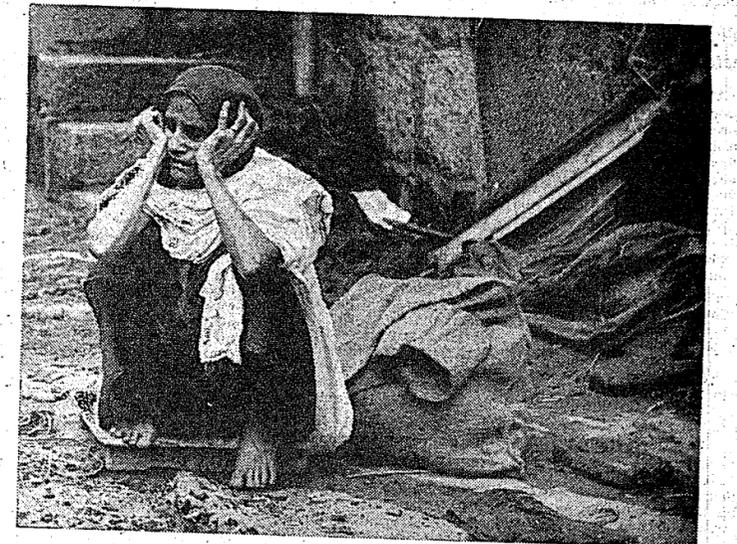
There is no one particular man or official to be blamed, no one minister worth being stoned for it. The tragedy is the typical outcome of the whole Congress regime, its inefficiency, its contradictions, its anarchic functioning, its lack of collective behaviour and above all, its contempt of the people.

That is the essence of the Poona Tragedy. It is unlike any other flood in other parts of the country.

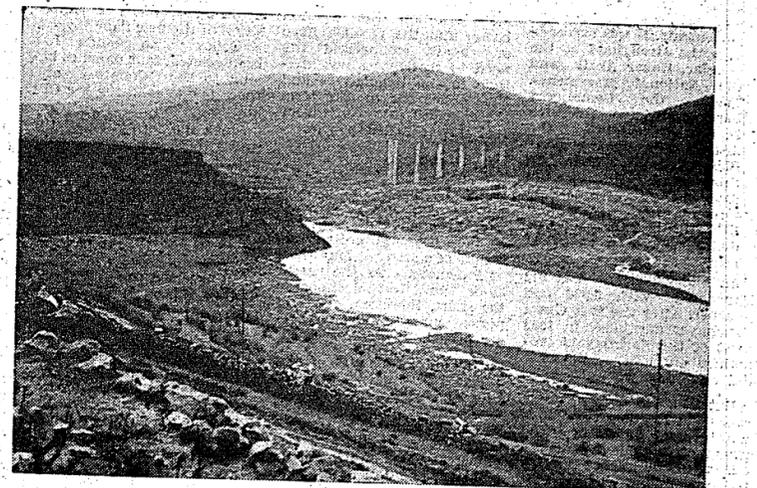
The dam may have been defective, wrongly executed, with bad materials or the theory of earthen dams gone wrong in that area. That is quite another matter. But that is not the cause of the great loss of life and property. There were hours for the bureaucrats, the engineers of the Government to warn the people and yet none moved. That is the essence of the Congress regime, its leadership, its bureaucracy.



The Old Shanwarwada Palace That Braved The Flood Waters.



Dazed And Desolate—Future?



The Dam That Gave Way

PANCHAYAT WORK IN PUNJAB

After seven long years, in November 1960, elections were held to the 13,422 Gram Panchayats of the Punjab. Altogether 85,060 Panches and Sarpanches were elected. For the first time the women got representation in all the Gram Panchayats.

THE democratic forces made a big headway in these elections and the reactionary forces suffered a heavy defeat. During the elections a mighty popular upsurge swept through the villages of the Punjab and the people displayed unprecedented interest in these organs of local government.

Evidently, this keen interest on the part of people was based upon their experience of the last seven years during which they came to realise the vital role these bodies have come to play in our rural life. It is this aspect of the Panchayats that we will try to assess in this article on the basis of our experience in Jullunder district.

Jullunder is one of the most important districts of the Punjab. It has 11,000 villages and a population of about eleven lakhs. It is the hub of the political life of the province. Almost all the political parties have their headquarters here and five dailies are published from this place.

Jullunder's Features

This is a district of peasant proprietorship with seventy-five per cent of the peasants holding less than five acres of land. Those owning over thirty standard acres number less than three thousand. About one third of the population are landless, the bulk of whom belong to the achnut (untouchable) communities.

In the field of education Jullunder with its eighty high schools and nine colleges is relatively more advanced. A large number of people from this district have gone overseas to earn their livelihood. It is a thriving centre of the passport racket.

It is estimated that from Jullunder and the adjoining Hoshiarpur district over ten thousand people have left for the United Kingdom during the last decade by paying from four thousand to seven thousand rupees for black-market passports.

Jullunder district was all along a storm centre of the national and progressive movements. It was successively the stronghold of the Ghadar, Babar Akali and the National Movements. Today, the Communist Party is an important force in the political life of the district. The great martyr Bhagat Singh belonged to this district. During the days of the great Anti-Bettermen Levy struggle in 1933, the peasantry of this district played a vanguard role.

Jullunder district has 842 Panchayats with 6,000 odd panches. After the first Gram Panchayat elections in 1953 most of the Panchayats remained dormant, while some did creditable work.

But wherever good work was done it left an indelible imprint upon the minds of the people of the village concerned. It had its impact even in the surrounding villages. This

one independent. The Sarpanch, a habitual drunkard and a police tout, was an Akali-Congressman.

During its seven years' term of office this Panchayat hardly held any successful meetings. Often when the Panches would attend a meeting the Sarpanch would remain absent or vice versa. Very few cases were amicably settled.

The village was rent with factions and quite often the sarpanch and the panches would themselves take side and thus fan divisions. Goondism went unchecked. The dominant section of the Panchayat itself committed excesses against the people.

Ousting Goondas

In such a situation no civic amenities were provided to the people. During the seven years not a single street was paved, no drains or culverts constructed and no hand pumps installed. There was a middle school in the village being run by the Panchayat. Its roof beams and ventilator

by
S. Darshan Singh

frames were torn out and taken away by thieves.

Against the prevalent goondism and Panchayat excesses quite often the Communists and honest Congressmen cooperated with each other. The 1960 Panchayat elections here was fought under the general slogan of "Keep the Goondas Out". The Party was able to unite with some of the independents and put up an achnut comrade to contest for the Sarpanch seat.

The old Sarpanch was so discredited that he dared not contest. However, the rich peasant elements put up an independent, who though honest is a weak individual, who could hardly be expected to manage a goonda-infested village.

The rich peasants successfully utilised the caste slogan of achnut versus jat and thus divided the people. In this situation our candidate lost by just 31 votes. The composition of the new Panchayat is as follows; no goonda has been elected, four panches belong to the Congress and there is one each for the CPI and the Akali Party.

Since the formation of the new Panchayat five months ago it has held one tournament and one development mela. It has installed seven hand pumps, levelled the school play ground and a welfare centre is already under construction.

Cheema Kalan is a middle sized village. It along with the adjoining village Cheema Khurd has played an outstanding role both in the national liberation and communist movement. Ever since 1933, the Cheema Kalan Panchayat has been led by the CPI. Out of its six members five belong to the Party and one to the Congress.

The old Panchayat of the village Talwan, of about three thousand people had seven members. It was composed of three achnuts, two kisans and two traders. Politically two panches were pro-Congress, one CPI, one Jan Sangh and

For its period of tenure this Panchayat has impressive achievements to its credit. During this time it has built and maintained four and half miles of dirt roads which involved an earthwork of 1,28,000 cubic feet. It constructed two big culverts and built a pond wall eighty feet in length.

Almost all the streets of the village, which cover an area of about 20,000 square feet were paved and drains 8000 feet in length constructed. It sunk five hand pumps, repaired three wells and built one new well which was also roofed. The Panchayat has built a Girls Middle School at the cost of Rs. 18,000 and it is now being run by it.

The Panchayat maintained a Sewing Centre for eight months where twenty-five girls were trained. Similarly a trained nurse was maintained for some time. This has to be discontinued due to lack of finances. The village has one young farmers club which had been partially active in the field of sports and horticulture.

Giving recognition to the exemplary constructive work, the community development authorities held a youth camp of sixty youngmen for twelve days in the village, who along with other activities did earth work amounting to 2000 cubic feet. Pits were dug for compost fertiliser outside the inhabited area.

During consolidation of land holdings due to the timely intervention of the Panchayat one and a half acre of land was allotted to the achnut population for manure pits and residential plots.

During the above period the Panchayat and especially its Sarpanch Piara Singh, composed hundreds of minor and twelve major cases of litigation. The Panchayat also settled certain cases of the surrounding villages.

Production Work

The outstanding feature of the judicial work of this Panchayat is that in no case were any fines imposed and all cases were compromised amicably. Because of these achievements the police does not intervene in the village without prior consultations with the village Panchayat leaders.

Cheema Kalan is one of the rare villages where at the initiative of the Gram Panchayat Sarpanch the advanced sections of the kisans have achieved significant results in the field of increased production.

By using improved variety of wheat seed and using moderate quantities of chemical fertilisers, about seventeen households increased the yield of wheat from about sixteen maunds per acre to 28 maunds per acre. Similarly the gur yield from sugarcane was increased from forty maunds per acre to 64 maunds per acre.

In the new elections five Communists led by the Sarpanch Piara Singh and one Congressman were again elected.

This village has a population of about 1,600 with two

thirds of the households belonging to the landless. Here a pro-Congress achnut was elected as the Sarpanch. Of the Panches two were Congressmen, two independents and one Jan Sanghite. Even though there were Party members in the village we failed to win any seat in the Panchayat.

Up to July 1955, this Panchayat remained absolutely inactive. At that time inhabitants of one street deposited their share of the money with the Panchayat to have their street paved. But the Panchayat failed to undertake this job. Instead it proposed that the sum be adjusted against the arrears of the hearth tax.

Voluntary Construction

It was then that our Comrades intervened. They formed a Committee of the households concerned, raised additional funds, got the Panchayat to refund the original sum and themselves took the initiative to start the construction work. Thus, one of the main streets was paved and the drains built. The people volunteered to work and all obstacles were overcome.

The Panchayat and the officials were impressed by the work and became cooperative. The people of other streets collected their own funds and invited our comrades to help them in construction work. Thus, within a period of two years under the leadership of the Party 58,000 square feet of streets were paved and 14,540 feet of drains built. Three wells were repaired and two roofed.

All this was achieved at the cost of Rs. 30,000, of which the Government subsidy amounted to only Rs. 8,000. Furthermore one Unani dispensary was opened, a Balwadi centre operated for a year and half and two Sewing Centres trained fifty girls.

After that what happened at the said hospital is best described by a Correspondent of the National Herald: "...As soon as the Chief Minister leaves the Infectious Diseases Hospital, the officers (who he was fawning upon him while he was there and assuring him that everything would be brought under control) vanish from the scene. Meanwhile, chaos increases at the IDH. "There are no beds for the patients, not even adequate light in which the doctors, called hurriedly from the Medical College, can inject saline water. Many give the injections by lighting matchsticks.

Exemplary results were achieved by the same comrades in the field of production. They introduced new seeds and better methods of cultivation in the village. By so doing they raised the yield of wheat from 12 maunds per acre to 32 maunds per acre and that of the Punjab Hybrid corn from 15 maunds per acre to 52 maunds per acre.

From an experimental plot Jagat Singh was able to procure a yield of 44 maunds of wheat from one acre. Out of the 80 odd kisan households in the village about thirty have by now taken to this new method of cultivation.

However, the results achieved by our comrades in this Panchayat are of exceptional nature. They are by no means a rule.

But in spite of this excellent work, due to weak political work and failure to build a broad united front, we were not able to win the Sarpanch

* See Facing Page

SORDID TALE OF

Cholera Under C. B. Gupta

★ From RAMESH SINHA

How low is the value of human life under Congress Raj, at least in this cursed State, has been shown once again in less than a year by the virtual gift of at least 250 lives made by a soulless administration to cholera in the capital in the last week of June.

THE bitter memories of last year's bungle at the time of that murderous flood had hardly died down when this inhuman calamity has been inflicted on the common people of the city. The word "inflicted" is being used avowedly, because the calamity was perfectly and almost entirely preventable.

On the sleeping and unaware city the news of a virulent type of epidemic—which had already taken a toll of over 50 deaths in one day—burst on the morning of June 28. But the authorities were aware, or should have been aware, that in the capital's Infectious Diseases Hospital cholera seizures were being recorded every day since June 20. The registers of even this ill-kept and ill-managed hospital show that, on an average, 11 cases of cholera were being admitted into it every day, and five or six of them were dying off daily.

On June 27, that is on the day when the fell disease suddenly assumed an epidemic form, even the Chief Minister of the State, C. B. Gupta had paid a visit to this hospital. But he was in a hell of hurry to go to the border districts to fight out the Chinese and "their Indian agents", the Communists and so, as soon as the formal duty was over and an inch of space in the next morning's papers was assured he dashed off to the hill districts!

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Next to the Ministry, however, the blame for this cruel loss of life must squarely be put on the head of the capital's Corporation and its Jan Sangh Mayor. This gentleman not only showed utter disregard for the loss of people's lives at that time by refusing to lift even his little finger to help the afflicted populace, but even after that by opposing with all his might all moves for an inquiry into the causes of the epidemic.

The IDH is, as a matter of fact, under the supervision of the Corporation. For the mess there, therefore, it is the Corporation which is directly and first of all responsible. The Corporation is also responsible for the cleanliness of the city and for taking measures for the prevention of any epidemic from breaking out.

With all its spiritual and cultural charm, Lucknow is fairly dirty. Its sewage system is abominable—even where it exists. No one knows for what reason, despite all protests, sullage water along with hundreds of tons of raw night soil, is being allowed to be directly dumped into the Gomati to contaminate its water. Scores and scores of shallow wells exist in the city and their water is used by the citizens when tap water is not available, which happens not infrequently. At the time of the last floods, many of these wells were under flood water. "When the floods receded not only fingerlings and

loads, but bodies of animals were found in the wells...." But the Corporation authorities forgot about them as soon as the floods were over. They never bothered to have them cleaned or disinfected.

One characteristic feature of the constructive work here is that the people enthusiastically contributed a great amount of free labour. Thus,

solicitude of the powers-that-be for the welfare of the citizens. But lest people should be led to fasten all the blame on the officialdom (which is merely a shadow of the callous rulers), it would be pertinent to describe, in the words of the same Correspondent, the situation that prevailed in that hospital when the State's Chief Minister was pleased to visit it.

He says: "...Cholera epidemic suddenly breaks out in the city. By afternoon, the IDH overflows with patients. All chaos at the IDH. Patients are lying about on the ground in the slush of excreta and vomiting. Everyone, including the IDH officers, is now in panic. Chief Minister C. B. Gupta visits the IDH...." (ibid)

Thus he saw everything, and yet did not care to stay with the people and help them. He set a grand example by turning his back on them! Nor were the other stalwarts of either the Ministry or the U.P.C.C. to be seen anywhere. Everyone in this State knows what they might have been busy with....

The headline in the next day's National Herald, therefore, was: "Cholera spreads to new areas: about 150 deaths..." (June 29)

Jan Sangh Callousness

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Demand For Enquiry

These things had no little hand in the spread of the epidemic. But when Communist Corporator, Shankar Lal demanded that a judicial probe be made to determine the responsibility of the Corporation and its officers for the epidemic and consequent loss of life, the Jan Sangh Mayor turned it down and came out in defence of the Corporation staff and himself. He would not allow even a meeting of the Corporation to be held.

A number of Corporators and large chunks of citizens had to make a noise to per-

PUNJAB PANCHAYATS

★ From Facing Page

on the basis of shramdan one hundred cartloads of coal dust for the pucca road was hauled from a distance of eight miles. Two thousand cartloads of earth was carted. In this work one thousand people participated.

Those who did not labour contributed funds. Trucks belonging to the Sarpanch hauled one hundred truck-loads of bricks and earth free of charge.

The panchayat has installed three hand pumps in the achnut basti and paved 4000 square feet of streets in the last few days.

In the same period many cases of litigation were settled. Now in addition to completing the paving of streets, the Panchayat intends to construct a Panchayat Ghar, a Maternity Centre and a Primary Girl's School.

So far in such a brief span of time this Panchayat has done the most satisfactory work and it has won over the hearts of the people. Simultaneously it has won over the cooperation of the honest elements of both the Akali and Congress parties.

Lessons

Even this limited study provides rich lessons for the democratic movement. The salient aspects of these are as follows:

1) In spite of many drawbacks in the present panchayat legislation, the gram panchayats have come to play a very significant role in the life of our rural people. In those areas of the Punjab where ryotwari system of landownership predominates it is quite possible for the united democratic forces to so assert themselves in the gram panchayats as to paralyse the grip of landlords, toadies, goondas and other reactionary elements.

2) If we follow correct united front tactics then it is quite possible to unite the healthy forces belonging to the CPI, Congress,

suade this worthy to hold a meeting. The local Communist and working class leader, Babu Khan had even to threaten to go on a fast in "defence of civic rights of the people".

However, when the meeting was held the Mayor ruled out Shankar Lal's resolution pressing for a judicial inquiry. There was an uproar and to prevent anything from being decided the Mayor abruptly terminated the meeting.

This led to a storm in the city and ultimately, amidst shouts of "Resign", the Mayor, an inquiry committee has been appointed by the Corporation. C. B. Gupta too has returned from his hilly adventures and has been more or less persuaded to appoint another inquiry committee.

If the epidemic did not become more menacing a very large part of the credit for it should go to the valiant citizens of this city and its service-minded crops of

private medical practitioners. They all rallied to the call to help the people, to give them free injections and to attend to those who were not attended by the Corporation and governmental agencies.

Lakhs of people were injected by these doctors in the course of one or two days. The citizens also came out to fight filth and unhygienic conditions that abound in the city.

The dread and panic of those two or three days will however not be forgotten soon, nor will the tragic and avoidable loss of over 250 lives. These things have stung and stirred the people this time much more than before and it is because of their angry voices—they are also reflected in the letters to the editor columns of the daily newspapers—that the authorities, both of the Corporation and the Government, had to sit up and make a move to do something.

3) Provided we take a positive attitude towards this work, the gram panchayat and community development set up affords considerable opportunities to provide amenities to the people in the field of sanitation, health, education and justice.

4) The gram panchayats have paid the least attention towards the question of increased production and our own attitude has by and large remained negative. The allocations made by the community development schemes for increased production go to fill the coffers of the landlords and the rich. However, experience has shown that wherever we have intervened positively, good results have been forthcoming with the least amount of effort. (Moron, Cheema Kalan).

5) Experience has further shown that while a coalition of all the democratic forces led by the progressive elements is the best form of organisation in the panchayats to achieve the maximum results (Bundala) yet if we intervene correctly creditable work can be done even at those places where we are a small minority or have no representation in the panchayat (Moron).

6) While doing successful panchayat work, there is a tendency to ignore the independent political activity of the Party. This is extremely harmful and should be overcome.

7) Along with lack of attention to the problem of increased production by our panchayats hardly any attention is paid to the cultural side. As the above case studies show, no panchayat maintains a reading room a library or pays attention to other forms of cultural activity.

The overcoming of the above defects and the imbibing of the positive experience can greatly improve our panchayat work.

JULY 26, 1953—CUBA'S REVOLUTION BEGINS

By **BLAS ROCA**,
General Secretary, Popular Socialist Party

Seen in perspective, the fundamental result of July 26, 1953 is that it initiated a basic change of quality in the Cuban situation. The attack on the Moncada Barracks, a deed of heroism and valour, combined with the attack on the Bayamo Barracks, carried out by a hundred determined youth, organised, trained and led by Fidel Castro, was not conceived of as a classic coup de main or putsch, despite the forms that it actually took. Its purpose was not to capture the Government but to start a revolution.

FOR this reason it was not made against Camp Columbia, now Ciudad Libertad (Freedom City), or any other fortress in Havana, but against a barracks full of arms at the end of the Island, capture of which would have made it possible to arm the people and form a center of revolutionary struggle.

It was not an action that was attempted out of relationship with the existing real situation.

It was based on the nation's general repudiation of the coup d'etat of March 10 and of the Government it had established, it was based on the crisis of the entire semi-colonial structure, on the increasing discontent of the unemployed, the workers, the farmers, all the sectors and classes of society in general, including the bourgeoisie, due to the effects of the stagnation of Cuban economy that had ended by having us produce the same amount of sugar in 1953 as in 1930, when our population was half as large.

With all this, there was not at that time any visible situation of revolutionary crisis. In July 1953, the mass movement had not reached sharp and explosive forms of struggle.

The organisers of the attack on the Moncada Barracks took this into account. Their action was taken in the conviction that it could release the wave of revolution throughout the country.

They counted on taking the Moncada Barracks, immediately cutting the bridges over the railroad and the highway, occupying the airport, capturing the radio stations, forming a people's army and appealing to the people with

ing its power, to intensified terror and the most cruel and bloody repression.

Let us see this in its details. Following the attack on the Moncada Barracks, the political group that had most influence on the petty bourgeoisie (and on the students in the first place) was the Orthodox Party.

The coup d'etat had brought about a crisis and division within the Orthodox Party, due to the fact that on the one hand, in order to reject agreements with other political forces, it had admitted into its ranks and given leading posts to old politicians, the very same ones with whom "they did not want" to make agreements.

On the other hand, because of the inability of its leaders to meet the new situation that had been created and to make adequate and revolutionary response to a reactionary military coup, steps had been taken more against its possible triumph in the June elections than against the existing Government whose terms was nearing its end.

Neither this party nor any of the factions into which its official leaders divided, were able to head any serious action against the tyranny, it was a party for taking "dignified" attitudes, for waiting and for making appeals to the OAS and for preaching moral rejection, but not a party for revolutionary struggle under the adverse condition of the domination of the tyranny.

Because of this, its influence was an obstacle in the way of mobilising the popular masses to active struggle and revolutionary action against action, since its principal leaders cultivated anti-Communism, the tyranny; it was likewise an obstacle to the unity of the peoples with Plattist criteria.

Although Fidel Castro and the majority of those who followed him in the attack on Moncada were nominally members of the Orthodox Party, or considered themselves as such, their action in and of itself was a break with the line of passivity of the Orthodox Party and with the platform of

merely formal changes that the party had officially adopted as its programme in opposition to the tyranny.

The action of Moncada created a new centre of political attraction for the urban petty bourgeoisie, for various workers, farmers and other sections of the people, and brought to a position of leadership a new group with an emphasis of programme that differed from that of the leaders of the Orthodox Party.

This he was able to despite the initial defeat and the prospect of a long struggle until attainment of the decisive victory over the army of the tyranny and its imperialist advisors.

His correct revolutionary understanding made it possible to transform the guerrillas into the Rebel Army, in whose ranks all the fighters against the tyranny merged and whose action made it the centre of the struggle of the entire Cuban people against the vile regime that was strangling it.

His correct revolutionary understanding enabled him, in the hard and instructive experience of bloody and difficult battle, to see the essential truth as to who was an enemy of the revolution and who was its friend, the truth as to the social classes and their role, the truth as to the way in which to move the revolution forward, the truth as to its immediate goals and its ultimate aims.

Fidel Castro is that very rare instance in Latin American, among men of his social origin, in that once he had achieved power he did not bend before or get frightened at the offensive of imperialism, nor did he deny his previous revolutionary statements. On the contrary, he developed toward the Left, he became more radical with each experience, and he merged with the popular masses (especially the farmers and workers) and fulfilled and developed the programme of the revolution.

It was this group of leaders that prepared, organised and brought to Cuba the Granma expedition which despite its virtual destruction at the outset, gave rise to the long armed guerrilla struggle that developed after it had become Rebel Army, the principal instrument of the defeat of the terror and the establishment of the revolutionary power.



Fidel Castro at the front during U. S. invasion.

The great historic merit of Fidel was that while he recognised the essential point of the immediate revolutionary programme, he saw the possibilities of armed struggle as a means to destroy tyranny and to open the road to the revolution and he took the practical steps necessary to organise and develop that armed struggle of the masses in the cities and in the fields in which the battles were not yet taking place.

New Leaders

This group had an active, revolutionary tactic, that was not afraid of sacrifice or armed action, that did not feel it had to subordinate itself to Washington or meet the line of the State Department.

From the attack on the Moncada Barracks came the constitution of the July 26th Revolutionary Movement which took the place of the Orthodox Party and which finally with the Granma landing and the action of the Sierra, eliminated the Orthodox Party from the Cuban political scene, to the great advantage of the cause of the revolution and its advance.

The old leaders were left behind and lost their influence on the masses, while the new leaders, young, revolutionary and determined to bring to completion the economic and social changes that the situation of Cuba demanded, came to the fore, thanks to their action and to their support of the programme of those who survived the attacks on the barracks.

It was this group of leaders that prepared, organised and brought to Cuba the Granma expedition which despite its virtual destruction at the outset, gave rise to the long armed guerrilla struggle that developed after it had become Rebel Army, the principal instrument of the defeat of the terror and the establishment of the revolutionary power.

Another lesson that immediately emerges is that the imperialists have not got out of the habit of ganging together when the interests of one of their brethren are concerned. This is the inescapable conclusion from the Security Council debates on the French invasion of Tunisia.

Even such a mild resolution as that sponsored by the UAR and Liberia—calling upon the French to

cease-fire—could not be passed because it failed to get the requisite majority. The Western allies of France just refused to countenance the smallest mention of the need for foreign bases to be liquidated or for foreign armies to withdraw from sovereign States which want them to go.

Tunisia's Government had placed high hopes in the U.S. and more especially in the Kennedy administration. Bourguiba literally let out a wall of despair after the Security Council debate on July 22: "It is terrible and extremely irritating to see Great Britain and the U.S. avoid the problem in order not to upset France." His Ambassador in Washington told newsmen after meeting U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk on July 24: "I suggest that the free world should act now before another world does." Strange words when the "free world" was freely raining death in Tunisia!

The Western Powers know quite well that their attitude of support to France is going to isolate them morally and politically, that it is going to strengthen the trend in the newly-free countries to closer ties with the socialist world. Yet they have to act as they do.

K. S. Shelvankar wrote in the Hindu (July 22) that: "It is obvious in any case that the Franco-Tunisian clash is a serious embarrassment to the West when it is trying to rally world opinion to its side over the Berlin crisis." The Reuter report of the very next day made it clear why the West could not avoid this "very serious embarrassment": "It was believed that behind the adamant refusal of France's Western allies to take a positive stand on the liquidation of the French base in Tunisia was their fear for their own bases in different parts of the world."

The imperialists and their agents in the U.N. Congo operation are out to do their best to prevent the peaceful settlement of the Congolese question by the Congolese people themselves.

Hammarskjöld, Kasavubu and Tshombe are all working in different ways but for the same aim—to secure the restoration of the old colonial order and to prevent the coming to legitimate status of the progressive forces of the Congolese people. Clearly some new imperialist plot is in the offing.

An official TASS statement of July 25 sharply draws attention to the fact that the imperialists are "preparing another blow at the Congolese people.... At this moment crucial for the destinies of the Congolese State the people of the Congo, courageously upholding the freedom and independence of their homeland, and all their friends must display great vigilance and be ready to frustrate any plans by the colonialists, no matter how these plans are disguised".

The statement points out that the Congolese Parliament, if it meets, is quite likely to confirm the powers of the Central Government headed by A. Gizenga. Alarming at this prospect "the

BLITZ ON BIZERTA

The French blitz on Bizerta is a direct challenge to all anti-imperialists the world over. The issue is stark, simple and crucial—does a sovereign Government have the right to exercise its sovereignty or does it have to bow down to jet-plane diplomacy?

IT needs to be recalled by some that Bizerta is not in France but in Tunisia and that Tunisia is an independent State. The Bizerta base by agreement remained temporarily in French hands when Tunisia became independent in 1956 but on condition that it would revert to Tunisia at some future date. Since then every attempt by Tunisia to get negotiations started for the Bizerta base to be reunited with the rest of Tunisia has been blockaded by the French Government.

On July 17 President Bourguiba announced that he was determined to get some kind of negotiations regarding Bizerta going immediately. He made it clear that it was not his intention to seize the base by force but simply to get de Gaulle off his high horse and down to a conference table. With this end in view, he announced a blockade of Bizerta—not entry, nor attack.

The French reply came with all the dramatic swiftness of screaming jets and deadly rockets. Without bothering to even send a diplomatic note to the Tunisian Government, let alone acceding to the reasonable demand for talks, the French imperialists struck with all the force at their command. It was repetition of the Suez Canal expedition, the Lebanon landings and the Cuban invasion. It was a reminder that imperialism has lost none of its aggressive propensities.

This reminder is underlined by the fact that President Bourguiba is no fire-eating radical. He is no Castro, Nasser or Kasseem. It is well known that he has been among those Arab-African statesmen who wish to moderate and tone down the advanced anti-imperialist policies of the Casablanca Powers. It is reported that he had been intervening on behalf of de Gaulle with the leaders of the Algerian liberation struggle, trying to persuade them not to make "excessive" demands.

Yet when even such a "well-intentioned and reasonable" statesman dares to ask that discussions begin about the return of national territory, the imperialist ire is aroused and bombs begin to fall. This should be an object lesson to those statesmen of the newly liberated countries who believe that docility and moderation pays and that imperialism can be persuaded to be reasonable.

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Let alone the other Arab-African States, the very Provisional Algerian Government with whom the Tunisian President was picking a quarrel offered to send in its battle-trained troops against the French. The Soviet Union immediately sent an official message of support and its representative in the Security Council called for measures to immediately cut short French aggression against Tunisia and for the withdrawal of all French troops from Bizerta and the entire territory of Tunisia.

Here again was demonstrated the incontestable truth of our times—the anti-imperialist solidarity of the socialist camp and the newly-free nations. It is this solidarity that has compelled the French to agree to a cease-fire and it is the reinforcement of this alliance that will compel them to retreat further.

It is clear that only such a retreat by imperialism—withdrawing from Tunisia and the eventual evacuation of Bizerta—can restore peace in this part of the Maghreb peninsula.

Right from the outset of the Congo crisis India has insisted upon the speediest possible resumption of functions by the Parliament. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons it had given for not according recognition to the Gizenga Government was that it had not been formally installed by the Parliament.

Now it is evident that the Gizenga Government has gone to the limits of its capacities to ensure the resumption of work by Parliament. It is evident that, even at some considerable personal risk, the Gizengist deputies have journeyed to Lovanium.

There can, therefore, be no reason now for the Government of India not to insist that its troops be used to protect the Congolese MPs and to ensure the smooth working of the Parliament. This could well be made a precondition for the retention, to say nothing of reinforcement, of the Indian troops in the Congo.

In this hour of peril, when so much is at stake, the Government of India must be true to its own reputation and faithful to the great anti-imperialist traditions of our people.

Soviet-Ghana Accord

PRESIDENT Nkrumah's visit to the Soviet Union represents a big advance for the forces of world peace and an equally great defeat for the imperialists, who are constantly on the look-out for ways and means to disrupt the alliance between the socialist

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

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Congo—Peril And Promise

THE resumption of the work of the Congolese Parliament is gravely threatened by the intrigues of the Western Powers. The imperialists and their agents in the U.N. Congo operation are out to do their best to prevent the peaceful settlement of the Congolese question by the Congolese people themselves.

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colonialists want to intimidate by threats and blackmail the Parliamentarians, upright patriots, to betray the interests of the Congolese people. Alarming reports are appearing that, to attain their ends, they are ready to exterminate the staunch patriots devoted to the people, as they did when they brutally assassinated Patrice Lumumba and a group of his colleagues".

In this grave situation, the only way forward is for the Congolese patriots and all anti-imperialist Governments to insist that the U.N. executives in the Congo implement quickly and completely the decisions of the Security Council. The U.N. had promised full guarantees for the safety of the Congolese Parliamentarians and for the unimpeded and uninfluenced conduct of the work of the Parliament. These guarantees must now be fulfilled.

India, it is reported in the press, has been asked for more troops to strengthen the U.N. Command. When the first Indian troops were despatched, Pandit Nehru had told Parliament that elaborate conditions had been asked for to ensure that the Indian troops were never deployed against the Congolese patriots and, on the contrary, were used for the preservation of the unity and the independence of the Congo. These conditions need to be insisted upon now more than ever before.

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camp and the non-aligned nations.

What is of especial significance, however, is that the speeches of the African leader while in the Soviet Union as well as the joint communique have brought to this fruitful alliance greater concreteness and strength. It has not been a mere reiteration of the principles of peaceful co-existence but their development and extension in the relations between a socialist state and an advanced, radical nationalist state.

For instance, the Government of Ghana officially declares that it considers the Soviet proposals on disarmament "a reasonable basis for negotiations". It states, among other things, that it "appreciates the proposals of the Soviet Government concerning a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin issue on this basis".

The joint communique proclaims that "both Governments consider that the neutralist countries, the socialist states as well as the Western powers and their allies should be represented effectively and equitably in the United Nations bodies. This calls for appropriate alterations in the structure and the composition of its bodies".

Similarly, the Soviet Government declared its support "for the proposals of the Government of Ghana on the question of securing peace in Africa, in particular, the proposal to transform Africa into a zone of peace, free from military bases and nuclear weapons".

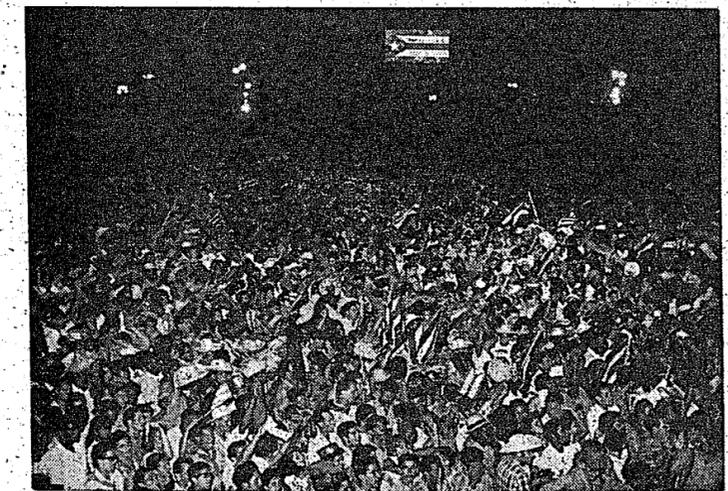
As a last example of this concretisation and consolidation of the alliance one can quote the following para from the joint communique:

"The Governments of the USSR and Ghana regard the attempts by certain West European powers to draw African States into the sphere of activities of the European Economic Community as a scheme designed to attach African countries from pursuing an independent neutral policy, to prevent the establishment of mutually beneficial economic ties among these countries and to keep the African countries in a position of suppliers of raw materials for the imperialist powers".

Apart from the agreement on international policies it is also to be welcomed that Nkrumah in his television speech, mentioned the Soviet method of rapid industrial growth as an inspiration and the Soviet Union itself as a model for the United Africa of his dreams.

In this desire to assimilate the advanced experience of a Socialist state is reflected the yearning of a radical nationalist to build a progressive, free society in his own country. This, no less than agreement on international issues, has the deepest lessons for the democratic forces in our own country.

—MOHIT SEN
(July 25)



Crowds cheer Cuba becoming Socialist Republic.

POONA FLOODS

* From Centre Pages

After the tragedy, they were quick enough, they thought well, shed tears and made promises and took everybody's cooperation. But it is all after the tragedy. That may be a plea to get a reduction in the sentence of the criminals at the hands of People's Justice and People's Anger.

But the crime remains, the dead remain and the people will remember and ask—Why did you not move quickly and efficiently before the tragedy, when you knew it?

There is a universal demand for inquiry into the whole affair. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has demanded two separate inquiries. One should cover the question of the collapse of the dams. This inquiry must consider such questions as:

- 1. Are earthen dams good enough for Maharashtra, with its terrain, its rainfall, etc.?
- 2. Was this one properly planned?
- 3. Was the material used of the correct standard?
- 4. Was there haste in its completion or was it hurriedly done to show as an asset in the next elections, as some allege, when it was scheduled to be put into commission in 1962 or 1963?

Was its location a wise selection? And such other questions.

This is one aspect of the inquiry. The other aspect is the failure of the administrative and governmental machinery,

which failed to grasp the real import of the situation and discharge its duty to the people.

The Chief Minister of Maharashtra has declared his readiness to have an inquiry.

The demand of the people is for an open impartial inquiry and an early inquiry, especially on the second aspect of the tragedy, first and foremost.

UNITY FOR RELIEF WORK

The Congress Ministry and leadership of Maharashtra has appealed that this issue be kept out of politics and party rivalries and that all should cooperate in this work of relief and rehabilitation.

Yes, all should cooperate in the work of relief and rehabilitation, irrespective of party affiliation. Even there, as I myself saw in some of the meetings held in Poona for consultations on this question, some of the local leaders, with hardened traditions, tried to set aside democratic and collective functioning in the matter of the citizens' zonal committees and organisation of their work and made attempts to grab the thing for their group interests.

The coming elections do cast their shadow even on relief and rehabilitation work. The Congress and the Government being one, and as aid is handled mainly through official machinery, politics becomes plainly visible there.

The way to counteract this is to build up people's initiative in relief work and properly

coordinate it with the work of the official agencies.

Both the agencies, one of the citizens, especially of the poor toiling citizens, and the other of functioning officials, both coordinating and mutually integrating their working and thinking, can bring quick and better relief rather than anyone of them going alone. It is good that this is accepted in principle in Poona and Maharashtra.

At the same time, politics has come to the top in this tragedy. The failure of the administration which led to it has created a deep cleavage between the Government and the people.

Floods come everywhere, dams may break in any country, whether it be socialist or capitalist. But the way Governments and official machinery behave in our country towards the people is the way of capitalism, which seeks profits even in human tragedy.

Prices soar up, goods go underground, landlords evict tenants, gangsters start robbing, even caste and religion begin to peep into relief and bureaucracy rides supreme. The big rich contribute donations with zeal and quietly wait for the next construction contract to pay back double profits. The poor have to wait even for a bamboo pole and a cement bag to put up a hut. The capitalist market thrives in tragedy.

When one looks around India in the grip of floods and when one sees the mighty masses cooperating and sacrificing to render aid to each

Government Appoints Enquiry Commission

The appointment of a Commission to inquire into the causes of the breaking of the Panshet and Khadakwasla dams was announced by the Chief Minister, Y. B. Chavan, in the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly on July 24.

THE Commission of Inquiry, Mr. Chavan told the Assembly, replying to the two-hour debate on the Adjournment motion, would inquire into and report on:

1. the causes of the breaking of the dams at Panshet and Khadakwasla on July 12 and the circumstances in which the breaches occurred;

2. the adequacy of the action taken by the various authorities before, during and immediately after the disaster to avert it and mitigate its consequences.

The Commission consisting of Mr. R. S. Bawadekar, ICS (retired), former judge of the Bombay High Court, would be assisted by assessors not exceeding three, as might be appointed by the Government of Maharashtra, Mr. Chavan said.

Mr. Chavan also announced that the Government of Maharashtra proposed to set up one more committee of technical experts, in consultation with the Government of India, for a general inquiry into the construction problems of earthen dams. It would be possible, he added, to include an expert of international repute, as desired by members of the House, in this committee.

The construction of the Panshet dam itself had been undertaken in consultation with the Government of India. The State Government therefore would like to set up this committee in consultation with the Central Government.

Mr. Chavan also said that the Government proposed to undertake a detailed scrutiny of the construction work on other earthen dams in progress in the State. It would take three to four months for this work to be completed. He said that pending the completion of such an inquiry, no such dam in the State would be commissioned.

other, one cannot forget the above forces that face the struggling people. If this is not politics—what else is it? How to forget it? Yet, with-

out forgetting it, we should cooperate, to build again—in a better way.

(JULY 24, 1961)

MASK OFF P. S. P.

BLIND anti-Communism, even at the cost of helping the reactionaries and sabotaging popular movements, is the cornerstone of the political philosophy of the leaders of the PSP. It is really wrong to call it a "Socialist" Party. The PSP in fact can be called the Pseudo-Socialist Party.

PSP leaders very solemnly declare their love for high principles. Actually, they believe that "means" should be in conformity with the "ends". A party of leaders with such "clear conscience" should really be worshipped by the people! Obviously, something is wrong—the PSP has not been able even once to capture power in any State on its own.

In Kerala, where it had its Ministry once, it had risen to power with the help of the Congress while the present is only a coalition Ministry headed by a PSP Chief Minister.

Of course, there, too, the PSP has already cracked. Some of its MLAs have left it after seeing for themselves how corruption thrives under the very nose of the PSP Chief Minister!

Although the Congress leadership now feels embarrassed to continue to cling to the Muslim League in Kerala, it is the PSP

SCRAP-BOOK

which still defends its "sacred" alliance with the League quite shamelessly! But it will be wrong to presume that the PSP leaders in the rest of the country are in any way different from their Kerala leaders. Their capitulation to the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa is well known enough. In U.P., a section of the PSP leaders have started plotting with the RSS and Jamat-i-Islami. In the Punjab where the PSP does not have any significant hold, its leaders have been attempting all the time to win the confidence of the Akali leaders and now it has started bearing fruit.

With a bang PSP leaders declare that they cannot have any truck with Communists and communists. But ultimately the election strategy ends in a mess—PSP allies with all sort of communal forces and pits its candidates against progressive and popular candidates.

What was the response of the PSP leaders? They naturally sabotaged it. "They", writes the correspondent, "attempted to organise a united front under their leadership and this ended up in a so-called Janata Front consisting of the PSP, Swatantra Party and the rabid communal Hindu Mahasabha, a section of whose local leadership vows by Godse and calls him Bhagwan Godse. They went a step further and in an attempt to woo the Sikh voters, sought the

AMBALA EXAMPLE

THE recent Ambala Cantonment Board elections have been vividly describ-

ed by a correspondent from Ambala who writes:

"The Jan Sangh bagged all the seven seats in the last elections to the Cantonment Board although one of their members left them mid-term on account of serious charges of corruption and other malpractices committed by the Jan Sangh members.

"On the eve of the present elections, a sizeable section of the population desired that a progressive united alternative to the communal Jan Sangh be built here to oust the Jan Sangh and serious attempts were made towards the same".

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help of Akali Party through an Akali MLC Ch. Kartar Singh, who was specially called to this place".

That is about their political alignment. Now a word about their tactics. The local trade unions organised a labour parliamentary board and put up two candidates in double-member constituency No. 1 and one candidate in Constituency No. 3.

"The PSP leadership and their so-called Janata Front, instead of putting up candidates in other seats and supporting these candidates, decided to put

FIGURES SPEAK

IT is an old story now but not long ago Dhebarbhai, Asoka Mehta and other leaders of the Congress-PSP-League alliance developed hoarse voices shouting allegations against the Communist-led

Law and Order			
	1957-58	1959-60	1960-61
Suicides	1,194	1,342	1,357
Murders	247	309	259
Suspicious Deaths	44	48	62
Thefts	4,182	5,178	4,825
Plunder	109	112	118
Other Criminal Charges	12,751		18,047

No comments are necessary.

—AGRADOOT
July 24.

up Swatantra Party candidates from Ward No. 1 to oppose the labour front candidates" with the result that both the seats were lost—one to the Jan Sangh and the other to the Congress.

"In Ward No. 3, the PSP put up as a candidate an accountant of the P & T Employees' Cooperative Society whose avowed slogan was to defeat Sud, the victimised leader of the P & T employees. The Jan Sangh won this seat and the security of the PSP backed Janata Front candidate was forfeited".

Government in Kerala.

Insecurity, rulers' luxury... where does it exist? Here are two self-speaking tables. The figures were given in the last session of the Kerala legislature:

Salaries and Allowances of Ministers		
Year	Salaries	Allowances
	Rs.	Rs.
1957-58	73,602	16,974
1958-59	73,800	66,193
1959-60	1,32,000	88,363

No comments are necessary.

—AGRADOOT
July 24.



A Tense Moment—From the Soviet Film "A Clear Sky".

MOSCOW FILM OLYMPICS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Moscow, July 25

The Moscow International Film Festival has become the biggest event of its kind in the world. It is not only the most representative of all the film festivals, as the largest number of film workers participate and more countries show their productions than anywhere else, but the atmosphere of creative discussion which prevails and the exchange of ideas which goes on day and night cannot be found at the commercialised film festivals of the west.

THE Second Moscow International Film Festival rallied 51 countries and three international organisations (UNO, UNESCO and the International Childrens' Fund). Thirty-three full-length films and 50 shorts were entered for the competition, and about 40 full-length features and as many shorts were brought for non-contest showings.

More than 600 delegates, guests, journalists and others gathered in Moscow from 50 countries to take part in the film festival. And the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were represented in a big way (24 countries), never seen before at any other festival. Even such young independent African countries as Dahomey, Mali and Guinea sent their first films to the festival and Nigeria and Somali had their delegations in Moscow.

Gagarin And The Stars

The Indian delegation included the producer and director Mehboob Khan, who also served on the international jury, Gura Dutt, the actor producer and director, Ahmad Abbas the film director and writer, and others. The Indian film selected for the festival by the Government of India was "Chaudhvin ka Chand". Gagarin met the people of the film world and declared that film stars "were people of cosmic significance" and Italy's Gina Lollobrigida, the most glamorous and the most popular star of the festival, planted a kiss on his cheek which became an event of international importance and the talk of the festival for two days.

Some western correspondents even cooked up the story that Gina angrily walked out of the festival when she went to her room to rest after the opening ceremony, as that night's English film she had seen before. There were many anecdotes and many lighter aspects of the "Film Olympics" of Moscow.

But what made the deepest impression on everybody during the first week and set every film-critic, director and actor talking excitedly for days, was the Japanese film—"The Island". It left a lasting impression on everyone and its directness, simplicity and artistic beauty touched the emotional strings in every heart. It was only natural that this shared the Grand Prize with "A Clear Sky", which I shall describe later.

It is a most extraordinary film with no dialogue. Not a single word is spoken by anybody in the whole film, yet the actors convey their feelings and ideas with such mastery that the audience becomes a part of their life after the first few minutes, suffers with them and rejoices in their short-lived happiness.

It is a grim film showing the hard unbearable life of a poor peasant family on a barren island, where they make crops grow by such intense physical labour, and their untiring unending day-to-day repetition of the same labour process goes on for so long that it almost becomes a part of their nature, and the director makes us work with them and feel the pain of their muscles.

The film is a great and forceful accusing document, staggering in its impact, but elevating and inspiring by the sheer beauty of masterly treatment. It has been directed by Kaneto Shindo, who made the famous film "Children of Hiroshima" (his family perished there), and a group of selfless workers at

about one-sixth of the cost of an average film.

Only 13 persons including the director worked on the film and it has only two professional actors. There is no dialogue or commentary, but it is not a silent film, the music and sound effects are superb.

Shindo has succeeded in making a great film in a poem in the cinematic medium, a masterpiece without parallel. So don't miss it when it comes your way. One Indian distributor has bought it here and it will be shown in India.

Epic Film

The second big film of the festival is the Soviet entry (each country can enter only one film) "A Clear Sky" by Grigory Chukhrai which was shown during the second week. It was released in Moscow about two months earlier and has been a topic of discussion and heated controversy since.

There was a lot of speculation here whether the Soviet Union will enter it for the festival or not. Well, it was entered and made a very deep impression on all the cinema artists, directors, critics and journalists. It moved the audience of experienced film workers, not easily affected by screen emotions, to tears, and they applauded repeatedly during the performance.

The film is a great human document produced with sincerity and deep feeling. The love story of an adolescent girl and a fighter-pilot during the grim days of the last war is told with mastery and understanding worthy of a great artist.

The scenes of the war are deeply moving, especially the sequence at the railway station, where hundreds of women gather to meet their husbands but the train does not stop and the desperate grief, walls and shrieks of the women, the noise of the train, and masterly cross-cutting by the director create a stunning everlasting impression.

The film deals with the repression and injustice of the period of the cult of personality as symbolised in the sufferings of its two main characters—Astakhov, the pilot, and his wife. This is the first film to deal with the subject openly, hence the controversy. Some think the whole period should be forgotten, others want it to be treated more thoroughly and deeply than one film could ever do.

Astakhov was believed to have perished in one of the air battles and decorated posthumously. His wife remains true to her love through all trials and is rewarded by the sudden return of her husband from enemy imprisonment.

The very fact that he came back alive is used as an accusation against him. Why was he not killed by the Germans, after all he was a Communist? Why did he not commit suicide? We don't know what he did there. His past services are forgotten, the fact that he attempted to escape from the German prison camp is of no avail. He is thrown out of the Party and cannot find any work. "Vigilance turns into all-sided suspicion".

The man becomes a drunkard but his wife pulls him out of despair. He remains true to his principles and decides to go to Moscow to prove his case and of the countless others like him. Then Stalin dies and the period, to which Ehrenburg's novel gave the name of the "Thaw", begins. Things change for the better and Astakhov is rehabilitated.

Earlier, Astakhov goes through a period of intense inner struggle. He is himself convinced as a Communist that his individual fate is of no consequence. Many have to be sacrificed

for the cause, he tells himself. "After all if you chop wood splinters fly". Only the best things matter. But he sees the demoralising effect these injustices are having on the young generation, the youth are turning into cynics and opportunists. (A young man, his wife's brother, is taken into the Party "because I have done nothing" as he himself puts it, and Astakhov is rejected). His sense of justice and the belief in the righteousness of his own case and the conviction that things must change come back to him, and through all ordeals he remains a staunch Communist.

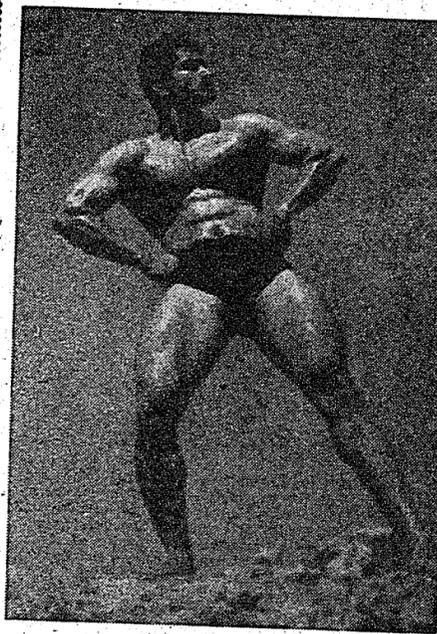
The film presents the death of Stalin as a turning point. The news is announced to Astakhov and his wife Sasha by her younger brother just after Astakhov decided to go to Moscow and fight for justice. A long pause of silence follows and then slowly music begins, the ice breaks, the river moves and slowly spring arrives.

Some consider the scene of the thaw to be weak and even shallow, others think that it is a poetic way of depicting the great change since the 20th Congress. But whatever the controversy the film "The Clear Sky" captivates by its profound human theme, its lyricism, its boldness and powerful drama and its serious ideological approach.

Chukhrai, the talented young director who gave us "The Fortyfirst" and "The Ballad of a Soldier" has again produced a work of great significance.

Nina Dobrysheva as Sasha is superb, a great artist and an actress with great talent. Evgeni Ubransky as Astakhov has won the right to be included in the top rank of Soviet actors.

BHARAT SHREE



Satyen Das, capstan-operator of the Jay Engineering Works, Calcutta, who won the title of "Bharat Shree" (Mr. India) in a recent All-India Physical Culture Competition held at Ernakulam. Satyen Das is a trade unionist and member of the Jay Engineering Workers' Union (AITUC).

K. J. Congras

CINE EMPLOYEES' GREAT VICTORY

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

Calcutta, July 25.

OVER 11,000 employees of about 400 cinema houses in West Bengal won a significant victory on July 20, when the cinema owners climbed down and accepted, in principle, the Government notification regarding minimum wages, agreed to pay their employees normal wages for the period from July 16 to 20 and promised not to victimise any employee for participation in direct action.

The dispute arose over the owners' refusal to implement the Government notification of May 18, 1960, fixing minimum wages for cinema employees.

Many employees in Calcutta and in the districts launched hunger-strike from July 14. Among them were M. A. Sayeed and Ramashankar Prasad, MLA (Communist), Vice-President and organising Secretary respectively of the

Bengal Motion Picture Employees' Union (BMPEU).

The employees all over the State observed a token general strike on July 16. The employers then declared a lock-out on the following day.

The yearly income of the owners amounts to about three and a half crores of rupees. The total wage-bill comes to 19-20 lakhs of rupees. If the Government notification is implemented, this amount will increase to Rs. 31 lakhs a year. Yet, the employers had chosen to create a crisis in the cinema industry by their refusal to incur an additional expenditure of only Rs. 10-11 lakhs a year.

According to their own admission, the losses suffered by them on account of the closure of cinema houses amounted to Rs. 250,000 a day. The daily losses to the State Government in amusement tax came to Rs. 50,000.



Heaps of Grains—But All Soaked.

AITUC APPEALS FOR

A Day's Wage For Flood Victims

CUBA, SALUTE!



New Age joins the millions in all lands who greet heroic Cuba on the day of its revolution. The Cuban revolution, led by the indomitable and sagacious Fidel Castro, is a saga of mass heroism and tenacity. It has lit the torch of hope for all Latin American countries and shown the way to end Yankee thraldom. The magnificent manner in which Cuba has advanced all along the line and smashed all the nefarious counter-revolutionary plots and invasion of the U.S. imperialists has inspired the patriots and democrats of all countries.

LONG LIVE SOCIALIST CUBA!

(July 26)

(The floods in Maharashtra and particularly the tragedy of Poona has moved the working class in Bombay to take concerted steps for collecting relief—taking note of this, leading workers of the AITUC in Bombay met and decided to make certain proposals. These are outlined in a letter addressed by S. A. Dange on behalf of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union and the AITUC to the Chief Minister. The letter is reproduced below.

In the next month, August 15, is a paid holiday. It is, therefore, suggested by many that the pay for this day be contributed for relief by all.)

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the AITUC, I am putting forward the following proposal in order to meet the needs of flood relief.

- Seventy five per cent of this contribution be utilised for the relief of the stricken people of Poona City, Ratnagiri, Sangli and Kolhapur in accordance with the people's needs and the seriousness of the disaster in each area.
- Twenty five per cent of the contribution be forwarded to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund to be used for the needs of people in other affected States.
- In the agencies administering the relief, representatives of the workers and Trade Unions of all shades of opinion be given representation, along with officials, citizens and others.

Convene Meeting

The working class in Bombay has responded well to the demand for relief contributions for the stricken people of Poona and other places. They, however, feel that the class as a whole should act and contribute concertedly in all the industries in the whole state. The contribution, while primarily motivated for the needs of the stricken people in the State, should also help everywhere in India, wherever people are in need.

The proposal is that all workers in all industries and particularly in the big textile and engineering industries should adopt the following proposal:

- Each worker agrees to contribute one day's wages for relief.
- This contribution be deducted centrally from the pay-roll of each establishment and handed over to the Chief Minister, as the Head of the Flood Relief Fund on the workers' signifying their consent.

obviated by our proposal. Thirdly, their proposal does not collect the contribution centrally but proposes collecting it separately at the payable by some person that is the Sangh itself. Our proposal avoids that also. Fourthly, Bombay's working class coming from all the states feels for all. Hence we want a part of the contributions to go to the Prime Minister's Fund for use in other states like Kerala, Tamilnad, Mysore, Orissa from where reports of floods have already come. M.P., Bihar, Bengal, Assam may also, unfortunately come into the picture. Our multilingual working class cannot forget this. The Sangh's proposal does not take note of this in that very industry which is the biggest in the State and whose working class is so all-national.

I hope, therefore, you will agree to invite such a meeting, to adopt such proposals as may be found commonly acceptable. We will agree to help in the execution of what may be commonly agreed upon after discussion.

—S. A. Dange

C. E. C. Meeting Dates

The meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the National Council of our Party which was scheduled to start from the 5th of August is postponed. The CEC will, however, meet in Delhi from the 24th August to 29th August.

Secretariat, National Council of the Communist Party of India.

New Delhi, July 25, 1961