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ALL SET FOR ZERO HOUR

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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Still Time For Government To

From the planned systematic campaign, in the Government-inspired monopoly Press propaganda, it is clear enough that the Union Government's case against the just demands of Central Government employees is very weak in terms of principles and facts. This weakness is sought to be made up by concentrated Press propaganda to confuse and mislead public opinion.

Pandit Nehru is risking his personal prestige by becoming the main official mouthpiece of the official propaganda that the 22 lakhs of Central Government employees cannot be given dearness allowance linked to the cost of living index nor a need-based minimum wage, unanimously recommended by the Tripartite 15th Indian Labour Conference, duly endorsed by his Planning and Labour Minister Nanda.

NEGOTIATE AND SETTLE

THE more unreasonable and recalcitrant becomes the stand of the Government, the more determined and passionate is becoming the campaign for general strike of the Central Government employees. The unity they have achieved is unprecedented. To challenge their strength and to put their patience to test is to gamble with the fate of the country.

General Strike Call

The Central Government employees do not stand alone. The entire Indian working class considers their cause as its own. And not in words alone. The HMS, UTUC and the AITUC have all issued calls for all-India sympathetic strike on July 14. Again, let there be no misunderstanding about the historic significance of this. It is a joint call for a countrywide strike of all industries by the Socialist, Communist and other trade unionists, despite all their old and bitter differences in the past. This should make the Government leaders sit up and think all over again and act before it is too late. The Government has the ordinance all ready, whose measures are more stringent than the earlier ordinances. It is reported that the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, was asked to sign it but he refused and it is said that the Rashtrapati before going abroad had informed him that he may have to sign an ordinance against the textile

owners and not this one against the employees.

Now the Rashtrapati himself has come back home. It will be a real anti-climax if after all his noble speeches in the USSR, he signs a draconian repressive measure against his own countrymen who demand nothing more than what his own Government had once promised them.

All those who know about the employees' case and campaign and can read the mass pulse would forecast that the mass tempo is such that ordinances would be of no avail but only provoke the workers more.

No negotiations, but individual contacts. Then negotiations and then breaking off, and back to individual meetings. The drama goes on. It is designed to demoralise and disrupt the ranks of the employees but it has had the opposite effect of steeling their will to fight and cementing their unity still closer.

Govt. Tactics

The Government is belatedly announcing concessions in terms of the Pay Commission, restoring after six months' delay, the gains it had withheld so far. But such minor concessions fail to impress the men.

Individual Ministers are trying to negotiate with their own employees and also promising some concessions but the workers refuse to fall prey to these disruptive tactics.

The latest is that go-betweens have been set on the move. The Government has put out a feeler for an ad hoc grant, but without linking it either to dearness allowance or the minimum wage on the basis of principles for which the workers are fighting and which the Government has repudiated though it was a party to them earlier.

Some men of goodwill are also on the move but the Government is drifting with the false hope that disrup-

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GENERAL STRIKE : JULY 14

NAGPUR, July 6

K. G. Sriwastava, Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress, has issued the following statement to the Press:

The All-India Trade Union Congress and its affiliated unions have been fighting for the implementation of tripartite agreements and in the face of rising prices, compensation for the same in the form of increased D.A., linking it with cost of living index at various centres and industries for the last several years.

It has fallen on the lot of Central Government employees, because of the refusal of the Central Government, to agree for and get the implementation of the 15th Tripartite Labour Conference decisions regarding need-based minimum wage and the principle of linking D.A. with the cost of living index,

Communist Party Will Stand By Govt. Employees

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on July 6:

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep solidarity and sympathy with the Central Government employees who have been compelled by the adamant and unresponsive attitude of the Government to decide for a strike.

During the last ten years, when the country was busy with its two Plans, these workers rendered every possible aid to ensure the advance of national economy and in the interest of our people.

All that they got at the hands of the Government for this work was a paltry sum of Rs. five.

The Government's refusal to consider the two basic demands of the employees—need-based minimum wage and linking of dearness allowance with the cost of living index—will shock all decent people. A Government which talks of Socialist pattern cannot oppose the principle of need-based minimum wage unless it wants to announce that its protestations of Socialism are just propaganda. The somersault is all the more remarkable since the Government was a party to its acceptance at the Fifteenth Tripartite Labour Conference and pressed for its acceptance on other parties.

Equally shocking is Government's refusal to link dearness allowance with cost of living. Dearness allowance is meant to neutralise the rise in the cost of living engendered by official policies. It is the responsibility of the Government to ensure that the workers' wage is not depreciated by inflationary rise in prices. This is precisely what the Government and Pay Commission refuse to accept.

The Communist Party welcomes the solidarity of the employees forged under the leadership of the Joint Council of Action. This unity is the main weapon of the workers and there is no doubt it will withstand all attempts at disruption organised at the instance of the Government and the INTUC unions.

The Communist Party cannot but deplore the open or veiled threat of repression held out by Government spokesmen. Propagandistic statements of Sri Nehru that the proposed strike is anti-national will convince no one. National development and planning should not be used as an excuse to create a class of under-privileged citizens with no rights whatsoever.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that the Government will be extremely ill-advised to take repressive measures against its employees. It is the duty of all patriotic forces, all democratic bodies to protect the workers against arbitrary action by the bureaucracy. The Government can still retrace its steps and work for an honourable compromise by settling with the Joint Council of Action. The Communist Party assures the workers that the Party will stand solidly by them in their just struggle.

which was recommended by the First Pay Commission and accepted by the Central Government. They have to fight by declaring as a last resort to go on an indefinite all-India strike of Central Government employees including Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Defence and other departments from the midnight of July 11-12.

Policies involved in this strike are of grave concern to the workers in the private as well as public sectors. The Government of India has done added injustice to these employees by refusing to implement what they had time and again assured to the workers in the private and public sectors. Refusal of Prime Minister Nehru to meet the deputation, Nanda's refusal to discuss anything beyond the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission and taking it as sacrosanct, when earlier in

the case of the Law Commission, Justice Chagla's and Vivian Bose's recommendations on the Mundhra affair, the Government had conveniently ignored the report of the Judges. The AITUC feels that the Central Government employees have no other avenue left for settlement and, therefore, supports their move to go on strike.

Reaffirming their solidarity with the Central Government employees' cause and struggle, the All-India Trade Union Congress directs its units all over India to prepare for and to go on a one-day token strike on Thursday, July 14, 1960.

We appeal to all other Central Trade Union Organisations and independent Federations to support the struggle of the Central Government employees and join in this united solidarity action.

C.P.I. HOMAGE TO HARRY POLLITT

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India paying homage to the memory of Harry Pollitt says:

The Communist Party of India shares the deep grief of the world Communist movement and of our brother British Communist Party over the sad demise of Comrade Harry Pollitt.

Born in a working class family, himself a worker, he was a living embodiment of the virtues and the talent for leadership inherent in the working class, for building a new world.

While young he dedicated himself to fight for the great cause of Communism and throughout his life kept up the grand struggle with deepening conviction and growing self-confidence. He suffered the inevitable hardships of a revolutionary life, manfully stood up to the gangster attacks of the bosses, and heroically faced the repres-

sion of the British Government.

Suffering and sacrifice steeled Comrade Pollitt to become a true son of the British people and tempered him to become a wise leader of his own class, the working class, in whose hands rests the future of Britain.

For over two decades he was the beloved and unquestioned leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain till he retired because of failing health. He built and led his Party to serve, organise and educate the British working class and the people, with Communist devotion and selflessness.

He was one of the most powerful orators Britain has known. In noble but simple words he popularised on a mass scale the socialist ideal and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and with remarkable effectiveness. In hard-hitting and biting words he tore to shreds the false ideas of

Right-wing Social Democracy and the various agencies of British imperialism and world reaction.

If the British Tory and Labour leaders are faced with the demands of disarmament, peace and colonial liberation by the mass of British Labour, it is because of the non-stop mass campaigns that Harry Pollitt and his Party conducted for years at the grass root level.

If the capitulatory leaders of the British TUC do not succeed in tamely yoking the British working class to the chariot of the British monopolists, it is because of the day-to-day tireless, unpublished, basic trade union activities conducted by the rank and file British Communists along with the other militants, and for which Harry Pollitt and his comrades-in-arms worked out a whole technique, based on a life's experience against which no bans, whether anti-Communist or any other, of the TUC

reformist bosses really work.

We in India will remember Comrade Pollitt for ever. He used his powerful voice in the cause of Indian freedom. He championed India's independence whenever and wherever he spoke. He educated his Party to become the tireless campaigner of Indian liberation within imperialist Britain itself.

Deeply impressed by the anti-imperialist work of the British Communists, several Indian students joined the ranks of Communism while studying abroad in Britain. Under Comrade Pollitt's leadership the British Party nursed and trained them. Today some of them sit on the Communist Parliamentary benches, or head the Party organisation of their State or lead important trade unions.

He got to know our people and our Party when he visited our country to attend our Party Congress at Madurai. We got to

know him and through him his Party. Our fraternal bonds grew stronger.

The bonds between our Party and the British Party are real and solid, based on the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. In the past they helped achieve Indian independence. In future they will help achieve world peace and progress, and the triumph of Socialism.

The worldwide tributes to Comrade Pollitt reveal how widely he and his good work was known and respected. In him the world Communist movement has lost one of its veterans, the British Communists their tried and tested leader and Indian patriots a true and noble friend.

The Communist Party of India dips the Red Banner in his memory and pledges anew to keep up the struggle for the historic cause of tomorrow to which Comrade Harry Pollitt gave his whole life, with great energy and undying devotion.

AS I KNEW HIM

★ by P. C. JOSHI

IT is so difficult to believe that Comrade Pollitt is no more. In a Communist's life one takes sufferings and ailments for granted. We tend not to account for them. Again I also fail to remember how old I have myself become.

I learnt of Comrade Pollitt as soon as I became a Communist, about 1928, and began reading the Imprecor, the then organ of the Communist International. It contained his articles on British trade union experiences and the political situation.

When I read how truthfully and boldly a British Communist exposed and castigated his own imperialist ruling class, the concept of proletarian internationalism became more living within me.

I greatly admired the simplicity and clarity of his style. His words were simple and common but very effective and irresistible. I decided to follow him, as a model in my own writing and found that it is not so easy!

In the days of our independence struggle, it was but natural that our relations with the British Party were the closest. Writing these lines as I try to recall when, how and where Harry Pollitt said or did what, my heart warms up with the deepest fraternal gratitude and the image arises of a wise and heroic son of the British people, in the grand tradition of his 1640 ancestors who got rid of their autocratic monarchy, of the Chartists of 1840s who long fought and proved that Britain's working class had come into being and was on its legs, of the British humanist and progressive thinkers, with a warm heart for social justice, democracy and liberty all over the world, wherever the just fight is on.

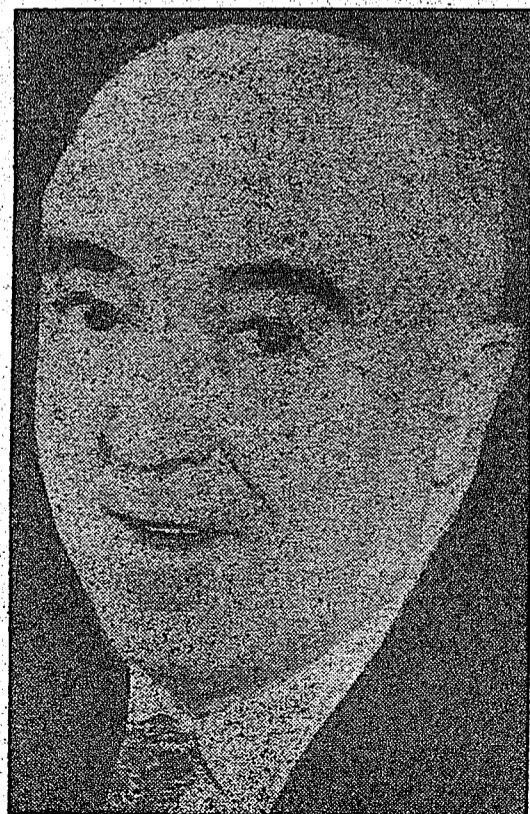
It is no small story, of narrow interest to our two Parties alone. It is a glorious chapter in the annals of British Socialism and Indian anti-imperialism. It is a story yet to be written. We have not popularised it in the past for various obvious reasons.

Comrade Pollitt's departure from this world is a fresh reminder that the old story needs writing up for it is full of historic lessons, not only for our own movements today, but in the interest of future

relations as well, in terms of strengthening our solidarity for world peace, progress and Socialism.

FIRST MEETING

I met Comrade Pollitt face to face in January 1953 when I went abroad for the first time to attend the World Peace Congress at Vienna. I thought it my duty to go to London as well and meet the British comrades who had meant so much to me in my own youth and who were heroically keeping up the fight against British imperialism.



NEW AGE

from within the enemy's own fort.

Sitting across the table in his room at 16 King Street, Pollitt led me with great ease from the usual formal beginning to serious objects of mutual interest. Time passed without my becoming conscious of it at all.

Glasses of tea came and he got up with; let us now drink together your Indian tea. I cursed myself for not keeping back some good tea for him, for the quality of India tea within the means of ordinary folks in London is none-too-good!

As I got up to leave he paced up and down the room and referring to the short period when he was not the General Secretary of his Party he stated, "when I had to leave this room during the war days I made up my mind to come back as soon as I could and I did! It is very easy to see where one is right but very difficult where one is wrong." It is this very job, however difficult, that we Communists have to master all our lives and he did it with tenacity.

From 16 King Street I had to rush to the Highgate Cemetery and Marx's grave. Buying flowers took time. We found that the cemetery gate had been closed. We belatedly for the gate-keeper and when he found that we were Indians he let us in and began talking: "You Indians and Africans seem to know and respect Marx more than we Englishmen here..." and so on.

As we started back he asked me if I had been to 16 King Street. He got closer to inform me that he did not like Communism but admired Harry Pollitt for he spoke like an Englishman. More, if he had his way, he would have Harry, but after Churchill, as the Prime Minister of Britain!

The real story was that he had heard Harry speak in a memorial meeting over Marx's grave and was spell-bound by his oratory.

This little story tells its own tale about where the ordinary

Britisher is weak and Pollitt was strong.

VISIT TO INDIA

He came with great joy to attend our Party Congress at Madurai in 1953-54. There were over a lakh present to hear him. He spoke in English but we had one of our best translators to put his speech, sentence by sentence, across in Tamil. Every sentence was cheered and every few minutes there was deafening applause as Harry sounded off a major point.

We all saw the power of his speech, the strength of his arguments, the passion of his convictions, move to their very depths our common people even when he spoke in a foreign tongue.

As he sat down perspiring all over, he grew eloquent over the artistry of Tamil garlands, the smell and freshness of our flowers, the enchanting colours and designs of the thousands of working women sitting in serried ranks right in front of him.

The mighty rally was the finale of the mass receptions he had witnessed. He had to spend the night travelling between Madras and Madurai. He could not sleep a wink. At every stop it was all kindabads, kindabads, flowers and flags, no room for him to get down from his compartment and gifts of all sorts pushed through his carriage window.

Recounting his experiences, with great admiration for our Party, and paying his tribute to the unknown and unsung rank and file cadres who work directly among the masses he told me: "If I had such a big loyal mass support behind our Party at home as you have here, I would make the Tories dance to death!"

I met him again at Peking during the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party where both of us had gone as fraternal delegates from our Parties.

I hardly knew any of the foreign comrades and during

* SEE FACING PAGE

INSIDE ROURKELA-II

CALCUTTA, July 4

It is no accident that our planners have taken credit for a mere pittance of Rs. 470 crores as revenues from State-owned enterprises for financing the Rs. 10,200-crore Third Plan. This is so because many of the public sector concerns are in a terrible mess.

THE Hindustan Steel Private Ltd. (HSL), a Central Government undertaking, provides a classic example of how red-tapism and inefficiency stand in the way of a steady increase in earnings from this source, and thus cause considerable losses to the nation.

The HSL has been entrusted with the responsibility of running the three public sector steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur.

With a paid-up capital of Rs. 302 crores, it is the biggest industrial concern in India and one of the biggest steel companies in the world. It has three whole-time directors, including the chairman. But not one of them, so far as my report goes, has any specialised knowledge or practical experience of steel-making. Only recently, Phiroz Kutar, formerly Technical Director of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., joined the HSL as its fourth whole-time director.

BUNGLING

But despite the vast resources placed at their disposal and also the wide powers conferred on them, the authorities of the HSL have set up an unenviable record in shortsightedness and bungling, especially in regard to the Rourkela project.

According to the terms of agreement with the West German designers and contractors, the Krupp-Demag Combine, the HSL has to procure materials for the erection of the steel plant. But its performance in this respect is extremely disappointing.

I will cite a glaring example to show how the HSL's utter inefficiency has cost us dearly.

As is well known, Rourkela is a special type of steel mill. Two of its special features are the heavy plate mill and the wide strip mill, which are

component units of the rolling mills. Curiously enough, these two units have not yet been set up. The result is that the output from the two blast furnaces, now under commission, cannot be utilised!

The pig-iron produced at the blast furnaces are, no doubt, made into ingot slabs at the blooming and slabbing mills. But these slabs are of huge size, varying in weight from 7.15 to 16 tons and almost double the weight of the usual size of the ingots produced in other steel plants in the country.

NO BUYERS

Although there is an increasing internal demand for ingot slabs, especially from our foundries, there are at present no buyers for such big-sized slabs.

The heavy plate mill and the strip mill are, therefore, indispensable for rolling these slabs into plates and strips of required thickness and size. But since these mills are not yet ready, a huge quantity of slabs has already piled up at the plant.

The HSL authorities, however, have found an easy solution to the problem. They have cut down the production of slabs to only about 500 tons a day.

They have also entered into an agreement with Mannesmann, the West German firm

WHAT BUNGLING COSTS THE NATION

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Ingots Can't Be Utilised Now, So Production Is Cut

which has built the cooling systems of the blast furnaces at Rourkela, for the export of 20,000 tons of ingot slabs to West Germany, to be rolled into strips and pipes and then re-exported to India!

Had the heavy-plate and the wide-strip mills been erected in time, we could have saved crores of rupees which we are now paying to the West German monopolists for simply rolling our finished materials.

But, why is it that these essential units have not been completed according to the schedule? It is abundantly clear that the responsibility for the delay rests primarily with the HSL authorities.

As far ago as April 1957, they invited global tenders for rolls for these mills. In July 1957, a West German firm offered to supply the rolls. But five months passed before orders were placed by cable in December 1957, and then confirmed by another cable later in the same month. But then, the Memorandum of Agreement, giving specifica-

tions and drawings for the rolls, was issued only in May 1958—full 17 months after the orders had been placed. The contract itself was not finalised till November 23, 1959!

Little wonder that the heavy-plate and the wide-strip mills are not yet ready.

HUGE LOSSES

The completion of the entire plant will be delayed, it is understood, by a year or so.

Lack of coordination between the HSL and the Krupp-Demag combine, administrative bungling by the former and the technical inefficiency of the latter are responsible for this delay.

According to Report No. 33 of the Estimates Committee of Parliament, the losses on account of the delay amount to ten lakhs of rupees a day!! Another matter of grave concern is the steadily rising cost of the plant.

The total cost was originally estimated at Rs. 128 crores. Shortly afterwards, it jumped to Rs. 170 crores. It was again

revised and fixed at Rs. 178 crores. But official sources now place the figure at Rs. 200-214 crores!

This staggering increase in the cost is due, in the first place, to the extortionate prices charged by the West German monopolists for the equipment and material supplied by them.

We are also being made to pay through the nose for the "technical services" of their "experts". The West German firms, which are building different units of the steel plant, are importing even semi-skilled mechanics from the home country for such odd jobs as carpentry, ordinary structural work, etc., and foisting them on us as "specialists"! Less than a year ago, there were as many as 3,000 such "experts" at Rourkela. I have already narrated in last week's New Age (July 3) the story about the technical inefficiency of one West German "expert", who seriously damaged Blast Furnace No. 1. The losses as a result of this damage will amount to a little over Rs. 19.57 crores!

Another West German placed in a high position, carrying a fat salary, was found to be utterly ignorant of the job, for which he was claimed to be an "expert". To save face, he was sent to the Tatras for practical training. But, he was so wooden-headed that he failed to learn anything and had to be packed off to West Germany.

The qualifications of many of these "experts" make sickening reading. Further, serious damages to Blast Furnaces Nos. 1 & 2, the bursting of one oxygen pipe in the Steel Smelting Shop, breakdown of the Slabbing Machine and the L-D Converters and several other accidents, necessitating extensive repairs, have pushed up the cost by several crores of rupees.

The implementation Committee of the Delhi Administration had come to the conclusion that the management was guilty of violating the agreement and not maintaining the status quo. Labour Minister Nanda had also advised the management to find out another mediator after Trilokchand Sharma refused to mediate. But all this fell on deaf ears.

The workers were left with no alternative and so have decided on a strike. In their resolution they have again reiterated that "the union will keep its doors open for a negotiated settlement till the last moment."

The Union has tendered its "apology" to the Delhi citizens and the travelling public for the inconveniences which would be caused as a result of the strike which is being imposed on it by the unwarranted, unjust and vindictive acts of the DTU management and the Delhi Transport Committee."

As matters stand now, the Rourkela Project looks like becoming a bottomless pit. Prompt measures must be taken by the Government of India to stop forthwith this colossal wastage of our slender resources.

D.T.U. Workers To Strike

the Undertaking go on an indefinite strike from July 18.

The main demand of the DTU Workers' Union is that the management should honour the agreement of September 9, 1959.

The resolution of the Union General Body held on July 2, which decided to serve the strike-notice, has traced the background to the September 9 agreement and its violation by the management.

The management had been indulging in unfair labour practices, attacking and harassing the activists and leaders of the union and attacking the hard-earned rights and privileges of the workers even compelling them to ply defective buses in gross violation of the provisions of the Motor Vehicles Act.

The workers began a peaceful agitation against all this, but the management instead of trying to settle the issues, intensified repression. The situation would have deteriorated but for the patience of the workers which finally led to the September 9 agreement.

Under the agreement, the then Mayor of Delhi Trilokchand Sharma was to mediate into the cases of victimisation, Municipal Commissioner P. K. Nayak was to investigate into the union's complaints about defective buses and the management was to maintain the status quo.

HARRY POLLITT

* FROM FACING PAGE

Comrade Pollitt made his last public speech at Sydney and as I write this, the Tribune has arrived and it quotes his last words and rightly states that they could "well serve as his own epitaph." "Communists dedicated their lives to the cause of the working people. The capitalists hated and slandered the Communists because they are frightened of what we have done and can do." "Communism had one aim, to bring beauty, colour, and dignity into the lives of the people." "When power is in the hands of the people, the people of Britain and Australia would compete on which would most speedily transform their country into one on which the sun of joy will never set."

A great noble comrade is no more but the movement that produces one like him will triumph sooner than those who maligned and slandered him and his cause, our common cause of Communism ever realise.

There were tears of joy in his eyes and I could not resist them myself. He spoke out what was in my own heart as well.

(July 4)

A searching analysis of what the Congress-PSP Coalition's budget offers the people of Kerala was made by Leader of the Opposition E. M. S. Namboodiripad in the course of the Assembly's general discussion on the Budget. And the conclusion: The Coalition Ministry has evolved no new policies, whatever pointers are there are towards policies which are not in the interests of the State and its people.

TAKING up the Government's food policy first, Namboodiripad reminded the House of the picture the Finance Minister had presented in March while introducing the Budget. He had then said that every cardholder had been given from fair-price shops one edangazhi (just over a seer) of rice up to June and in June it had been increased to two edangazhis and that the aim of this policy was the stabilisation of prices.

No Change In Policy

Expectations had been raised that when the revised budget was presented three months later, there would be some advance from this policy. The Chief Minister's party, the PSP, had itself at its State Convention suggested that three edangazhis of rice should be given to every cardholder.

After three months what the Government now says is that there will be no increase in the quantum of rice, all that will be done is that some wheat also will be distributed to those who want it.

If two measures of rice are to be distributed weekly from fair-price shops throughout the year, the State needs 288,000 tons of rice. As against this, Namboodiripad said, what the Centre had allotted the State was 160,000 tons and the Budget itself had provided for subsidising only 180,000 tons of rice. Obviously the Government has no plans to distribute even two measures of rice.

The Leader of the Opposition said he could understand the difficulties of the Government. But the Government should openly admit them. If such an admission had been made the Government would not have voted out the Communist non-official resolution demanding 25,000 tons of rice per month from the Centre.

The question is not whether the State will get the rice if such a demand is made, he said. The State may not get it. But when the Government rejected the resolution, it came in the way of the Kerala Legislature making a unanimous demand to the Centre.

Opposition's Stand

The present Home Minister had said, when the Communist Party was in office, that it was the Government's responsibility to go to Andhra, Orissa, Burma or Ceylon or anywhere in the world and buy the necessary rice for distribution through fair-price shops.

The present Opposition would not take such a stand, said Namboodiripad. If the food problem of deficit States like Kerala are to be tackled, political differences have to

be set aside and the Central Government has to be informed of what the entire State thinks should be done. The Communist Party has definite proposals as to how this problem should be dealt with. When there is food deficit in the whole country as we have today, the Centre has to take the responsibility of controlling prices.

If it is said that the Southern Food Zone has been formed and Kerala can get as much rice as she wants at cheap rates, it should become the responsibility of the Centre to see that Kerala gets the rice from Andhra at the prices fixed by it. If instead of rice, private traders import rice prices higher by Rs. 29 or more and sell it here, that will not help to bring

Ministers' salaries were increased first. It may involve only a lakh of rupees or so, but for a State which budgets only for Rs. 40 to 42 crores, one lakh is not such a negligible amount. Not only that. This salary raise has had a chain reaction. The salaries of highly-paid officials have already been enhanced. After putting up their own salaries, the Ministers were in no position to oppose this increase.

The Only Right Way

Namboodiripad then recalled what the Communists had done when they assumed office. The Communist Govt. reduced the salaries of Ministers. It was called a stunt. But the Communist Government also stayed the previous Adviser regime's order raising salaries of the highly-paid officials. A principle was then evolved about a ceiling on high salaries, some steps were also taken to implement it. At the same time the Communist Government gave their legiti-

policy of the Government to develop industries and agriculture and thus build up the economy of the State and provide employment opportunities to the people. To talk of solving the unemployment and food problems without developing industries and agriculture is to talk without knowing the A, B, C of our economic problems.

What They Said Then

Finance Minister of the former Communist Ministry C. Achutha Menon began his speech with a reference to what the present Finance Minister had said a year ago, on June 13, 1959, the day after the hartal which inaugurated the "liberation struggle". He had then said that the "State had almost become bankrupt."

Political Discrimination

The last point which Namboodiripad touched upon was the much-publicised anti-corruption drive of the Coalition Government.

The Opposition was not against taking action against any corrupt officials, he said. But he had a serious charge to make against the Home

Minister. But what is going on in the State today is not fight against corruption but sheer political discrimination.

Problem Of All States

Kerala has a lot of economic difficulties. The Finance Minister's budget speech shows that the reason for these difficulties was not Communist rule.

Deficit Minimised

Coming to the Budget provisions as such, he said that the real deficit is bound to be more than the Rs. 1.24 crores shown.

COALITION'S BUDGET BODES NO GOOD TO STATE'S PEOPLE

prices down, it will only send them up.

Admission Of Difficulties

But the Government rejected the resolution demanding that the Centre should supply Kerala with 25,000 tons of rice a month because of its blind anti-Communism or its fear of the Central Government.

The Food Minister now admits difficulties about buying rice from Andhra—difficulties which those who sit on the Treasury Benches now refused to concede when the Communist Ministry was in office. But this Government is not only refusing to buy rice from outside the State, it is not making purchases from even within the State. That means the State Government is relying entirely on the 160,000 tons allotment from the Centre and it will not be able to distribute more than one edangazhi of rice per week from the fair-price shops. What is new in this policy, asked Namboodiripad.

The original Budget, he continued, had a revenue deficit. Obviously no new items of expenditure can be included in the revised budget without increasing the revenue.

Salaries Increased

When the Communists were in the Treasury Benches the Opposition's charge was that administrative expenditure was on the increase. What are they doing now that they are in office? Instead of cutting down this expenditure, they are further raising it.

mate due to the low-paid officials.

This was the only right way to deal with the problem. The ball set rolling by the present Ministry cannot be stopped now. It will have to raise the salaries of the low-paid officials also.

Salaries of highly-paid officials have been raised by a minimum of Rs. 125. This is done in the name of removing some anomalies. But it does not apply to the anomalies that exists between the salaries of village officers in the Malabar area and in Travancore-Cochin. Similarly salaries of Forest Conservators and Rangers have been raised. It will be now impossible not to increase the salaries of clerks and other employees of the department specially when the cost of living is going up daily.

Namboodiripad reminded the Treasury Benches of the Karachi resolution of the Congress and said the way to tackle the problem is to start with reducing the salaries of Ministers and highly-paid officials.

Wrong Expenditure

Dealing with another aspect of Government policies, Namboodiripad quoted figures from the Budget to point out that expenditure on four heads—industry, rural development, animal husbandry and agriculture—were, together less than the amount allocated for general administration or even for police.

It can easily be seen from the Budget that it is not the

Minister—that "anticorruption" is the pet name he and his party have given to open political discrimination.

An instance of this discrimination was the withdrawal of certain books from the prisons. Among them was the Master Plan for Kerala which only details the water resources of the State and how they are to be utilised for its development. Why was it withdrawn? The only reason is that the Plan had been prepared by the Communist Government. Similarly copies of the Land Relations Bill—a Bill that has been adopted by the Kerala Legislature and is awaiting Presidential assent—have been removed.

It is difficult to say to what lengths this anti-Communism of the Home Minister will go. When it is under his leadership that corruption is fought, how can the Opposition have any faith in it.

Reiterating that the Opposition was not against taking action against any corrupt official or non-official, Namboodiripad called to the attention of the ruling parties C. D. Deshmukh's statement that there were serious charges of corruption against all Congress Ministers in the country and Rajaji's charge that the Congress is the source of all corruption.

Namboodiripad then repeated his offer for the appointment of a tribunal to enquire into charges of corruption raised against any Minister in any Cabinet that has ruled the State from 1947 till now.

We will give all support to any good-intentioned fight against corruption, said Nam-

FARIDABAD

Faridabad has, often enough, been held up by Prime Minister Nehru as a symbol of refugee rehabilitation through the industriousness and self-reliance of the refugees themselves. On June 29 this same Faridabad was converted into a symbol of suffering—the people must mourn where there are trigger-happy armed police around to deal out death.

HE trouble in the township was sparked off by injustice and culminated on June 29 in the death of four persons, including a Sub-Inspector of police. For quite a number of years prolonged bargaining and struggle had gone on between the Government and the residents on the issue of payment for the allotments made to and the houses constructed thereon by the refugees.

In 1950 a decision had been taken that the residents were to pay off the value of the tenements on an instalment basis of Rs. eleven and annas four spread over a period of 30 years. In 1951 without any agitation the Government on its own, seeing the economic distress of Faridabad's population, reduced the instalment to Rs. six per month.

In December, 1952, with the setting up of various industrial establishments under the Development Board, the Government suddenly announced that all employed workers were to pay Rs. 24 a month to cover the arrears that were said to have accumulated in the payments for the tenements.

Naturally this was beyond the capacity of the workers, many of whom were not earning more than Rs. 60 per month. Agitation commenced, backed up with a strike and large-scale picketing. Eventually a settlement was reached that no worker would have a wage below Rs. 60 and that only on his reaching the Rs. 100 income bracket would he have pay to Rs. six per month towards the cost of his tenement.

It is significant that during this struggle Mehr Chand Khanna had publicly stated that the total cost to be recovered would be Rs. 1,750 and that the Government would not go for any profits. Nehru is reported to have written in December 1957 that in any case the value to be recovered by the Government would not exceed Rs. 1,850. It should further be remembered that there was nothing in the allotment order stating that due to arrears in payment the allotment itself would be taken away.

These notices were followed up on June 12 with an official advertisement that some 70 or 80 allotments were cancelled and were being put up for auction. The motive behind the Government auction was simply to get more money, since it saw that the expansion of Greater Delhi was pushing up prices. Refugee rehabilitation, Faridabad's development—these were to be given the go-by.

But the sturdy inhabitants were not going to take this Government offensive lying down. On June 24 a complete hartal was observed. The citizens organised for action under the leadership of the Mazdoor Ekta Committee, in which trade unions of all shades were organised. Their demand was simple—postpone the auctions, start negotiations!

On June 27, a call was given for hartal and for the workers to take leave on the following day. The response was magnificent and unanimous. Over 10,000 persons gathered in the morning of June 28 at quarter No. 1E20 where the first auction was scheduled. Sensing the popular mood, the officials from the Assistant Settlement Commissioner down to the auctioneers from the Re-

gional Settlement Office decided to stop the sale. They asked the leaders over for discussion. There they pleaded their inability to stop the auctions altogether but promised to consult the Regional Settlement Commissioner.

The people were not to be fobbed off with these weak promises. In the evening at a huge mass meeting they announced their determination to be even more vigilant and united to prevent any auction.

Came the fatal day of June 29. Once again the Assistant Settlement Commissioner came prepared for the auction, this time to allotment No. 1 A 85. Again the people gathered to stop the proceedings and again the officials announced the postponement of the auction and called the leaders to the Settlement Commissioner's office.

On reaching the office the leaders and the crowd that followed saw that trucks had arrived with a whole batch of auctioneers—the talks were clearly a ruse to get the people

to the Badshah Khan hospital. Little did they know that police vengeance was to follow them there. A full hour after the citizens of Faridabad had arrived in the hospital and when only very few of them were within its precincts, a party of armed policemen thrust their way in. They had brought the corpse of Mahendra Singh and the wounded Ram Lubaya.

Firing Inside Hospital

The staff of the hospital were busy treating the wounded when the armed police, according to those on the spot, angrily demanded that "their people" be treated first. The hospital staff insisted, as was only their duty, that the police should step back and not crowd around. Only some 20 or 25 persons were present, including eight or nine women.

This seems to have infuriated the police, who appeared to have come to the hospital

Full Story Of Police Firing

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

away from the auction spot. Seeing the trucks leave the people also rushed to the place where the auction was about to commence — Neighbourhood Three.

Police Go Into Action

The police then decided to take matters into their own hands with calamitous results. At 10.30 a.m. they started with a lathi-charge and firing—three rounds in the air and the same number right into the crowd. They also arrested Prem Singh, Hem Raj and Madan Lal—all workers and militants.

Hearing the firing a large number of persons gathered at the spot and demanded the release of the three workers. When some 20 persons advanced to talk to the police, the Assistant Sub-Inspector (ASI) Mahendra Singh is said to have fired point-blank at them without any warning. Twenty-five-year-old Balmukund, an electrician and only recently married, fell with bullets in his neck and shoulder. Later Balmukund died in the rickshaw on his way to the hospital.

It is reported by eye-witnesses that having run out of bullets the ASI charged madly into the crowd, throwing away his revolver and holster. But as he ran the SEO Ram Lubaya continued to shoot indiscriminately into the crowd. In the melee that ensued, with the firing going on, many more were injured and Mahendra Singh lost his life.

On some calm returning, the people immediately gathered all the wounded and rushed them

in a furious mood. Fire was opened again and two persons fell victim to this utterly outrageous show of force. It is this desire for revenge, allege eye-witnesses, and not any attempt of the "mob" to seize the body of ASI Mahendra Singh that by all accounts seems to have led to this spray of bullets within the Badshah Khan Hospital.

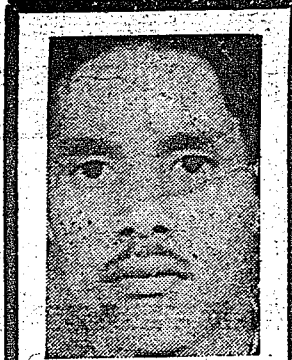
As soon as news spread through Faridabad of this second dastardly deed of the police, there was a complete hartal. A powerful and indignant demonstration went round the town, culminating in a huge mass meeting in the evening.

Remember Their Names!

The public needs to know and remember the names of those who were killed in this second round of police fury at Faridabad. There was Ratan Singh, a 25-year-old Garhwali domestic servant of the ex-Administrator, who had come for treatment. There was Ratan Lal, the head mechanic of the hospital, who was at the moment prior to death busy with his job—arranging the life-giving oxygen cylinders. If the police firing was not indiscriminate why should the bullets have struck them down?

Another who was wounded was Janaki Das. He was a compounder and among those who had requested the police to allow the hospital staff to continue their service to the wounded. He now lies badly injured in the hospital and a strong police guard ensures that nobody reaches him. Are the police afraid of what he might say?

Another point which requires the strictest investigation is who ordered the police to fire? Was there any order given to those in the hospital to disperse, falling compliance with which fire had to be opened? Eye-witness reports agree that no



BALMUKUND



RATAN LAL

such orders were given, indicating that the police fired on their own and without previous warning.

Faridabad again observed a hartal and a 30,000 strong procession turned out to honour the martyrs. At the funeral meeting a resolution was passed calling for a suitable memorial to the dead and announcing that the fight would be carried into the law courts in defence of those whom the police have decided to prosecute. There was complete unanimity with the decision that each household would contribute at least one rupee for this purpose.

The entire body of citizens is displeased at the Government decision that the enquiry into the incidents will be conducted by Ratan Singh, the Judicial Magistrate from Palwal. They point out that they have grave doubts about his impartiality. It is a fact that earlier when 12 trade union leaders of Faridabad were to be tried in his court, they requested—and were granted—the transfer of their cases since they were not sure that justice would be meted out.

Faridabad's demand is that what the circumstances dictate is a public judicial enquiry presided over by a High Court

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JUTE INDUSTRY TODAY

★ by INDRAJIT GUPTA

The general strike of 200,000 jute workers on December 14 last was an important landmark in the history of the trade union movement. The fighting unity of all jute workers and their unions, irrespective of affiliation, was motivated by the employers' consistent refusal to increase wages or pay bonus and the mounting pressure of rationalisation, with all its consequences of retrenchment, intensification of labour, increase in workload, and insecurity of service.

TODAY, almost six months after the historic strike action of December 14, the workers' position has not only not improved in any way, it has actually deteriorated. The Government of India's promise—on the eve of the general strike—to set up a Wage Board has not yet materialised. The workers have received no interim relief against the high cost of living. Rationalisation has not been checked or regulated in any way. And now a new crisis of unemployment is looming ahead with the IJMA's (Indian Jute Manufacturers' Association) announcement of fresh sealing of looms from June 6.

In this difficult situation for the workers, it is necessary to note a few important features of the jute industry's working at the present moment.

According to Union Minister for Commerce and Industry Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Second Plan target of production for the jute industry, 1.1 million tons per annum, would be fulfilled this year and by the end of the Plan period output would rise to 1.15 million tons.

Even more revealing than this is the fact that the Plan target for export of jute goods (the real symptom of the industry's state of health) has also been nearly achieved. The export of 880,000 tons of jute goods in 1959 is only 20,000 tons less than the target figure of 900,000 tons.

Obviously, therefore, the IJMA-created bogey about a "crisis" of foreign markets, etc., can no longer deceive any informed person. The industry, according to Lal Bahadur Shastri, is satisfactorily playing its role as a major earner of foreign exchange.

New Buyers

A decisive factor in helping the fulfilment of the export targets requires to be noted, especially because it is deliberately being blacked out in the capitalist Press. This is the emergence of the Socialist market as a stabilising factor for India's jute industry.

The Communist Party and the AITUC have, for years, been pressing for closer trade agreements with the rapidly developing markets of the Socialist countries, so that our export industries, like jute, might not have to remain dependent on the "traditional" markets of the USA,

Australia, Argentina, etc. But neither the Government nor the IJMA ever showed much enthusiasm in this direction. And now? Here is what is admitted by the official bulletin of the Indian Central Jute Committee itself:

"The current boom-like

official patrons in New Delhi might have to answer the charge of "betrayal" of national interests!

Meanwhile, it is now officially admitted that the majority of jute mills are making good profits. The bumper raw jute harvest of last year, which brought fibre prices down to a level which spelt disaster for lakhs of jute-growers, greatly helped the millowners. But the major factor responsible for the present "boom" has undoubtedly been rationalisation.

By March 31, 1959, 51 out of 82 mill companies had almost

More Production & Exports, Increasing Profits

conditions owe their inspiration to an important change in the direction of demand. The gunny markets would appear to have been sustained mainly by large Indian Government orders and by the purchases of the Communist countries, where the system of State trading does not come up against any insuperable difficulty on questions of relative prices and international competition such as would normally bedevil a highly mechanised free-enterprise economy, motivated by competition." (April, 1960) (Emphasis added)

So the superiority of the Socialist economy over the capitalist system as a means of providing stable markets for our jute exports is at last acknowledged, however grudgingly!

The decisive contribution in

completed the modernisation of their spinning frames. Loans totalling Rs. 4.90 crores had been granted by the NDC to 25 mills for purchase of new machinery. The number of workers in IJMA mills had been reduced from 247,000 in 1954 to about 200,000 in 1959.

Speculation Rampant

The decisive role of "lower operating costs" has recently been stressed, for example, by Mr. G. A. Mason, Chairman of the Thomas Duff Group of mills (Samungger, Victoria and Titagarh) whose combined profits rose in one year from £203,092 to £414,911.

Against this background of mounting prosperity has

Looms Sealed, Unemployment

DURING the period from June 6 to 16, 1,300 looms were sealed in 26 jute mills. In the coming weeks, it is expected that a further 1,200 to 1,300 looms will be sealed in another 32 mills, making a total of 2,600 looms in 58 mills. This is in addition to the nine per cent of total loomage which was already sealed before June 6.

The Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA) sources claim that the new sealing of 2,600 looms will displace about 5,000 workers, of whom permanent hands would be retained in alternative jobs while the rest would be retrenched.

This estimate is contested by trade union circles. According to them, sealing

of 2,600 looms would affect between 7,000 to 8,000 workers. It is true that permanent workers cannot be directly retrenched, nor should their earnings be adversely affected. But it is reported that in many cases they are being offered such unsuitable alternative jobs and at lower rates that they often refuse to accept them and are then compelled to "resign".

The unions further contend that all non-permanent workers, who have put in 240 days' work during the past 12 months, should be paid lay-off compensation during the period of loom-sealing. But the IJMA has not agreed to this.

sliding-scale dearness allowance. Concrete steps to check the unrestricted rationalisation offensive could follow from effective implementation of even the Banerji recommendations.

Need For Unity

These opportunities have been created by the sustained struggles of the jute workers culminating in the great General Strike of December 14 last. But whether or not these opportunities can be utilised to yield concrete gains depends entirely on further development of their united struggle. Without this, they may be once again forced to retreat, because the Government appears both unwilling and incompetent to defend the workers' interests against the IJMA's conspiracies.

Let us hope that coming weeks will see the various jute workers' organisations in West Bengal coming together for a powerful joint campaign and struggle to win the workers' demands. United action is the urgent need of the hour. The tradition of December 14 must be fortified and carried forward.

of workers.

These recommendations, however limited in scope, represent a step forward from the existing position. But how can they be implemented if every individual mill is to be permitted to seal and unseal looms as it chooses during the next six months?

Thirdly, the IJMA would be able to prejudice the workers' case before the proposed Wage Board by pleading yet another "crisis", and thus diverting attention from the industry's growth, stability and profits.

For the first time, new opportunities are opening up before the jute workers. A Wage Board would not be able to brush aside easily their demands for interim relief a higher basic wage, bonus and

ANDHRA LAND BILL

Congress leaders speak of land reform from the house-tops. Now in Andhra Pradesh, a Bill is under discussion for imposing ceiling on landholdings. The land reform that is being implemented, however, is in a reverse direction.

THIS reform is not new to Andhra Pradesh. For the last six years, an Act has been in existence in Hyderabad fixing ceiling on landholdings. The Khammam District and Mulug Taluka of Warangal District were selected for implementation of this Act. Government declared that about 122,000 acres of surplus land would be available for distribution. Notices were served on landlords and they filed their declarations. Suddenly, the implementation of the Act was suspended by the Andhra Pradesh Government, successor to the Hyderabad Government. The reason given was that a Bill for the entire reorganised State would be brought forward. The landlords felt extremely jubilant.

In September 1957, an Ordinance was issued asking the landlords in the Andhra region owning more than 20 acres each to file declarations as to the extent of their ownership of land. This was totally unnecessary, for in 1954-55, a census of landholdings had been taken. Anyhow, this Ordinance was understood as the beginning of the steps to impose ceiling on landholdings. The landlords began selling their land, keeping in their possession only that much land as they thought would be below the ceiling.

Original Provisions

But the Ceiling on Landholdings Bill was published in the Gazette only in July, 1958. This Bill is still in the Select Committee stage. The original draft of the Bill had itself made ceiling on landholdings an empty phrase, but the Select Committee drastically changed even this Bill and the new Bill, as it has emerged from the Committee, is much more reactionary and has made the whole conception of ceiling a farce and deception.

Some brief comments on the Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee are given below.

The Hyderabad Act had fixed ceiling at 4-1/2 times a family holding, family holding being defined as an area of land which will annually yield a net income of Rs. 800 (net income being defined as half of the gross income). This ceiling is on land held by each landholder. Orchards existing on January 1, 1952, and efficiently cultivated lands alone were exempted from the ceiling. Compensation was fixed at 20, 12 and nine times for various types of land.

All protected tenants were to be made owners on a notified date, in respect of the non-resumable lands in their cultivation, subject to a maximum of one family holding. No alienation or transfer without the sanction of the Collector was to be held valid after the commencement of the Act. Co-operative farming societies, agricultural labourers, poor peasants and other landless persons, in that order were to be assigned the surplus land.

According to the Hyderabad Board of Revenue, in 1954, the

protected tenants held 4,100,000 acres of land in the whole Hyderabad State (half of which is in Telangana) as non-resumable land over which ownership rights had to be transferred. The Board further said that 653,089 converted dry acres of land would be available for distribution after the ceiling was applied in Telangana alone. But ownership rights were transferred only in respect of 97,901 acres in Telangana. The ceiling was never enforced and hence not even a single acre of surplus land was acquired.

The original Bill had made a complete departure. It fixed

a critique

by N. PRASADA RAO

compensation is heavy and will be, in Telangana, double the market rate. The market price of an acre of irrigated land under guaranteed source of water supply fetching a gross income of at least Rs. 400, and Rs. 600 if a second crop is raised, is Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. But the compensation fixed will amount to Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000.

While the Bill itself is so reactionary, changes of a basic character made by the Select Committee have made it still worse.

Changes Made

The ceiling is now proposed to be fixed in terms of area and not of income. The land is classified into eight classes, basing on the tarams in the Andhra

the land has changed tremendously. New irrigation works have been constructed, new communications laid, new markets opened, etc. The pattern of crop cultivation has also changed and cultivation of rich crops like Virginia Tobacco, turmeric, etc., has increased. An acre of land growing turmeric may yield twice or thrice the yield of an acre of wet land, but whereas ten acres of such wet land constitute one family holding, 24 or 36 acres of turmeric or tobacco land will form one family holding.

Ridiculous Position

Lands under Class A and B are very rare in the State; their inclusion is just to show

that the ceiling is low and thus mislead the people. The overwhelming part of the Krishna and Godavari deltas, among the richest land in the entire country, falls under Class C and D. Thus, the ceiling in this case will be 45 to 54 acres per person; a family of five persons can retain, in these delta area, 225 or 270 acres of first class land under an excellent source of water supply.

If it is land growing tobacco, turmeric, chillies or lanka land (islands in the rivers) the ceiling may be 108 acres per person, or 540 acres for a family of five. Such is the ridiculous position to which the ceiling on landholdings has been reduced.

In terms of income, this ceiling limit will work out to two to five times that fixed by the original Bill and three to four times that fixed by the Hydrabad Act.

Besides this high ceiling, the Select Committee allows each person to hold as grazing land an area equal to 1/3 of the ceiling area.

Not content with this, and afraid that even with this high ceiling the land of some landlords may be touched, the Select Committee provided for the exemption of orchards, efficiently-managed farms sugar-cane farms operated by sugar mills, lands belonging to religious, charitable and educational institutions as well as dairy farms, sheep and cattle-breeding farms, lands under any type of co-operative farms, etc. The list of exemptions far exceeds the list given by the Planning Commission in the Second Five-Year Plan.

It is worth noting, that the

original Bill exempted only sugar-cane farms owned by sugar mills on June 10, 1952. Now this has been completely changed. All sorts of land under all sorts of pretexts are sought to be exempted. The intention is plainly seen in the case of sugar-cane farms. The Select Committee mentioned sugar-cane farms operated by sugar mills. This means that if a sugar mill takes on lease a thousand acres of land from a big landlord a day before the Act comes into force, all that land will get exempted.

It is no wonder then that the Raja of Chhattapalli, one of the biggest zamindars in Andhra, who had leased about 2,000 acres of the best land in Krishna District to a sugar mill, of which he is the main shareholder, will reap the full benefit of this exemption. No doubt, this gentleman, who had all along been an enemy of the Congress and joined it just before the 1955 elections and is one of the best followers of Prof. Ranga, can now remain for ever in the Congress.

Thus, two basic changes—fixing ceiling in terms of land classified according to tarams fixed about a century ago, and allowing exemption of a large category of lands—have been made by the Select Committee and both these changes are for the worse.

Pro-Landlord Bias

The third major change made is in respect of the clause dealing with the transfer of ownership rights to protected tenants. The original Bill contained a clause which wanted to enforce 38 E of the Hyderabad Act. The Bill says that on and from a notified date, all protected tenants will become owners of non-resumable lands, on payment of the price fixed by the Hyderabad Act i.e., 15 times the rent for dry lands, eight times the rent for wet lands irrigated by wells and six times the land irrigated by canals, tanks and such other guaranteed sources. (Rent is four to five times the land revenue for dry lands and garden lands and four times the land revenue for wet lands irrigated by guaranteed sources.) This provision in the original Bill seeks to do justice to these tenants, justice which had been delayed too long.

The Select Committee has deleted this clause from the Bill and thus keeps the issue in cold storage.

Thus, the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee is permeated through and through with a pro-landlord bias; every clause in it stinks of this.

The original Bill would have compelled the biggest landlords, who would not be able to keep all the lands within their families, to sell away the would-be surplus land. Thus dispersal of land, however paltry it might have been, would have taken place.

The Bill, as modified by the Select Committee, allows the landlord's family to keep all the land within itself. The ceiling is raised to two times or three times and if even after that some surplus land is found, that can also be re-

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But In The Name Of Crisis = Attack On Workers =

this respect has come from China. In 1959, up to September, China purchased 42,771,400 gunny bags and 14,453,000 gunny bags of hessian worth about Rs. 5.60 crores, and thus helped to save the jute industry from any fear of "crisis". Yet this fact has been either deliberately hidden from the Indian public, or has been given a distorted form.

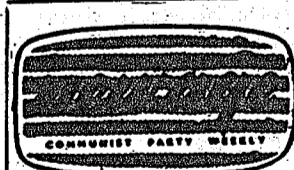
Fruits Of Rationalisation

Some papers have alleged that all these gunny purchases were meant for military purposes, to help China's "aggressive" designs against India! If that is really so, then not the Indian Communists, but the jute millowners and their

come the latest "crisis". It is the artificial creation of those who control the destinies of the industry, on the one hand, and of the "fatka" market in raw jute and jute goods on the other.

A panicky atmosphere has been created about the "uncertainty" of the next jute crop due to shortage of rain. This has enabled holders of raw jute stocks to force prices up. The mills have responded by deciding to close down an unspecified number of looms from June 6 as a "temporary" measure to conserve raw jute stocks.

The IJMA is really out to kill three birds with one stone. On the one hand, sealing of looms is intended to exert counter-pressure on the raw jute market and to keep down the prices at



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JUST—Central Govt. Employees' Cause

AITUC CALLS FOR Honourable Settlement

"Sympathy (for the workers) comes when a strike notice is served, and sympathy is served after at least one firing takes place; otherwise nothing. These are the two pillars on which the working class policy of the Government stands. Sympathy in words, no demands to be conceded. It must be argued when strike is given, and when strike notice is given a counter-threat is given, and when strike takes place, fire and shoot. Then consider the demands, give a little and say 'we are conceding'; but these people are rather antagonistic or rather hostile and obstinate; so we cannot do anything else,"—so said S. A. Dange, M. P., Leader of the Opposition in Parliament and General Secretary of the AITUC, in the Lok Sabha on August 3, 1957, speaking on the adjournment motion on the firing in the Bhangi Colony in New Delhi.

EVEN after three years, it is clear that the Congress Government has not taken the lesson to heart and in the present struggle of the Central Government employees for a need-based minimum

BOGY OF EMERGENCY

The Government is again raising the same old bogey of national emergency and economy of the country being upset if the demands of the employees are conceded.

On July 19, 1957, fifteen days before the Government set up the Second Pay Commission, the Prime Minister had opposed the appointment of the Commission in these words: "Broadly speaking, one has to realise that one cannot in such circumstances go on, much as one might want to go on, in this direction. One simply cannot, because apart from other things, higher wages in these circumstances would lead to more inflation

The determination, preparedness for fighting and the spirit of sacrifice displayed by the Post and Telegraph and Central Government employees through their Confederation, forced the Government to appoint the Pay Commission on August 3, 1957.

This is in fact the story of every trade union dispute and struggle—when it is in the public sector and concerns Government employees, the bourgeois Government paints it a "national crisis". In India, the economy is planned through Five-Year Plans and, therefore, each such "crisis" allegedly signifies a danger to the success of the plan.

Occasionally, the bogey of "external danger" is also summoned or created to win away public sympathy from the workers' cause.

All this happened with the Railway, P & T, Defence and other sections of Central Government employees' trade union movement in the years 1949, 1951 and 1957 and is being sought to be repeated again in 1960.

Nehru—Main Propagandist

Big Business papers on the dictation of the Government have already started the game and Prime Minister Nehru himself has come forward to assume the role of the main propagandist.

The Prime Minister, in his letter of June 10, 1960, gives three reasons for not considering the demands put forth by the Joint Council of Action and regretting his inability to

Indian Labour Conference regarding need-based minimum did not apply to Central Government employees. Subsequently, Labour Minister Nanda in the Standing Labour Committee meeting held in January 1960 and also in Parliament has reiterated that all tripartite decisions including the one on need-based wages apply to all

Neither Tribunal Nor Award

It does not cast any reflection on the Commission. Of course, it does cast reflection on the Finance Ministry for giving wrong information to the Commission. The Prime Minister should not stand on false prestige when it is obviously on the face of it wrong though in this case, it is one of his Ministers (not the Cabinet) who is in the wrong.

If the Government wanted an award, it could very well have set up a Tribunal under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. The terms of reference of the Commission are also not of a tribunal type. No period for which the "awards" are generally given is mentioned in the Commission's recommendations. Awards become operative automatically after its publication and do not wait for consideration by the Government as the Commission's recommendations are still waiting.

workers in private and public sectors.

As the Central Pay Commission has given its recommendations on the basis of incorrect information, there is nothing wrong in revising it, in the light of Nanda's assurances and the decision of the 15th Indian Labour Conference.

further proves that it is not an award. Till today, after eight months of submission of the report, the Government has not accepted all the findings of this so-called "award". The Government has itself modified the recommendations, e.g., regarding Saturday working, retirement age, etc., etc. Government has implemented only those items of the so-called "award" which resulted in curtailment of existing privileges, e.g., Saturday half-day, holidays, etc.

The argument that the recommendations are to be treated as an award is clearly an afterthought by the Government to support the INTUC contention.

There is a suggestion that henceforth the recommendations are to be treated as an award. Can awards be bifurcated—part to be treated as recommendations

★ by K. G. SRIWASTAVA

and against the principles which had been mutually agreed earlier.

Employees' Case

The contribution of workers and trade unions to the success of the Plans is often forgotten. In the making of the Plan, trade unions and workers are not consulted. They are only remembered when more and more is to be produced and specially when to defend their falling earnings and sometimes to defend their trade union rights, they decide to stop work and resort to strike as a last resort.

Central Government employees in various departments and projects, especially through enhanced production achievements in the Chittaranjan and Perambur factories of the Railways, P & T Workshops at Bombay, Calcutta (Alipore) and in Jabalpur and in Ordnance Factories and FME Workshops, manufacturing trucks and tanks for the Defence Production, have contributed to the fulfilment of the Plan.

Has Nehru ever considered what the Central Government employees got as a result of

The policy of the Government is such that workers, the biggest factor contributing to the success of the Plan, never get the benefits out of its success except through struggle, sacrifices, a bad name in the beginning and sermons of national reconstruction. Not only that, the Central Government employees did not only not get their share of the gain in the success of the Plan but their real wages have actually fallen.

Does the Plan intend to raise the living standards of the masses or reduce their real wages?

Prices of essential commodities are rising and economists say it will go on rising. Profits of the capitalists are mounting. Only the real wages of the workers are falling.

Discredited Theory

Another argument advanced is the usual wage-price spiral theory. Nanda himself admitted in the Lok Sabha debate on Labour Grants on April 11, 1960:

"Between 1939 and 1947, the standard of living of the

ways an asset, specially for the success of any reconstruction work. Does the above picture show any concern on the part of the Central Government for the well-being of its employees?

Either the Government has to stop the rise in prices or dearness allowance has to be linked to the cost of living index. This principle was accepted by the First Pay Commission and also the Government but it did not implement it in the letter and spirit of the recommendation. No award-making authority has the right to withdraw the existing privileges as the Second Pay Commission has done in this case. This principle is in existence and is being implemented in the textiles, banks and certain other industries and has been recently approved by the Textile and Cement Wage Boards. It has not gone to make any "privileged class" as some have suggested.

The Prime Minister has taken exception to the formation of the Joint Council of Action. If it is a question of its name, genuine difference of opinion may exist between the Prime Minister and the Council. We are more concerned about the content, i.e., the right of collective bargaining and organising for the same. If the Prime Minister really objects to this fundamental rights of the working people, it is a dangerous trend and a challenge to the trade

etc., came together. Since March 1957, resolutions and representations have been sent, an interview with the Prime Minister was sought which at first, he agreed to grant but later refused.

The strike fixed for July 19 was postponed to July 11 to enable the Government to consider it again. A strike ballot was taken. More than 90 per cent of workers on the Railway, Defence, etc., voted for strike through secret ballot.

In the Defence Department while secret ballot was being taken, representatives of officials were present and have signed the counting of ballots. In P & T and other centres, Government employees through rallies at the branch level, have expressed their dissatisfaction and the determination to strike as a last resort.

Relying On Repression

Government as usual for a long time did not pay any heed to these peaceful and constitutional methods of representations. And now it is making it a case of false prestige of the Commission and the Government. It is relying on its ordinance and perhaps the disruptive role of the INTUC.

Pandit Nehru refused to meet the genuine representatives of the Central Govern-

THE Secretariat of the All-India Trade Union Congress has in a statement, issued in New Delhi on June 30, noted "with concern that following the refusal of the Government of India even to agree to meet the Joint Council of Action of the Central Government employees, the employees have now been forced to go in for a general strike from July 11," and has expressed "its solidarity with the Central Government employees and their trade unions and assures them of its support in their just struggle."

The statement says that the arguments advanced by official spokesmen to deny the just demands of the

employees are deplorable, "not only from the point of view of the Central Government employees but of the trade union movement as such."

The statement in conclusion says: "Use of force, repression and declaring a perfectly legal strike as illegal have not in the past served the purpose of either satisfying the workers or terrorising them—rather it has added fuel to the fire."

"The AITUC hopes the Government will abandon such a policy and will start negotiations with the Joint Council of Action of Central Government employees for an honourable settlement, before it is too late."

even from Central Secretariat employees is going on. Posters and leaflets have taken the place of open rallies.

Some non-affiliated and INTUC unions have also given strike notice and joined the movement. The Southern Railway Labour Union, P & T Industrial Workers' Union and others are in the movement. Even INTUC workers

Commission's recommendations should not be changed by the Government. Nanda at first initiated discussions with the leaders of the Joint Council individually, in his individual capacity, and from June 30 officially.

Up till now, Nehru is maintaining that there cannot be any change in the Govern-

UNJUST & WRONG—Prime Minister's Stand

The Prime Minister has used the words "recommendation" and not "conclusions" or "findings". So from all counts, the results of the Pay Commission's labours are purely recommendations and by no stretch of imagination can they be treated as an award.

The procedure followed by the Government in dealing with these recommendations

and part as award? This is just absurd.

No representatives of the trade unions were taken on the Commission, ignoring the precedent created by the First Pay Commission and various Wage Boards. This itself would be sufficient ground for the workers and the trade unions to reject outright any recommendations which is retrograde and anti-working-class

the success of the First Five-Year Plan and the completion of the four years of the Second Plan?

Except for the paltry sum of Rs. five as interim relief after the agitation in July-August 1957, since 1952, the Central Government employees have got no increase while the cost of living index has gone up from 367 to 454 in 1960.

workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1961, they just recovered lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But since 1955, when again prices started rising, their gains have been to an extent wiped out."

The Central Government employees anyway did not get any increase in wages from 1952 to 1957. So there is no question of their being held responsible for whatever inflationary trends have appeared.

The wage-price spiral theory has been rejected by the trade union movement throughout the world. In the USA and the U.K., workers under the leadership of the AFL-CIO and the British TUC have fought this theory and won wage-increases. The recent struggles of steel workers of the USA which lasted eight months and the bus and railway workers of the U. K. are significant.

Capacity To Pay

Two other questions have been raised in connection with a need-based minimum wage: the capacity of the Government to pay and whether the demand itself is justified.

Let the Government accept the basis of fixing minimum wages on the basis of the 15th Indian Labour Conference. Then its capacity to pay can be argued and settlement reached. Contented workers are al-

union movement as a whole. The Prime Minister has also referred to discussions with the Ministries concerned about implementation. The Ministry by itself can ever discuss these general issues, let alone taking decisions on them. Some of the Ministries like Defence are not even prepared to discuss implementation of even those recommendations on which the Government has taken a decision. To refer the Central Government employees to individual Ministries in such a situation is to play with vital issues concerning them.

There is no national or international emergency when the Rashtrapati, important Ministers like the Finance, Railway and Defence Ministers go abroad and others go to hill stations, but there is an emergency when the workers want to go on strike as a last resort when even negotiations are not conducted and genuine demands are not conceded.

Employees' Mood

Local Joint Councils of Action have been formed at all major centres. In Delhi, a committee of representatives of the AITUC, HMS and UTUC has been formed to support the strike. Lawyers have formed a Legal Defence Committee.

Strike Ballot

Bombay's ten thousand strong demonstration in drenching rain on June 26, Calcutta's one lakh rally on June 29 and similar other meetings and demonstrations are proof enough of the militant mood of the Central Government employees. In Delhi, Section 144 Cr. P. C. is in force in connection with the Akali agitation and permission for open air meetings has been refused. But gate meetings, wearing badges, collection of struggle fund

ment employees through the Joint Council of Action but met S. R. Vasavada of the INTUC and discussed the issues with him the same week. This is nothing but adding fuel to the fire.

Employers in the private sector where the INTUC considers itself strong have known and at times openly expressed the unreliability of INTUC at the time of agitation and struggle of workers. If the strike is forced upon the Central Government employees, the INTUC's stooge and unrepresentative character will further be proved, if it is still necessary.

Employees' Mood

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JCA Has No Alternative

The Government was on the defensive since it had banged the doors of negotiations. Since June 23, daily Cabinet meetings were held and Nanda was entrusted with the job of acting as go-between. Morarji Desai, it is learnt, has even while abroad, communicated his stand that the

COMMUNIST GROUP ANSWERS CONGRESS M.P.s

A statement issued in New Delhi on July 3 by P. K. Vasudevan Nair, M.P., Secretary of the Communist Group in Parliament, says that "with the breakdown of the talks between Labour Minister Nanda and the members of the Standing Committee of the Joint Action Council of the Central Government employees, the situation in regard to the proposed indefinite strike of the Central Government employees due to start on July 11 enters a new phase."

The statement adds: "The two crucial demands of the employees, viz., a need-based minimum wage on the basis of the decisions of the 15th Indian Labour Conference and the linking of dearness allowance to the cost of living are eminently just and reasonable. That the Go-

vernment of India is unwilling even to discuss these demands only exposes its lack of confidence in holding down the price line in the coming period."

The Communist Group expresses surprise at the statement of a section of Congress M. P.s. "The Congress M. P.s. under the inspiration of their President Sanjiva Reddy has resorted to the familiar tactics of threats, calling names and questioning the patriotic bona fides of the employees. But we as members of Parliament would like to point out to these worthies that the demand for controlling prices has been continuously voiced in Parliament and outside for the last six years.

"The Congress Government has consistently refused to take any effective

steps to arrest the rising prices. The measures suggested by the Second Plan to hold the prices steady have been ignored by Congress Governments. Even the much vaunted State trading in foodgrains in deference to the outcry from rapacious anti-national hoarders and profiteers and their advocates. A party which succumbs to the demands of tax-dodgers and profiteers has no business to question the bona fides of the two million Government employees.

"The fact that nearly 22 lakhs of Central Government employees have for the first time rallied together in unprecedented unity itself is an eloquent proof of the genuine feelings of discontent and the supreme reality of their sufferings.

"In the face of the adamant attitude of the Government, the employees are left with no other alternative except to press forward their demand by resort to the last step of a general strike. We, the Communist Members of Parliament are in complete sympathy with the just and reasonable demands of the employees. We hope that the Government will see the untenability of their obstinacy and seek ways and means of coming to an agreement with the employees.

"The sort of cynicism and double-talk on the part of Congress leaders will not help a solution of the dispute. The only right course for the Congress M. P.s is to persuade their Government to come to its senses and seek an agreement with the employees."

GURDWARAS AND AKALI AGITATION

—Punjab Secretariat's Statement

THE Secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the Press on June 24:

The Communist Party reiterates its considered opinion that Gurdwaras should not be made an arena of Party politics and sectional political struggle. It views with concern the way the Akali leaders are using the Gurdwaras as centres of agitation and organisation for their 'Punjabi Sooba' campaign. This mixing up of religion and politics bodies ill for both and the sooner it is stopped the better it will be for the sanctity of the Gurdwaras and for the cause of State Reorganisation.

At the same time the Communist Party cannot but disapprove of the threats of the ruling Congress circles of some action against the Gurdwaras. Any police action against the Gurdwaras will only inflame Sikh religious sentiments and bring grist to the mill of Akali communalism.

The present Congress denunciations of the Akalis stand in lurid contrast to the blessings given not very long ago by the topmost Congress leaders to the Catholic clergy in Kerala, using the churches in the

so-called "liberation struggle" against the Communist Ministry. But evidently the Congress leaders do not believe that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The Communist Party warns the people of the State that the way both the Akali leaders and the Punjab Government are involving the Gurdwaras in their tug of war can only lead to further worsening of the situation and it is high time that the common people speak up and put a stop to such things.

The Communist Party does not approve of the present Akali agitation and has always fought against the communal approach and tactics of the Akali leadership. However, it cannot but condemn the anti-democratic repressive methods of the Kairon Government in dealing with the agitation. In the name of rounding up Akali agitators, indiscriminate arrests are being made, so much so

that three known Communist workers have been roped in. Normal procedure of law is being set aside in realising fines from the Akali satyagrahis and attachment of property is carried out even when the man sentenced is undergoing imprisonment. At places police officials are using their enhanced powers to threaten ordinary people with arrest and detention. In various districts Section 144 is being used to suppress all public activity.

The Communist Party feels that the increasing reliance on police methods is not the way to deal with the agitation. On the contrary it only increases bitterness and discontent, hamstringing democratic activity and is becoming a serious menace to civil liberties. The Secretariat demands that such anti-democratic repressive measures should be stopped forthwith and Section 144 withdrawn.

PARTY NEWS

Andhra Pradesh Council

THE Andhra Pradesh Council of the Communist Party of India which met in Repalle, Guntur District from May 28 to June 1, has welcomed the decision of the Communist Party of India to hold the next Party Congress from January 16 to 26, 1961.

An eleven-member committee, with K. Gopal Rao as Convener has been appointed by the Council to make preparations for the Party Congress which will be held in Vijayawada. Two other comrades have been fixed to look after the volunteer organisation and the cultural programme.

The Council resolved to collect Rs. 50,000 for the Congress Fund.

The Council has decided to hold the State Conference in the first week of October in Anantapur.

All Block Area and Taluq Party Conferences in Andhra area to be concluded before August 15.

and all District Conferences before September 20 this year. Only those Party members who are on the rolls as on July 15 will be eligible to elect delegates to these Conferences. Only Party members, whose party membership fees have been remitted to the Provincial Council office by July 15, will be recognised for the purposes of this Conference.

In view of the decentralisation of administration, in which the Block has been made the administrative unit and many of the administrative functions have been transferred to Panchayat Samities, the Council decided to reorganise the Party organisation on Block basis wherever possible and to set the whole Party in that direction. With this change, the Party apparatus will now be: Village, Block, Taluq (this will disappear after Block Committees are organised all over), District and State.

RAJASTHAN: KISAN LEADERS JOIN PARTY

FROM June 16 to 20, a very important meeting of the Rajasthan State Committee of the Communist Party took place at Jaipur. The meeting was attended by Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the Party.

Considering their long record of work in the interests of the kisans and the close association these workers had with the Party all these years, the constitutional provision of candidate membership was waived in their case and they were, by a special decision, enrolled as full members of the Party.

The special significance of the meeting was that it was called to consider and finally decide on the question of the admission of the leaders and workers of the Kisan Sabha into the Party. For the last so many months this question had been under discussion between the State Committee leadership and the leading non-party workers of the Kisan Sabha, namely Chaudhari Ghasiram, Khyaliram Trilok Singh and others.

At a meeting convened at Jhunjhunu in April end, all the questions were discussed in detail and a more or less tentative programme of securing the admission of these friends was chalked out.

This meeting of the State Committee considered the reports of all these talks and unanimously decided to welcome these friends of the Party into the Party's fold. Hundreds of active workers of the Kisan Sabha, who have for years been in the forefront of the struggle of the kisans in the Sikar, Jhunjhunu and Churu Districts have been admitted as members of the Party.

The State Committee took this decision fully conscious that this entails a great political and organisational responsibility on the leadership of the State Committee.

Besides the above question, another important resolution adopted at this meeting relates to the organisation of the Local District and State Conferences of the Party. The State Conference has been decided to be held in the Jhunjhunu District in the middle of October. According to present indications, the total membership to be represented at the Conference will be a little over 2,000. Representation for the State Conference has been fixed at one delegate for every fifteen members or a major part thereof.

The State Committee also discussed the situation in regard to the struggle of the Ganganagar kisans against the auction of land as also the proposed struggle of the Alwar pattidar kisans against the ejection policy in respect of their holdings in the name of evacuee property. Resolutions condemning the attitude of the State Government in regard to the legitimate rights of the kisans, condemning the repression launched on the Ganganagar peasants and calling upon the kisans to stand up to their rights were adopted.

The State Committee also heard and discussed a report on the trade union situation in the State and particularly noted the trend in the policy of the State Government revealed in its recent steps in propping up the INTUC and the absolutely open and shameless discrimination against the AITUC Unions.

Centre's Discrimination Against Kerala

★ by K. K. WARRIER

THE M.P.s in the batch led by A. K. Gopalan were T. C. N. Menon, E. Kunhan, Dr. Subba Rao and myself. We started with Ernakulam District on June 16.

The Communist Party, announcing the programme of its M.P.s, had said that the purpose of the tour was to initiate a discussion on the gross injustice done to Kerala and the discrimination shown against the State by the Central Government during the First and Second Five-Year Plans in the matter of allocation of funds, and to mobilise public opinion against the Centre pursuing the same policies during the Third Plan.

The first meeting we addressed was of representatives of the Kisan Sabha from all over Ernakulam District who had gathered at Perumbavoor to discuss the details of the All-Kerala Kisan Jatha which has since started from Kasargode under the leadership of A. K. Gopalan. Kisans are the most interested in irrigation and flood control schemes and in Perumbavoor the kisan representatives discussed these problems in the light of their own live experience.

The next day in Alwaye, we visited two factories and received a memorandum from the Secretary of the Alwaye Tile Factory Owners' Association. Alwaye is more or less the industrial hub of Kerala. There are some industries there like the Aluminium Factory, Fertiliser Factory, Rare-Earths, Rayons, D.D.T., a few textile and tile factories and the Ceramic factory.

Wagon Shortage

The tile factories here are suffering under not one handicap but several. One of their problems is of railway wagons. With all the industrial units that exist there, Always gets only ten wagons every day. The Fertiliser and Rare-Earth Factories take most of them and one or two wagons have to be shared by all the rest. To add to the problem, monsoon rains are heavy in Kerala and tiles can be moved only in closed wagons.

Another problem is that of coal. The railway freight is very high and the demand is that either the price of coal should be reduced or the freight charges must be reduced.

In the Cochin Harbour, we met both officials and employees. The lot of this most beautiful gift of nature to Kerala is deplorable.

We were told by sufficiently informed people that the cost of building new berths in the Cochin Port is half that in other ports. In the Second

Plan, Cochin Port got only a paltry sum of Rs. five crores for development out of which only Rs. four crores were spent—the rest Rs. one crore was to be in the form of foreign exchange but the Centre said that was not available.

Oil Refinery

The question of setting up a new oil refinery in the Port of Cochin is still not decided—as a result of pressure on Delhi from more powerful States.

Apart from Madras, no other port in the South except Cochin, has channels for ships of 32 feet draft. Soviet oil will be reaching India soon in ships and if the oil refinery is not set up in Cochin there will be difficult problems connected with refining the Soviet crude oil.

Vallarpadam island is an ideal spot for setting up the refinery. The Caltex had once investigated this island but had backed out and gone to Vizag because compensation to the occupants of the land in Cochin came to a compa-

which we learnt a lot about the problems of the industrialists.

They were all convinced of the injustice done to Kerala by the Central Government. To that extent our task was lighter. At the same time we had a difficult task in trying to remove some of the misconceptions they had—as for instance, their firm belief that Kerala did not get any industries because of labour trouble in the State.

Capital accumulation from inside Kerala is almost out of question and the only alternative to it is for outsiders to invest in Kerala. But such industrialists were afraid of labour problems and so kept clear of Kerala, they said.

We argued with them and told them this was not true. We cited the Caltex case as an instance. Caltex had backed out only because the value of the land and the rate of compensation stood very high. We also pointed out to them that certain elements in Kerala were themselves indulging in this mischievous propaganda though it was detrimental to the common interest of all the people of the State.

Problems Of State's Development Communist M.P.s' Campaign

Appeal To Industrialists

Finally, we appealed to them to take the initiative to call conference of sister Chambers and other industrial organisations and discuss a plan for Kerala as a whole which could be placed before the Planning Commission. The initiative had to come from these organisations, we said, because suspicion would be attached to any political party making the first move against the present background in Kerala.

Naval Air-Base Taken Away

We also held some discussions about the naval air base. Land acquisition proceedings and reclamation from the lake-bed near Perumpala had all been completed for setting up this base. But now it has been denied to Kerala. The argument that the earth there is sinking, etc., has no substance.

We met the Ernakulam Chamber of Commerce in its meeting hall and over coffee had fruitful discussions from

(In the second half of June, Communist Members of Parliament from Kerala covered the whole State with the message of Kerala's industrial development. One batch led by A. K. Gopalan covered Ernakulam, Trichur, Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore Districts, while the other batch led by M. N. Govindan Nair went to the Southern Districts of Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum. K. K. WARRIER who went with A. K. Gopalan to the three Districts of Ernakulam, Trichur and Palghat has written the accompanying note on the delegation's tour. The experience of the other delegation which went to the Southern Districts has in many respects been different.—Editor)

Next we met the President of the Association of Foundry-owners in Kerala, himself an engineer-industrialist of some repute. He has plenty of plans to expand his own concern as well as help others to establish new units.

Owners' Complaints

His complaint was that there was more discouragement from quarters which should really give encouragement. He quoted the instance of the supply of pig-iron. The quota for Kerala was to be supplied from the Steel Works at Bhadravati. After all the formalities had been undergone and huge amounts covering the entire cost of the quota had been advanced, after about two years, foundry-men in Kerala were told that Bhadravati was not in a position to supply the pig-iron and that the licences had been sent back to the Steel Controller in Calcutta for re-planning. 1958 quotas are not yet supplied and foundry-

men are not yet supplied and foundry-

men are not yet supplied and foundry-

men are not yet supplied and foundry-

retain the professors and technicians in the institutions. One reason for the exodus is the better terms they get in construction projects in other States. Another reason is the lack of equipment in these institutions due to foreign exchange difficulties.

The Principal of the Engineering College in Trichur showed us a whole list of equipment urgently needed for the college but sanction for which is not expected before the first lot of students go out.

There is one foot-wear training institute—a Central Government institution with very modern machines, but local manufacturers are not prepared to adopt such up-to-date methods. Cheapness of the products is their slogan and they do not want to improve their production methods.

But this institute can be made useful with a little more initiative from the officer in charge as also by suitably modifying the cumbersome procedure. Only by encouraging cooperatives of leather workers, by giving them all facilities for production and marketing, can the standard of the goods be raised and the wages of workers increased. While there is ample scope for all this in Trichur which is famous for its foot-wear industry, the training institute presents a sorry sight at the moment.

Metal Industries

Several memoranda were given to us by different organisations of workers which discussed the position of the industries from the point of the working class.

In the evening we participated in a public meeting in the Town Hall. A. K. Gopalan spoke on the whole situation as we saw it and suggested that all people who had the development of the State at heart should come forward and forge a united front to fight the injustice and discrimination shown by the Centre.

Next, we visited Shornur and Palghat, both places having a number of metal industries. All of them suffer alike today and they all believe it is because of bungling and wilful negligence on the part of the Central Government.

I had to leave after the visit to these three districts while the rest of the delegation proceeded to Kozhikode and Cannanore. Our campaign has had at least one effect—the Press in Kerala has been woken up from its complacent slumber. Mathrubhooni and other papers are now almost daily commenting editorially on the Centre's continuous injustice to Kerala.

Inspired Stories Of Rift

HARKISHEN Singh Surjeet, Secretary of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on June 24, 1960:

An inspired news-item about the so-called rift in the State Communist Party on the question of the Party's policy on State reorganisation has appeared in the Millip dated June 23 and Tribune of June 24. The news is utterly baseless and is nothing but wishful thinking inspired by anti-Communist elements.

The present decision of the State Council on the reorganisation of our State on linguistic basis was the result of thorough discussions inside the Party in which all Party members participated. The State Council discussions further helped in arriving at a common understanding on the question. As a result the whole Party is united on this question as never before and no differences exist inside the Party on this question now. More-

over on the basis of principles of Party organisation no action can be taken against any member of the Party on the ground of differences with Party policy.

Avatar Singh Malhotra, a member of our Secretariat, who, according to the news-item, is supposed to have left for Bombay on leave because of his differences, stays in Party Headquarters and has reported to many district units on the resolution and Mohan Singh Jandiala is on leave since three months purely on personal grounds.

The enemies of our Party have many a time thought about rifts and disruption inside the Party but the Party basing itself on Marxism-Leninism and serving loyally our people has grown much stronger disappointing its enemies at every stage. The unanimous decisions arrived on all major questions in the last Council meeting belie all their hopes. The Punjab people cannot be misled by any number of inspired news about rift, etc.

ALWAR KISANS PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE

Threat Of Eviction From Land After Years Of Possession

THE pattedar kisans of Alwar and Bharatpur Districts numbering about eight to ten thousand families are facing the grave threat of ejection from the land which they have held and cultivated for years.

A brief reference to the history of how these pattedars came to possess this land and why they are facing this threat is necessary.

Background To Problem

It all started years before 1947. The prevalent form of land relationship in these districts was the biswedari system, in which land belonged to the biswedari and the kisan had to take a plot as a tenant and pay rent at a rate varying from two to three times the rate of land revenue which the State used to charge from the biswedari.

Some of the pattedars who are now affected had been cultivating land as tenants long before 1947. Ordinarily under the laws passed in the various States which have been included in Rajasthan and under the Rajasthan tenancy Act adopted later on, these people should have become khatadars long ago.

But a hitch arose. The land they were cultivating belonged to Muslim biswedars. After 1947, in the terrible communal carnage, which was particularly terrible in these States, the Meo kisans, many of them biswedars, were forced to leave the area en masse and migrate to Pakistan or to neighbouring States. This land thus became evacuee property and since evacuee property was excluded from the purview of the ordinary laws, these poor pattedars could not get their khatadari rights. They continued to remain as annual lessees.

After 1947, after the large-scale migration of Muslim Meo kisans and biswedars, the then Government of Alwar and Bharatpur was faced with the problem of this huge extent of land which remained without care and cultivation. So it made an appeal to the poor kisans, particularly the harijans and backward communities, who were told that in case they came and settled on this land, they would be required to pay rent only at a rate equal to the land revenue. (In the other areas the rent was two to three times the land revenue.)

Thousands of families were made to leave their old tenancies and made to settle on this land with this offer of concessions. These people, too, because of the peculiar situation of this land having become evacuee property, could not get their khatadari rights.

There is yet another category of pattedars. After settling thousands of refugee families on this land, when land still remained, the State Govt. allotted ten bighas of land to every family particularly to the landless, the harijans and the backward communities. They have been cultivating this land for the last so many years. Even they would have got their khatadari rights, but for the fact that this land was declared evacuee property and was kept out of the purview of the tenancy laws.

The total extent of land covered by these categories in the two districts of Alwar and Bharatpur comes to about 1.6 lakh bighas.

Govt. Plans Auction

Now after years and years of possession and cultivation, the Government seeks to eject these pattedars and auction this land, on the plea that the proceeds of the sale value of this land would be deposited in the common pool. At the

moment it says that the land of only those who got land after 1957, would be taken up for auction. But it is obvious from the way the Government is proceeding in the matter that the possession, and the tenancy of no pattedar is safe. It is rather ironical that the State Government only last year passed a law abolishing the biswedari and zamindari system of land relations and from the beginning of this year that law has been enforced; and yet the Government at the Centre is now auctioning land and conferring biswedari on new people on payment of the necessary amount in the auction bid.

The whole thing is just fantastic. Poor kisans who have been cultivating land for years, some of them have continued possession and tillage for the last 40 years, are now being told that the technicalities of the law desire that they quit this land, and that the land would be sold to the highest bidder.

A way could easily have been found to avoid ejection of these thousands of pattedars. The State Government could arrive at some settlement with the Government of India and make necessary agreed contributions to the common pool, or the

From H. K. VYAS

Government of India could easily forego this amount or some such formula can be worked out. But the State Government in its greed for funds stands by, permitting the Evacuee Property Administration to auction this land, it lets its revenue agencies and district administration forcefully eject these poor pattedars.

The threat is an imminent one. The first victims of the move were the pattedars who were cultivating land situated near the city of Alwar. The Government thought that land near the city would fetch more money. So the 28th of last month was fixed for commencing auction of land situated nearabout Alwar.

Victory In First Round

The Kisan Sabha and the District Committee of the Communist Party took up the issue. It was decided that a hunger-strike by Harram would commence from the 27th against the auction. The Kisan Sabha made it very clear that the kisans would defend their possession at the cost of all sacrifice. At the last moment the Collector in writing informed the Kisan Sabha that the proposed auction had been postponed. The kisans won the first round.

But this is only the first round. From July 5 will commence another round. The post-1957 pattedars are the next target. Their ejection is scheduled to be enforced and their land auctioned from that date onwards. A huge campaign is going on in the district on this issue, led by the Kisan Sabha. A series of conferences are being held. The sympathy of all political elements is with the pattedars. Even Congressmen of the district are remonstrating with their State leaders asking them to find out some way by which the ejection of these poor pattedars is avoided.

But the issue involved is of the policy of the State Government in regard to its own resources and fiscal measures. The State Government is reluctant to take upon itself any liability and the kisans are determined that at all events they would not leave their possession and would defend it with all their might.

Long-Term Solution

The Kisan Sabha has also given a clear call that this annual drama of the threat of ejection hanging on the pattedars should cease. The State Government must settle this question with the Government of India and immediately take steps to get this land released from the evacuee property law and confer khatadari rights without payment to all these pattedars, something that has already been done in the jagir areas.

The struggle of the pattedars of Alwar, therefore, is on a vital question of policy and in their struggle the pattedar kisans of Alwar have the sympathy and support of all democratic elements in the district and the State.

WITH THE RASHTRAPATI

HISTORIC VISIT BRINGS US CLOSER

TASHKENT, July 5

Indo-Soviet relations were never so good as they are today and the friendship between the two countries never had such a solid foundation of complete understanding as it has at the present moment. It is not only an understanding between Governments and leaders; friendship with India has become a mass phenomenon in the Soviet Union.

I HAVE just covered a distance of about eighteen thousand kilometres as a member of the party of the President of the Republic of India during his tour of this country and had an opportunity of observing at first hand the great mass enthusiasm with which the head of the Indian State was welcomed wherever he went.

Overwhelmed By Goodwill

"We are overwhelmed by this evidence of sympathy and goodwill which the Soviet Union has for India," the Rashtrapati said at a reception given by him to honour Soviet President Brezhnev and declared that he was sure that the bonds of friendship between our two countries will grow firmer and stronger as the years pass. And the Soviet side totally and wholeheartedly agreed with this view.

Another thing which emerged very clearly was the great significance of this friendship and the very existence of Soviet reality for us and for other underdeveloped nations. As the Rashtrapati put it, "A visitor cannot but be greatly impressed by the phenomenal progress which the Soviet Union has made in all fields of human endeavour. That a people, 80 per cent of whom were illiterate in 1917, should attain the present heights of progress and prosperity in less than half a century, has a message of hope for all the underdeveloped countries of the world."

KERALA

* FROM PAGE 4

account of all possible revenue and nothing has happened in the last two months to show that such a Rs. 60 lakh increase is possible.

Secondly, the new taxes will not yield what the Budget estimates. For instance, the plantation tax of Rs. 80 lakhs. It is doubtful whether ten lakh acres of plantation will come under this tax to yield this amount.

When the preliminary budget was introduced much was made of the fact that there were no new taxation proposals. But the Communist Party had even then said that new taxes would have to be imposed. The Finance Minister had then given a sermon on the advantages of non-tax revenue and the disadvantages of tax-revenue.

What this Budget actually does is to close the doors to enhancing non-tax revenue. If rubber plantations under the Government's new scheme are taken into the public sector, in five or six years each acre will yield a net profit of Rs. 500 and if even half of the 20,000 acres are in the public sector it would mean an income of Rs. 50 lakhs to the State. By handing it over to the private sector all that the State will get in the form of taxes is about Rs. ten lakhs—Rs. forty lakhs loss on 10,000 acres.

Turning to the expenditure side, Achutha Menon said that the whole policy of the Government was one of discrimination in favour of toddy shop contractors, forest contractors, private school managers, etc., against agricultural workers, industrial workers, toddy-tappers and others.

Faridabad has resumed its daily business and life goes on as life must. Yet there is a silence in the place even amidst the bustle and hurry of a township going about its work. There is a stark sorrow and the glint of anger in each eye. Whenever and wherever the people meet they talk only of the way death struck on June 29. They wait and prepare for the struggle that has not yet ended. They want only that the whole of India should know what was done to them and with that knowledge stand with them.

Faridabad mourns its dead and demands punishment for the killers and justice and some measure of well-being for the living—for those who created it and gave it to the nation.

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cause of their condition forty years ago. Yesterday I came away from Stalinabad, a fine modern city, which I was told was just a little village with a single street lamp lit with kerosene before the revolution. Tashkent and Samarkand, too, have grown out of recognition. It would not be too much to say that many parts of Central Asia have during the last forty years leapt from mediaeval or even primitive age to the modern period."

And the Rashtrapati continued: "The transformation of Soviet Central Asia has a special significance for countries like mine which are still underdeveloped. Our Government realises that they cannot wait for a slow and gradual disappearance of such evils as poverty, ignorance and disease. These require radical treatment."

Inspired By U.S.S.R.

The Indian President further declared that the Soviet Union had provided not only inspiration but encouragement and assistance in the development of our economy and said that he had no doubt that the Soviet Government would extend its sympathy and help in the execution of the next Plan which would be decisive for India's future.

Yes, in Soviet Central Asia one could not help thinking of the future of India. The moment we arrived in Stalinabad by a direct plane from Moscow we were all struck by the mountains, trees and flowers, the dress, faces and riddinova, the Rashtrapati again mentioned the "over-whelming kindness" on the part of all sections of people he had met wherever he went. His foremost impression was "the grandeur of progress the Soviet Union had made in so short a span as four decades" and he continued:

"This progress has been the more remarkable in the Central Asian Republics because in the place even amidst the bustle and hurry of a township going about its work. There is a stark sorrow and the glint of anger in each eye. Whenever and wherever the people meet they talk only of the way death struck on June 29. They wait and prepare for the struggle that has not yet ended. They want only that the whole of India should know what was done to them and with that knowledge stand with them."

FARIDABAD

* FROM PAGE 5

Judge. Unless this demand is conceded they have decided to boycott the enquiry.

As for the auctions of the tenements allotted to the refugees which began the sequence of tragic events, the least that can be done is to altogether stop them. The Government should immediately try for a negotiated settlement of the issues regarding the prices of the tenements and the method of payment with the genuine representatives of the refugees.

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the theatres, orchestras and dance ensembles, all manifestations of the amazing progress these happy people have achieved in so short a time could not but inspire a great deal of admiration and some envy.

We saw the Firdousi Library with its one-and-a-half million volumes and rare manuscripts of Shahnama and other eastern classics, we visited the Polytechnical Institute where the new engineers and builders of new Tajikistan are trained, we were told by the President of Tajikistan A. Hasanov that soon a gigantic hydro-electric power station will be built on the river Vahsh, as the upper part of the Amu Darya is called, and that this will be the biggest in the Soviet Union.

We asked again to make sure and were told that it was really so and the station would have the power of two-and-a-half million kilowatt and would be capable of producing thirteen million kilowatt-hours per year. All the Republics of Central Asia and south of Kazakhstan will be supplied with ample energy and the dam on river Vahsh will be 300 metres in height, the highest in the world.

Collective Farm

We saw the Lenin Collective Farm of the Stalinabad region, a farm which unites 3,400 families and has 27,000 hectares of land and where the yield of cotton is the highest. They own 70 tractors and 50 trucks and cars. In Gulistan, the central village of the farm, under the shade of lofty chinars, a long table was laid in honour of the President. It was loaded with fresh and dry fruit and sweets of many descriptions. A man played the gamai, a blowing instrument two metres long and two others beat drums. Later a Hero of Labour, Hanifa Gaibova, addressed us and said, "Here you have before your eyes our life and our homes. We toil to live in happiness and peace, and peace is the dearest possession we mothers have."

From Tajikistan we came to sunlit Uzbekistan, our first stop being the romantic town of Samarkand. We saw Timur's tomb where this tyrant, his great astronomer grandson Ulug Beg and other descendants are buried. We saw remains of the famous observatory of Ulug Beg, which was razed to the ground by religious fanatics, and saw other beautiful historical buildings which are being preserved with great care by the Government of Uzbekistan. The Rashtrapati was deeply impressed by this loving care bestowed on monuments of ancient culture.

The same day we arrived in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, which looks like a mass of greenery and a huge garden. Here the President acquainted himself with the amazing progress achieved by this Republic, visited the big Stalin Textile Factory and the Oriental Institute and attended a reception in his honour given by the President of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan.

Today the historic visit comes to an end, a visit which has brought our two great countries and peoples still closer together as firm allies in the quest of peace and progress for the world.

All Indians with a conscience can only plead that the Union Government promptly accept the justice of the employees' demands and achieve a negotiated settlement. It is not yet too late.

If the Government does not move and the strike is forced on the mass of Central Government employees, Indians with a heart will give them all support and work for a peaceful and just settlement. The workers are being reasonable and the Government unreasonable.

It is now only Indian public opinion that can make the Government see reason. (July 6)

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

NEGOTIATE AND SETTLE

* FROM FRONT PAGE

tion will work. It is the INTUC that is insisting that the Government must announce whatever concessions it has only after the strike is crushed and not before. The INTUC has gone behind the purdah so far as the Central Government employees are concerned. It makes its existence felt through press statements and in the parlours of the Ministers.

There is no repressive measure that is not being kept in readiness. It is also reported that the Territorial too are being mobilised. Peter Alvarez has declared that if the Territorial Army is used against peaceful strikes, the trade unions will ask all workers and employees to resign en masse from its ranks.

It is regrettable that non-official organisations like the Bharat Sewak Samaj, the All-India Women's Conference and the Scouts and Guides are sought to be roped in for black-jegging by the Government.

Repression will only act as provocation and for the consequences the Government alone will be responsible. The united massive all-India general strike cannot be stopped by bureaucratic repression. It will only make peaceful solution more difficult.

The zero hour is near. Let the Government think hard if a bitterly fought all-India General Strike will be a fitting finale to the Second Plan and a proper prelude to the Third.

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ANDHRA LAND BILL

FROM PAGE 7

tained within the family under one clause or another—the clause allowing exemptions being the broadest gap through which any landlord can escape. Even a day prior to the Act coming into force he can plant a few mango or citrus trees, call the plot an orchard and get it exempted. Such exemptions will not be difficult, for the agency for implementing the law is the corrupt, bureaucratic and pro-landlord Revenue Department.

Such is the progress of land reform in Andhra Pradesh, progress in the reverse direction.

Seven members of the Select Committee have submitted their minute of dissent and suggested that

(a) ceiling should be fixed at an area which yields an annual income of Rs. 3,600 net for a family of five;

(b) net income should be considered as 3/4 of the gross income in case of wet land and 2/3 in case of dry land;

(c) this ceiling should be fixed on the aggregate land held by the family;

(d) no exemptions should be made except for tea, coffee and rubber plantations (these do not exist in Andhra);

(e) no allowance for grazing land be made;

(f) all protected tenants should be made owners of non-resumable lands in their possession;

(g) compensation should not exceed four times the net income for the first slab and one for the last slab;

(h) all transfers made since

the promulgation of the 1957 Ordinance be made null and void with the saving that sales of two acres each to poor persons should not be disturbed but the ceiling should apply to the land of the seller as if the transfer had not taken place and

(i) Land Tribunals for each Block area and a Land Commission for the whole State, with representation to poor peasants and agricultural labourers, should be formed to implement the Act.

Among the seven who have made this dissent are Vavilal Gopalakrishnaiah, veteran nationalist, B. Yella Reddy, a top leader of Telangana, A. Laxminarasimha Reddy, respected leader of the Telangana kisans and G. Bapanayya, President of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Labour Union.

That the Select Committee is convinced that its proposals would not leave any surplus land is seen from the fact that no provision has been made in the Bill for the disposal of surplus land.

That there will be a substantial amount of land available for distribution has been found by those who have disagreed with the majority on the Select Committee. The following figures will prove this.

The area that will fetch a net income of Rs. 3,600 per annum may vary between 15 and 20 standard wet acres on the average. If 15 standard acres is taken as the ceiling limit, in the Andhra region the number of holdings above 15 standard acres each is 72,393, the land comprised in this group is 2,089,034 standard acres, land

which will come under the ceiling limit is 1,085,895 standard acres and the surplus land will be 1,003,139 standard acres.

In the Telangana region (taking one standard acre as equal to five converted dry acres), the number of holdings above 75 converted dry acres each is 45,632, land comprised in this group is 7,396,568 converted dry acres, non-resumable land under the protected tenants is 1,763,228 converted dry acres, land held by this group under personal cultivation is 5,633,340 converted dry acres, area which will come under the ceiling limit is 3,422,400 converted dry acres, and the surplus land is 2,210,940 converted dry acres or 440,188 standard acres.

If 20 standard acres is taken as the ceiling limit, the surplus land in Andhra region will be 734,154 standard acres and in Telangana region 296,810 standard acres.

Thus, if the ceiling of Rs. 3,600 net income is equivalent to 15 standard acres, the surplus land in both the regions together will be roughly 1,450,000 standard acres and if it is 20 standard acres, it will be about 925,000 standard acres.

Added to this is about 3,000,000 acres (about 600,000 standard acres) of waste land, which is unoccupied and not yet distributed by the Government.

Thus a total of 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 standard acres of land would be available for distribution and at the rate of one standard acre to each family about 15 to 20 lakh agricultural labour and poor peasant families can be given

land. Besides, land to an extent of 15 to 17 lakhs of dry acres, will be transferred to protected tenants with ownership rights.

That this Government is incapable of doing this land distribution is patent from the provisions of the Ceiling Bill.

We were made to believe so long that the objective of land ceiling is to reduce inequalities in land ownership and to distribute some surplus land to the landless and landpoor, so that opportunities are afforded to these sections to gain in social status and to feel they have equal opportunities with other sections of the community. We were further told that reduction in disparities in land ownership is essential for developing a cooperative community. There is not a single day when the Congress leaders, from Pandit Nehru downwards, do not repeat these objectives. And now this Bill is thrown in our faces—a Bill which does not reduce inequalities in ownership of land, does not reduce concentration of land in the hands of a few, does not give even a single acre of land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants. How they can square up this Bill with all the high-sounding objectives laid down by the Planning Commission and with the much-publicised Nagpur resolution we do not know. How a Socialist pattern of society can be built, how any advance can be made towards developing a cooperative economy out of such land reform, only the philosophical pandits of Jantarmantar Road can tell.

40 Years Of Iranian Communist Party

The political organisation of the Iranian working class, in foetal form was set up from the very beginning of the Iran's Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911). In this period a series of Social Democratic circles were founded in Iran, but these circles lacked a single leadership, programme and constitution and did not have the benefit of a monolithic organisation.

On June 22, 1920, the Communist Party of Iran was founded and this was the first Iranian working class party of a new type. The activities of the working class political organisations of Iran can be classified in three periods.

- The period of activity of various Social Democratic circles;
- The period of activity of the Communist Party of Iran;
- The period of activity of the Tudeh Party of Iran.

FIRST PERIOD

The period of activity of the various Social Democratic circles: In the course of the Constitutional Revolution, the ideas of revolutionary Social Democracy found their way among intellectuals and the national elements of the country and resulted in the appearance of illegal Social Democratic circles.

These circles in Teheran, Rasht and Tabriz played a leading role in the armed struggle of our people against colonialism and the despotic rule of the Ghajar dynasty.

In the foundation and leadership of these circles, the revolutionary Social Democratic organisation of Caucasus (Bolshevik organisation) played an eminent role. To help the Iranian Social Democratic circles and to acquaint them with the social struggle, the Workers' Social Democratic Party of Russia sent some of its members to Iran. Vladimir Dukhadze and a group of Social Democrats were sent to Tabriz and another group headed by Serge Orjinkidze went to Rasht.

The Russian revolutionary Social Democrats took active part in the defence of Tabriz and the battle of Rasht. In Tabriz 22 and in Rasht 140 of them lost their lives. The first translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, the work of genius by Marx and Engels, was done under the direct supervision of Orjinkidze. But it was not completed.

During the Constitutional Revolution, workers' trade unions were set up in Iran for the first time. The trade union of the Teheran printing workers issued a paper called "ETEFAGHE KARGARAN" (Workers' Unity). In 1910, the first strike of the printing shop workers took place in Teheran. This strike lasted 15 days.

The effective struggles of Iran's Social Democratic organisations drew the attention and the admiration of the Workers' Social Democratic Party of Russia and its great leader Lenin. In 1912, at the Prague Conference of Bolsheviks, in a resolution, the following is said about Iran:

"The Workers' Social Democratic Party of Russia protests against the policy of the tsarist

News from brother parties

gazines were issued through which Marxist ideas took root among the Iranian youth.

In this period, the Communist Party was one of the main organisers of the mass movements against the colonial Powers and the reactionary regime in Iran. In 1919, the Government of Iran signed a treaty with the British Government. This treaty violated the independence of Iran and a broad mass movement for its repeal grew up. The Communist Party played an important role in this struggle. The Communist Party also fought for Iranian recognition of the Soviet Government and the conclusion of the Friendship Treaty of 1921 with that country.

The Social Democratic circles of Iran started their activities at a time when the working class there was still not strong and when Iran had only a limited number of industrial workers who were working in printing shops and some industrial enterprises. These circles appeared in the uncivilised conditions of an eastern feudal society and which therefore could not develop into a strong revolutionary organisation.

But these organisations, in their slogans and their social activities, showed revolutionary consistency and became the first revolutionary schools for conscious revolutionaries who later played an effective role in the workers' and democratic movement in Iran.

SECOND PERIOD

The period of activity of the Communist Party of Iran: In 1917, after the Great October Revolution, a group of Iranian workers and intellectuals, who had immigrated to Baku, founded the Edalat (Justice) Party and this party played an important part in founding the Communist Party of Iran.

In June 1920, the former members of the Edalat Party and a group of Iranian revolutionaries in Anzali (New Pahlavi, a Caspian sea port) organised the first Congress of the Communist Party of Iran. The Congress analysed the political and social situation in the country and elected a Central Committee composed of 15 members and five secretaries. The Programme and the Constitution of the Party were also discussed and approved by the Congress.

The Congress sent letters of greetings to Lenin, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Executive Bureau of the Third International. The Congress advised the Central Committee to move to Teheran and set about founding Party organisations in various parts of the country.

In 1921, the Party went underground. But in spite of difficult conditions and reactionary oppression, the activity of the Party went on and reached new heights. In Teheran, Tabriz and Mashhad, Party organisations were set up. The Communist workers succeeded in starting an important trade union movement in the country. The Iranian trade unions joined the International Revolutionary Trade Union Organisation. Moreover a series of cultural and art clubs were founded in various cities. A number of ma-

of the Iranian Communists, and the Communist Party of Germany did its best to help them. Various papers and magazines, including *Struggle*, *The Banner of Revolution* and *The Red Star* were published abroad in the Persian language.

In this period under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers of the Khusistan oil refineries, laid down their tools and went on strike for the first time. Another strike was organised at Vatan, a big textile factory in Isfahan.

REPRESSION

At this time, the security services of the Shah Reza regime, arrested a large number of Communists in various parts of the country. They were subjected to brutal repression and barbarous torture in the prisons. An Iranian worker, Hejazi, who was a leading figure in the trade union movement of the country, died under the torture. This event echoed round the world.

In 1930-31, the repression on the Party was intensified by the regime. Shah Reza, who was afraid of the revolutionary activities of the Communist Party, sent an anti-Communist Bill to the Majlis (Iranian Lower House). The Bill was approved and thus Communist activities were officially banned.

In this period, Dr. Erani, who later was killed in prison, played an important role in the activities of the Communist Party.

Dr. Erani published a Marxist magazine called *Dunia* (World). *Dunia* was soon recognised as the official organ of the Communist Party of Iran.

The Party began to extend its activities and to set up connection with its members. In this period a considerable number of Iranian students joined the Communist Party.

In 1936, the illegal organisation of the Communist Party was discovered by the police and a group of its members were arrested. Fiftythree of them stood trial and were condemned to imprisonment. Dr. Erani was among them.

TUDEH IS BORN

In 1941, during the Second World War, the dictatorial regime of Shah Reza was overthrown and his son took power. Political prisoners, including Communists, were released and enjoyed relative freedom to express and propagate their ideas. In 1941, just after the overthrow of the Shah Reza regime, and the release of the political prisoners, the Tudeh Party of Iran was founded.

With its foundation, the class struggle of the working class and the anti-colonial progressive movement of the Iranian people as a whole, entered a new phase. The foundation of the Tudeh Party of Iran was a turning point in the contemporary history of Iran and its people.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW MAY ISSUE

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, MAY 1960. Price Re. 1/-.

THE May issue of the premier Marxist magazine of the world has as its heart and centre the exchange of views on the changes in the structure of the working class in advanced capitalist countries. There are plenty of facts of the changes among the workers in the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Austria.

In addition there is the first comment on this problem by the Editorial Board. In this comment the Editorial Board takes up the question of the growth of non-production workers in the more highly developed capitalist countries and gives the reasons for and consequences of this phenomenon.

It next goes into the problem of how to correctly demarcate between the working class and other social strata of capitalist society. There is an illuminating survey of the salaried workers and their relationship with the industrial proletariat.

Next we have an analysis of the effects of technological change—mechanisation and automation—on the structure of the working class. It is pointed out that apart from changes in the factory there are also big changes taking place in the

conditions of work and in the status of office workers. It is further pointed out that under capitalism technological progress means the growth of unemployment.

It is stated that the question concerning the aristocracy of labour proved to be the most complex of all. The conclusion is that "the labour aristocracy is a complex social phenomenon which arises and develops under the impact of a number of conflicting factors".

The first article in this issue is by Villon on "War and the Working Class". Here a historical survey is made on the question and it has pointed out how the working class was from the very earliest days struggling against the war drive of the capitalists—the working class is called the first class to proclaim the abolition of war as its aim. But hitherto it had not been possible to stop war.

Now the author points out it has become possible for the working class to actually prevent world war and gives the objective and subjective conditions that have brought about this possibility of the realisation of the age-old dreams of man. But, he states, that will not be possible unless the working class fully develops a powerful peace movement composed of wide social strata.

Other articles which will pay ample the closest study are on the principles which Lenin had proclaimed with regard to the organisation of the Communist Party; the article on the specific features of social democracy in Sweden; and a long and penetrating article on the radical changes taking place in Africa.

There is an article by Gri-shin on the role and tasks of the Soviet trade unions in the construction of Communism. This article gives a lot of facts of how trade unions function in a Socialist society, how there is combined attention to increasing production and safeguarding the interests of the workers.

Three historical anniversaries are celebrated in this issue: first, there is the 15th anniversary of the defeat of Hitlerism; and it is noted that the Communist Parties of Indonesia and Spain are celebrating their 40th anniversaries.

Finally, there is a supplement filled with facts and figures on the story of economic development in the Socialist countries. In fact, this issue is exceptionally rich in materials for any serious student of the world Communist movement, which goes on from victory to victory.

—EDITORIAL BOARD

SCRAP-BOOK

EXCHANGE SECRETS?

THE Commonwealth Premier's Conference hit the headlines mainly with the far from full-hearted tussle on the spartan disgrace. Now news reaches that some other shady deals were fought to be struck.

It seems bluff Macmillan reminded the other Prime Ministers that mystique apart, the Commonwealth was bound together by certain more material ties which needed strengthening. One among these was the exchange of Government papers and other relevant information.

He is reported to have gone on to say that he was aware of the hurdles in the path. He knew that Pakistan and India had their conflict, that mistrust of South Africa was widespread and that many of the "younger generation" in the Commonwealth were jealous of parting with even a tittle of their sovereignty.

Still he suggested, it appears, that some start should be made. Let the exchange of secret State papers begin between those Commonwealth countries who had no conflicts. Between these friends there need be no secrets. Even Cabinet minutes could be made available. As for those whose relations were not all that they should be, a start could be made by exchange of selected secret State papers.

It is not known what our Prime Minister's reactions were. But the pitfalls are obvious. The Government of India has no particular conflict with the United Kingdom. Following Macmillan's formula we can cheerfully hand over our secrets to them, including Cabinet minutes.

Then any British Cabinet minutes of discussion of such Indian information can be made available to Pakistan with whom the United Kingdom has no conflict. And, of course, the USA can have a good look-see at everything. Let us hope that Nehru rebuffed this attempt of Macmillan to aid Allan Dulles.

SUCCESSORS' RAT RACE

S.K. PATIL got a great hand in the United States. Both in God's own country and in our own benighted Bharat he was hailed as the most likely successor to Nehru. Sadoba was a trifle embarrassed but after all any publicity helps.

Morarji and his admirers were not sitting idle either. They decided to repeat the stupendous performance of the interview with the *Time* Correspondent some years ago. This time they got a Correspondent down to New Delhi from the influential Bonn weekly *Christ und Welt*. Morarji gave him another of his inimitable intimate interviews.

And he was duly rewarded. The Correspondent informed his readership that "Desai is a vegetarian and subject to discipline that will astonish the West." A veil had best be drawn over the objects of that discipline and the methods of its enforcement.

This is followed up with the pronouncement that Morarji is the fittest man for the take-over from or after Nehru. "Among all in the Cabinet, it is Desai who stands out as a man of strong character and firmness. Presently Desai plays the same role that Patel played in former years." It is then pointed out the Finance Minister is the anti-Communist par excellence.

The finishing touch to get the West German revanchists on Morarji's side was "No other man in Nehru's Cabinet has so much sympathy for

the unity of the German people. Though in the present visit, dry figures will overshadow other considerations, it is certain that the German public will find in Desai a person who takes interest in other fields as well."

It would be interesting to find out how far Morarji's views on the problem of German unification coincide with the Prime Minister's public declarations on the subject.

As for Sadoba our advice is that he also take to vegetarianism and strange and astonishing disciplines.

ANTI-SOVIET MADNESS

THE Rashtrapati's enormously successful tour of the Soviet Union seems to

have particularly rattled two persons. One is the inevitable Frank Moraes and the other, it appears, is a veteran Congressman in Kerala whom Current managed to spot.

Moraes is alarmed. After all his own colleague has been sending quite warm despatches on the remarkable welcome given by the Soviet Government and people and the Rashtrapati's heartfelt response.

So in *Indian Express* of July 5, the Hitler admirer has let himself go. He is terrified lest all his good work at the anti-China business fails to spoil India-Soviet friendship. Reports come pouring in of Soviet aid to India's Plans combined with the cool reception to Morarji's plea for aid in Bonn. What will his West German and American patrons say if this leads Indians to draw the obvious conclusions.

So he fervently pleads, "would it not be wiser to seek help from those we know but wrongly distrust than to canvass for it in quarters we do not know and cannot afford to trust?" Working himself up Moraes

tries to make out that Soviet aid may lead to India taking to the Soviet pattern and this might lead to India going under a Right dictatorship! Can you beat it—Soviet pattern leads to a Right triumph and Moraes is upset at the prospect?

But here it is: "If India follows the Soviet pattern it should be comparatively easy for the extreme Right to replace a Leftist group, at present moving more and more to the Left."

The Kerala Congressman was much more straightforward. He felt that Rajendra Prasad was letting down the Congress in Kerala where anti-Sovietism is among the handiest weapons against the Communists.

And in any case he asked what was all this praise for Soviet moon rockets and artificial planets. "Have they controlled earthquakes and volcanoes? Then what they are boasting about?" God preserve our anti-Sovieters. Their hatred makes them mad.

—ONLOOKER

July 5

VILLAIN OF THE PIECE

WHEN the United States enacted the Public Law 480 to get rid of its unwanted farm surpluses, Ministers like Patil might have heaved a sigh of relief. Not so certain other Ministers in certain other countries—not less but more friendly to the U.S.—whose economies depended on agricultural exports. Any large-scale exports of American grain, they feared, could not but mar the prospects of trading their own produce.

As it is, their fears have come to be true. Australia, Canada, Burma and Thailand, the first two wheat-exporting and the latter two rice-exporting, have all been thrown into spasms as a result of the latest "massive" Indo-U.S. wheat-ice deal.

While the first two have somehow contented themselves with the prospect of a lesser off-take of their wheat by India in years to come, and the third entered into a long-term pact, the last one, Thailand, is still smarting under the injury which its own benefactor, the U.S., has done to its prospects of selling rice to India. At one stage its Foreign Minister offered to resign, and now his emissary, the Ambassador in New Delhi, has threatened reprisals if India refuses to buy Thai rice.

India was a regular customer of Thailand till 1954, when, due to certain delays in delivery of supplies, she had to suspend import of Thai rice. Thailand, however, continued to purchase Indian jute goods and thus managed to incur an adverse trade balance. Its Government now insists that India should buy rice from it on cash payment basis to make the scales even.

India, on the other hand, has no need for Thai rice, nor can it defray scarce

foreign exchange resources on its importation. It has, therefore, suggested that in case a transition is desired, it should be on the basis of barter, involving exchange of non-traditional Indian items for Thai rice. To this the Thai Ambassador has not agreed. In case cash basis is not accepted by India, he says, his country might boycott Indian goods.

Thailand is a part of SEATO, the U.S.-dominated military grouping in Southeast Asia. Its dictator Thanarat keeps his place at America's suzerainty. Yet, the very same America has sought to cut the ground from under his feet to safeguard its own narrow selfish interests. Hence, his pique and discomfiture, and his envoy's ravings in India. He cannot, of course, shout at the United States whose bayonets help him keep his precarious position. But a little boorishness in New Delhi will not make much difference to a relationship which even now is not friendly.

While these may be Thanarat's calculations the villain of the piece is certainly the PL 480—which is not only an instrument of making countries like India dependent on the U.S. but is also a disruptor of normal trade relations among countries in Asia. Otherwise, in the fitness of things, there would have been no need for Thailand to canvass for the sale of its rice in India, nor for India to go all the way to the United States to purchase rice which could be had in a nearby country.

But now that the possibilities of such a friendly interchange have been undermined by the United States, it is on Washington that Thailand should pour its venom and not on New Delhi.

NEW AGE

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARY

CONTRASTING with the acrimony attending the Indo-Thal talks, the talks between India and Hungary, culminating in a new 3-12-year Trade and Payments Agreement concluded this week, progressed smoothly. Here, of course, the basis was different, so also the earnestness of both the parties to appreciate each other's standpoint.

Hungary is a Socialist economy, with its industrial production going up by eight to nine per cent yearly. Its agricultural production too increases by about five to six per cent per annum. It has trade relations with 90 countries with 50 of which (including India) it has regular agreements. Some of its manufactures like locomotives are in use as far as in the Argentine, while in the UAR it has put up the largest bridge in the whole of Africa.

Hungary's trade with India has been increasing every year, with the turnover last year being nine times as much as five years ago. It has also been more or less balanced. And whatever of imbalance there has been in it so far is likely to be squared up now that the new Agreement has been concluded.

Among the products supplied by Hungary to India so far are locomotives, transformers and electric supply meters. It has also undertaken to supply and erect a complete hydro-electric power station in

Kashmir and an electric meters plant near Delhi.

Among items exported by India to Hungary so far, and included in the Agreement for future, are various ores, shellac, mica, jute and coal products, shoes, engineering goods and steel billets.

The Agreement also includes a rupee payment arrangement under which all transactions, commercial and non-commercial, between the two countries will be conducted in rupees, to be spent on purchase of Indian goods. It thus obviates the need for foreign exchange and also provides for an ever-increasing balanced trade.

Hungary has also expressed its readiness to offer long-term credit to India on favourable terms. Any practical steps in this behalf will, however, have to await a detailed study of projects for its utilisation.

The Agreement with Hungary is just the beginning of closer Indo-Hungarian economic cooperation, and as Hungary's Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, Baczoni who conducted the negotiations on behalf of his country, has said, the various "interesting ideas" which emerged during the discussions preceding it have still "to be synchronised". The fact that Hungary is a Socialist country, and India, too, is eager to build its economy industrially and develop its trade, is a guarantee, however, that further steps in the "manifold tasks" flowing from it will also be taken before long.

—ESSEN

PAGE FIFTEEN

22 LAKH GOVT. EMPLOYEES ON THE MARCH

● FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

The air of India itself is surcharged these days as news comes in of mounting tempo from all over of the preparations for the biggest action by the country's working people scheduled for July 11 midnight. The leaders of the Joint Council of Action are doing their utmost to persuade the Government to grant justice to its 22 lakh employees. But their efforts have not yet borne fruit and so everywhere work goes on for the success of the strike, should the Government force the workers to this as their final resort.

THE streets of Calcutta thundered with slogans on the afternoon of June 29, when over a lakh of Central Government employees marched in innumerable processions from different directions towards the Maidan for holding a vast rally to express their determination to strike from the midnight of July 11 if in the meantime their demands are not conceded.

Traffic was completely dislocated for nearly two hours. Tram services in almost all sections were suspended, and over 20 of the city's 29 bus routes were affected. The demonstration and the rally reminded one of the historic general strike of July 29, 1946, in support of the strike of the P. & T. employees. But it broke all past records as regards the solidarity shown by the employees and the vastness of the mass rally.

Deven Sen, M.L.A., Chairman of the local Joint Council of Action, presided over the rally, which was addressed by Peter Alvares, Secretary of the All-India Joint Council of Action, Ranu Chakravarty and K. G. Basu, Joint Secretaries of the local Council of Action, Md. Ilyas, and Pra-bhat Kar, Communist M.P.s Indrajit Gupta M.P. (BPTUC), Sibnath Banerjee (HMS), Jatin Chakravarty, M.L.A. (UTUC), Sarojesh Mukherjee (P. & T. Employees' Federation), Maley Banerjee (Defence Employees' Federation) and Satyen Kar (Southeastern Railwaymen's Union).

Rs. One Lakh In One Day

Extending their full support to the proposed strike, the representatives of the three central trade union organisations and the Communist M.P.s said that the future of non-Government employees depended on the successful outcome of the struggle of the Central Government employees.

They strongly criticised the Central Government for resorting to intimidation and tendentious propaganda instead of coming to an honourable settlement with its employees by accepting their just demands on the eve of the publication of the draft of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The resolution unanimously adopted at the rally regretted that the Prime Minister had turned down the suggestion for an honourable settlement through negotiations on the basis of the six demands of the employees.

The resolution reiterated its firm confidence in the leadership of the Joint Council of Action and called upon the employees to go on strike despite the promulgation of an ordinance, declaration of the strike as illegal, arrests and other forms of repression.

It appealed to the Press and the public for sympathy and support, and requested them to realise that the Government would be wholly responsible for the distress and diffi-

on July 2. Among those present were the Chief Secretary, Home Secretary, Inspector-General of Police, Police Commissioner (Headquarters), Commandant of the National Volunteer Force and two officers of the Civil Aviation Department.

Chittaranjan's Decision

It is learnt that discussions centred round the measures that will be taken for maintaining their services and for utilising members of the National Volunteer Force as black-legs.

Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy, who is now holidaying at Ranikhet (U.P.) has also been requested over the phone to cancel his holiday and return

cuties that would be created as a result of the proposed strike.

On July 1, the representatives of the BPTUC, HMS, UTUC, DVC Staff Association, Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association, All-India Insurance Employees' Association, Petroleum Workers' Federation, All-India Port and Dock Workers' Federation and State Bank of India Staff Association met and decided unanimously to call, if necessary, a general strike in the State to "make the Central Government employees' struggle a success."

On July 1, which was the pay-day, a sum of Rs. 100,000 was collected for the strike fund from different categories of employees, excluding those on the Railways and in the Defence Department.

Meanwhile, the Government, too, is making pucca arrangements for suppressing the strike, secret directives are being issued to prepare lists of union leaders and organisers and also those workers and employees who will go on strike, to make transport arrangements for bringing "loyal" workers, etc.

The Union Government, it is reliably understood, has "alerted" the West Bengal Government regarding the proposed strike and has asked it to help the local Union Government officials to meet the emergency.

Govt.'s Measures

A conference to discuss the measures to be taken was held in the State Government's Secretariat in Calcutta

who had served notice to the General Manager on June 29, for the strike on July 11. The Executive appealed to all sections of railwaymen, including station masters, locomotive drivers and firemen to fully participate in the strike. It also appealed to the public for sympathy and support. A joint strike council of eight has been formed together with the Dakshin Railway Employees' Union.

In Hyderabad on June 29 came together the representatives of all the Central Government employees of Andhra Pradesh. At that meeting detailed reports were made of the high level of activity and determination to struggle for their demands of the workers in different parts of the State. A resolution passed at the meeting fully endorsed the decision of the All-India Joint Council of Action.

From far-off Agartala, capital of Tripura, reports have reached of many meetings of the employees where resolutions of endorsement of the

badges throughout the city. In one hour in front of the Central Secretariat alone over Rs. 300 were collected. Earlier the leaders of the CPWD Workers' Union met on June 27 and went on from the meeting to serve notice for the strike from July 11. The leaders later announced that 14,000 CPWD workers are fully with their co-workers.

In Ahmedabad a series of meetings, conferences and demonstrations, quite apart from the strike notices, in the last week of June and early days of July have unmistakably manifested the determination of the 12,000 Central Government employees in the city, including 11,000 workers of the Western Railway, to march fully abreast with their brothers in the rest of the country. The same spirit pervades the 3,500 employees in Rajkot.

Huge Rally In Bombay

On June 25, in Bombay, 80 to 90,000 Railway, Defence establishments, Income-tax and Civil Aviation employees went to serve their strike notices. They demonstrated in front of their respective offices before serving their notices. Particularly spectacular was the 15,000-strong demonstration in front of the General Managers' Office of the Central Railways which went on for two hours.

After the notices had been served the employees marched in procession in the Fort area where most of the offices are situated. In the evening, despite pouring rain, an audience some 50,000 gathered at Chowpatty to hear the leaders of the various unions and associations.

From Kerala news comes that the Cochin Customs non-Gazetted Officers' Association and the Cochin Naval base Civil Employees' Union have served strike notice. Available reports indicate that Action Councils have been set up in Trivandrum, Quilon, Alleppey, Kottayam and Punalur. Among the many demonstrations and meetings special mention must be made of the procession of the railway workers of the Olavakote Division on June 27 and of the meeting of Central Government employees in Trivandrum.

Space prevents more than a bare mention of the tremendously successful tours, in connection with the scheduled strike, of S. M. Banerjee M.P. in the big towns of U.P. and of Peter Alvares in Assam. July 6, 1960.

NO REPRESSION CAN COW THEM DOWN

to Calcutta by July 9.

In Howrah, the representatives of all trade unions affiliated to the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and AITUC got together and chalked out a programme of solidarity action with the Central Government employees. In Ichapore, on June 30, a 10,000-strong meeting was held to announce the determination of the employees. Similar meetings were held in Barrackpore, Ondal, Serampore and Bandal.

On July 3, in pouring rain, over 5,000 workers from the Chittaranjan Loco Works marched in a procession for five miles to Roopnarayanpur. Since the Bihar Government had refused permission to the workers to hold a meeting in Mihijam the venue was shifted to Roopnarayanpur. Amid tumultuous applause the decision was announced to participate in the strike on July 11 midnight.

Preparations for the strike are proceeding apace on the Eastern Railway. Meetings, demonstrations are now giving way to the organisation of volunteer squads. Meetings of the workers have been held in Gomah, Mogulserai, Asansole, Bandal and Gaya. In Panagarh, Defence employees took out a procession 3,000-strong. In Ranchi two packed-out general body meetings of the employees on June 29 decided to intensify agitation and consolidate organisationally for July 11.

The Central Executive Committee of the Southern Railway Labour Union met on July 3 with members from 30 branches attending. They unanimously endorsed the decision of the office-bearers

decision of stoppage were unanimously passed.

At one such meeting, on June 27, the six unions of the Post and Telegraph workers came together to review the situation and decided to strengthen the organisation for action. It was presided over by Suresh Kumar Sen a prominent local educationist and journalist. Nripen Chakravarty, leader of the Opposition in the Territorial Council, in his speech stressed the fact that the movement had climbed from the level of spontaneity to that of organisation.

In Delhi on July 2, a meeting of 500 trade union representatives, including all unions affiliated to the AITUC, and HMS, set up a committee to "give aid to the Central Government employees."

Stressing that the "future of the working class movement vitally depends on the fulfilment of the two demands" of need-based minimum wage and dearness allowance linked to the cost of living index, the meeting decided to sell over one lakh

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