

1/18/E24



# UNDER THE D.I.R. **FACES OF INDIA'S TOILING MASSES** IS DETENTION LEGAL?

## Issue Before Indian Conscience

The Chinese invasion hurt India in several ways. A tragic casualty was the fundamental rights. The National Emergency was proclaimed and under it the executive armed itself with extraordinary powers.

DIR used instead of the PDA? It is a sordid story.

The Preventive Detention Act contains provisions compelling the executive to give the prisoner grounds for his arrest, also opportunities to make representation to appropriate authorities and similar safeguards.

The Defence of India Rules, on the other hand, contain no such safeguards for the prisoner. The Judicial Courts of the country are out of bounds for a detenu under DIR.

Not the old Preventive Detention Act but the hurriedly promulgated Defence of India Rules were used against the Communists to deny them the most elementary safeguards. It is such a monstrous atrocity that makes a mockery of

the Prime Minister's statement that the Emergency had been proclaimed not to weaken but save Indian democracy!

### THE ISSUE

Everyone who has studied anything about fundamental rights is familiar with the following from Dicey's Law of the Constitution:

"The right to personal liberty is a right which is not subject to search or seizure."  
\*On Page 13

by  
**P. C. Joshi**

rialist West to come in and take charge of India's "defence" now and future next! These Emergency powers were, however, promptly used against a large number of Communist leaders and cadres despite the fact that the National Council of the Communist Party had promptly condemned Chinese aggression and the Party spokesmen inside and outside Parliament wholeheartedly supported the Nehru Government and its national policies and were foremost in attack-

ing the anti-national and pro-Western elements of the Indian Right.

This official attitude was considered unfortunate and discriminatory by independent Indian public opinion but it did not assert itself, because of the extraordinary situation then prevailing.

After the cease-fire the political climate has changed and the issue of the release of the arrested Communists has come to the fore. This issue is not the concern of the Communists alone but of Indian democracy as a whole, because the problem involved is not Communism but the right to personal freedom, a fundamental right, solemnly guaranteed by the Indian Constitution.

Most people think that the arrested Communists must have been detained under the Preventive Detention Act (PDA), but they are mistaken. Most of them are victims of the Draconian Defence of India Rules (DIR). The question naturally arises: why was the

## Misuse Of Emergency Bhupesh Gupta Criticises Government

★ From Our Special Correspondent

Speaking on the Appropriation Bill in the Rajya Sabha this week, Bhupesh Gupta, Leader of the Communist Group strongly criticised the misuse of emergency powers by the government and said that continuation of emergency was no longer necessary.

HE gave revealing figures to show that arrests under the Defence of India Rules during the last six months were far disproportionate to the total number of arrests in Britain during the entire period of the Second World War.

Bhupesh Gupta criticised the failure of the government to consult the opposition parties on the use of emergency and its continuance. He said: "I am prepared to be convinced if the government thinks that it should continue and I should also be given a chance to convince if I think there are factors which may not justify its continuance."

Bhupesh Gupta told the House that he had collected from the British Information Service figures of arrests made in Britain during the Second World War. He said that these figures show that 1887 people, including a handful of non-British, were detained for periods varying from a few days to several years, but that maximum number detained at any time was very much less than this.

"That is the British position, and you remember at that time there was Oswald Mosley of the Fascist Party who was openly supporting Hitler. At that time there were also the Pacifists who

were opposed to the war. And at that time the Communist Party was also there and unlike the Communist Party of India, they were openly opposed to the War, upto June 22, 1941. Even so the arrests were so few under the detention law."

As regards India at that time, Bhupesh Gupta quoting figures supplied by the Government of India pointed out that the total number of detenus in January 1945, detained under the Defence of India Act was 7,574 including foreigners, Germans, Japanese, politicians and non-politicians.

### THEN AND NOW

Bhupesh Gupta continued: "And that, as you may know, is for undivided India. The political detenus were much less than this figure of 7,574 and if you cut out East Pakistan and part of Punjab and certain other places, the number for the rest of India would be even less. The number of detenus would be still lower."

"But within these few months, you have arrested nearly 1,000 people under the detention laws, whereas in those days the number of arrests made by the British over the entire period would

not have been perhaps more than 3,000 or so, and that period embraced the six or seven years of the War.

"This I have taken from official reports. You know in January 1945 people had not been released. The War had not come to a complete end at all and the leaders were released only in August-September, 1945. Therefore, at that time, everybody was in jail. This is perhaps the biggest figure as far as detention without trial is concerned."

Bhupesh Gupta criticised the use of the DIR to suppress the Communist Party and said that the whole thing should be reconsidered, because "it has become an engine of suppression"



MAY DAY NUMBER

Vol. XI, No. 19, April 28, 63, 25 p.

Copy 11/18/E24

# The Sabri Mission

Editorial

PRIME MINISTER Ali Sabri of the United Arab Republic this week is on a mission of vital significance for Asia and the world. He is at present in Peking. By the week-end, he will be in New Delhi.

The Arab statesman is visiting the two capitals not only in his personal capacity, not only on behalf of his own country; he represents the six Afro-Asian powers which unanimously made the Colombo proposals for the creation of conditions which can enable negotiations to begin for a solution of the border dispute between India and China.

Prime Minister Sabri seeks to overcome the hurdles which still prevent negotiations from starting. In this mission, he will have the support and backing of all who stand for peace.

What are the hurdles which must be crossed in order to make negotiations possible? These are the same hurdles which existed last December, when on the initiative of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, leaders of the six nonaligned Afro-Asian powers met at Colombo. The proposals made by them, with their subsequent clarifications in January, outlined concrete steps to be taken to cross the hurdles which stood in the way of negotiations.

Naturally, therefore, Prime Minister Sabri's mission is to ensure the acceptance and implementation of the Colombo proposals by both India and China. For, that alone would remove the obstacles which today prevent negotiations from starting.

India has repeatedly stated that it accepts the Colombo proposals in toto and without reservations. Unfortunately, China has not accompanied its unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal of forces and its release of Indian prisoners-of-war by a clear statement accepting the Colombo proposals.

Instead of taking an unequivocal stand on the proposals, China has continued to harp on its acceptance of the proposals "in principle", of its "positive response" to them, and so on.

Thus the hurdles in the way of India-China negotiations stay put.

As if this were not enough, an impression has been created by the present Asian tour of Chinese head of state Liu Shao-chi, that an effort is being made to have the Colombo proposals put in cold storage or reduced to the status of a past historical event with no relevance for today.

While details are still lacking of the actual nature of the talks between Chairman Liu and President Soekarno in Jakarta, the joint communique issued at the end of the talks refers to the Colombo proposals as having created a "favourable climate". The communique says that the two heads of state "hoped this favourable climate could be further exploited for solving the question by direct negotiations between China and India."

It would mean from this text as it has reached India, that the communique suggests that the Colombo proposals have already done what they were intended to do—created a "favourable climate".

But the truth is that only the acceptance and implementation of the proposals would create the "favourable climate" necessary for direct negotiations. And this was obviously the intention of the Colombo powers themselves.

The leaders of all the six Colombo powers have repeatedly informed India that they stand four square by the

Colombo proposals and will do all they can to ensure their acceptance by China. Meanwhile, in Peking, Prime Minister Chou En-lai, at a banquet in honour of Prime Minister Sabri, has made the statement that:

"The Chinese Government will not take any action which will vitiate the border situation and prejudice direct negotiations."

He is reported to have added that "provided India does not renew its military provocation and armed intrusion, the existing state of ceasefire and disengagement will continue."

If we ignore the implied suggestion that India had started the conflict and "intrusion", the statement is bound to be considered as a welcome pledge by the Chinese Government not to restart hostilities.

It is interesting that both in this speech by Chou En-lai and in the Liu-Soekarno joint communique, emphasis is laid on the dangers of foreign interference in the Sino-Indian dispute. No anti-imperialist in the world will find himself in disagreement with this opposition to foreign interference, which can undermine Afro-Asian solidarity and make negotiations more difficult than before.

But again, the reality must be squarely faced. What is it that gives the opportunity to the imperialists to interfere? Obviously the continuation of the present Sino-Indian tension. Remove this and we create the conditions for driving the imperialists out, lock, stock and barrel.

This is not to suggest that the present imperialist blackmail and pressures against India are "justified", in some way, because of the existence of the present dispute with China. But it requires no elaborate argument to show that the starting of India-China negotiations would be a heavy blow at the opponents of nonalignment and at the pro-imperialist preachers of an "alliance with the West."

And so one comes back once again to the crucial question: Will China accept the Colombo proposals and their clarifications even now?

This would create the "favourable climate" required for direct negotiations. This would strengthen the battle against imperialist interference.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai is reported once again to have spoken about "different interpretations" of the Colombo proposals, at a banquet on April 23, given in his honour by the visiting UAR leader. He is said to have indicated China's continued refusal to accept the Colombo proposals, arguing that the proposals are not a "verdict" and the Afro-Asian nations are not "arbiters".

The Colombo Powers themselves have made it clear that their proposals cannot have different interpretations. No one has suggested that the proposals are a "verdict", and no one has tried to be an "arbiter". But the acceptance and implementation of the proposals are necessary for the creation of the atmosphere for negotiations.

Peace-loving mankind hopes that Prime Minister Sabri will succeed in his mission and persuade the Chinese Government to accept the Colombo proposals.

India looks forward eagerly to his visit this week-end. The Indian people yearn for peace and are prepared to do everything to ensure peaceful negotiations and a settlement, consistent with honour and dignity.

(April 24)

## Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, at its last meeting decided to appeal to all members of the Party and to all friends and supporters, to restart the campaign for the collection of donations for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund.

Collections for the fund had been temporarily suspended owing to the emergency.

Already reports are reaching the Party Centre of the mass drives for Party Funds organised in several states. Together with these funds drives, collections for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund should also be made on as large a scale as possible.

The memory of Comrade Ajoy is cherished by our entire Party. In our everyday struggles for the working masses, let us ever seek fresh inspiration from Ajoy's life and work.

### CONTRIBUTE LIBERALLY TO AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND

All cheques, money orders etc., should be sent to S. V. Ghate, Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund, 7/4, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

## HOME MINISTER FAILS TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS CHARGES

### Gopalan's Statement in Lok Sabha

A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Group made a statement in the Lok Sabha on April 18 categorically denying the allegation made by the Home Minister on an earlier occasion that Communists were responsible for an anti-national pamphlet published in Bengali. Gopalan informed the House that in his discussions with the representatives of the Communist Group, the Home Minister was not able to produce any evidence to substantiate his charge.

GOPALAN in his statement said: "In the course of his reply to the debate on the demand for grants for Home Affairs, the hon. Home Minister, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, referred to a certain Bengali pamphlet and what he said created the impression that the Communist Party or at least some of its members were responsible for its publication. We asked for proof."

"The hon. Speaker also observed as follows:

"The hon. Minister must have satisfied himself or he should—as he has said—satisfy himself that he believes or has reason to believe that the author is a Communist. At least that much he must satisfy himself."

"Thereafter the hon. Home Minister stated:

"I have never said that I shall not give the necessary information. I have never said that... I thought I shall take her (i.e., Srimati Renu Chakravartty) into confidence."

"Following this, the hon. Home Minister was pleased to meet three members of our Group.

"All that we wish to say now is that the Home Minister did not produce any evidence to prove that this pamphlet was written or published by the Communist Party or by any of its members. Naturally, we could not be satisfied."

"We have sought your permission to make this statement only to set the record straight."

Lal Bahadur Shastri also made a statement on the occasion. But all he could say was to repeat the allegation without offering any concrete proof and basing his arguments on surmises and conjectures. The Home Minister talked about the existence of a so-called pro-China group inside the Communist Party of India opposed to the official line of the Party and ar-

gued that the pamphlet in question could have been only the work of this group.

The Home Minister admitted that the pamphlet did not contain the names of its author or printer or publisher. Still, it was his contention that the "whole trend of the pamphlet and the activities of the left-wing are proof enough about the truth of my observations". He also quoted passages from some other pamphlets.

Gopalan made a further submission and again refuted the allegation made by the Home Minister. He pointed out that "instead of trying to substantiate his charge", the Home Minister had "brought in so many things which are not at all relevant". Gopalan asked:

"As we all know inside the Congress also, there are two sections, rightists and leftists. We also know their opinions. Suppose tomorrow a leaflet is published, which brings in more or less the opinion of a certain section inside the Congress, can we then say that the leaflet was certainly written by some sections inside the Congress? Would that be correct?"

"If there is some proof that either the leaflet is written by some member of a particular party, or printed by some press belonging to a particular party, then that charge is justified and he can certainly level it. But there is absolutely no proof that it comes from an organisation or from any member of that organisation."

Gopalan added: "I once again deny the charge that these pamphlets have anything to do with the Communist Party."

The Speaker observed that the statement of both Gopalan and of Home Minister were before the House and members can draw their own conclusions.

The defence of trade union rights and democratic liberties is at the present time one of the most serious problems facing the trade union movement and the workers of the world.

THE Fifth World Trade Union Congress stressed this point very strongly. The Programme of Trade Union Action at the Present Stage of the Defence of the Workers' Interests and Rights states: "The capitalist monopolies and the governments subordinated to them, in their drive for maximum profits and aiming to keep their political power, constantly attack the workers' trade union rights and democratic liberties... The workers are deprived of their major rights and liberties: the right to organise trade unions and trade union activity, the right to strike, to hold meetings, and demonstrations, the freedom of the Press, etc."

Closer examination of the economic, social and political conditions in which the working class and the workers of the world in general live, work and struggle leads to the conclusion that the struggle for the defence and extension of trade union rights is not an abstract, isolated problem, but an integral and inseparable part of the great struggles of the trade union movement for bread, work and a higher and higher standard of living and culture.

Further, this struggle is at the same time an important contribution to the great battle of the peoples and of all mankind for democratic liberties, national independence and for the greatest good of mankind—world peace.

TRADE union rights are a victory of first importance for the working class. In order to defend them, the working class and the trade unions have had to wage hard struggles and make many sacrifices. The history of the working class movement and the trade unions has innumerable ex-

amples of the fact that in periods of acute class struggle and intensified social and political conflict, between the workers on the one hand, and the capitalist monopolies and their governments on the other, the capitalists have always tried to paralyse and destroy working class and trade union organisations, to deprive leaders and active members of their liberty and to impose policies of collaboration on the workers.

Experience, old and new, proves that capital steps up and diversifies attacks against trade union rights and democratic liberties when the trade unions really become fighting mass organisations, when their activity is strengthened and when they effectively mobilise the workers in the struggle against capitalist exploitation for a life worthy of man.

At the present time, therefore, when the capitalist system is proving its inability to solve the great problems of our era, when the contradictions between labour and capital are growing sharper, and when the struggle of the workers and their trade unions for food and work and the satisfaction of the most urgent economic and social demands is becoming more and more widespread, the capitalist monopolies and their governments are trying every possible method of breaking, holding back or diverting the trade union movement. These methods range from brutal repression and judicial partiality to the perdy of so-called class collaboration, paternalism and so on which were condemned by the Programme of Trade Union Action.

By their devotion to class collaboration, reformist trade union leaders, particularly in the most developed capitalist

# TRADE UNION RIGHTS ARE INALIENABLE

★ By EDWIN CHLEBOUN  
Secretary, World Federation of Trade Unions

countries, are playing a sinister part in the trade union movement. The obstinacy with which they hold to their splitting views, nationally and internationally, is in absolute contradiction to the workers' interests and wishes. Victims of savage exploitation, the workers are more and more often finding the correct road to unity of action. And more and more often their joint, untiring fight for the defence of their interests and rights is proving victorious.

The working class and the workers of the whole world, greatly encouraged by the work and success of their class brothers in the Socialist countries, are coming to an ever-greater understanding of the true class content of political economic and social events in the capitalist world.

THE most eloquent proof of all this is the considerable growth of workers' struggles for economic and social demands and for political rights. Even capitalist statistics recognise the development of strikes in Western European countries.

In 1956 the number of workers taking part in strikes for economic, social and political demands was 4.2 million. In 1961 the figure was over 37 million. More and more frequently workers are taking strike action for the defence and extension of democratic liberties and trade union rights.

According to official statistics for the years 1958-1959,

the workers involved in political strikes represented one third of all strikers, whereas for 1961 and the first quarter of 1962, their number had risen to nearly two thirds. We may recall the great strike of the Asturian miners in 1962 which rocked the Franco regime.

Another stirring example is the recent united strike of the French miners. In defence of their just claims the miners and their trade unions exercised their inalienable right to strike; the government then decreed the requisition of the miners so as to break the strikers' firm resolve to carry their united struggle on to victory.

A similar situation exists in other countries of Western Europe and of Latin America, Asia and Africa, where imperialism and neo-colonialism frequently resort to brutal attacks against trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

### Support To Struggle

IN this situation the WFTU and its affiliated organisations are redoubling their efforts to support the struggle of the working class and all workers against anti-working class laws, against bans on strikes, against attacks on trade union premises, against the dismissal and persecution of active trade unionists, against the use of arms to prevent peaceful workers' meetings, against bans on the trade union Press, against bans on international exchanges of workers and trade union delegations and against all restrictions on the right to effectively exercise international solidarity.

While bearing in mind the objective conditions of working class struggles which differ from country to country, industries and enterprises, it cannot be denied that the Charter of Trade Union Rights today, as in the past, opens up broad prospects for united action.

The Charter directs the attention of the trade union movement towards the defence of trade union rights in factories and places of work themselves, where these rights are now most often attacked and violated and where the employers' repression weighs very heavily. This guidance is of very great importance.

The Bureau has recommended that the full meeting of the Commission should make a thorough analysis of the effectiveness of Conventions 87 and 98 of the International Labour Organisation, taking into account the great political, economic and social changes that have occurred in the world since their adoption. International standards can of course only play a positive role if they correspond to the current demands of the workers and the conditions of economic and political development and if they are clear and concrete and do not allow of any interpretation that is harmful to the workers' interests.

On January 22-23, 1963, there was a meeting of the Bureau of the International Trade Union and Juridical Commission for the Defence and Extension of Trade Union Rights and for the Protection of Victims of Anti-Trade Union Persecution to examine this pressing problem of trade union rights and democratic liberties, to consider the results achieved by the Commission and to discuss the future tasks of the WFTU in this field.

In view of the urgent need to encourage and develop the activities of the workers and their trade unions in defence of trade union rights the Bureau of the Commission decided to hold a full meeting of the International Trade Union and Juridical Commission on July 17-19, 1963, in

Prague, with the following agenda:

"Development of the struggles of the working people for the defence and extension of trade union rights at factory, national and international level and against anti-trade union persecution, on the basis of the Charter of Trade Union Rights and the Programme of Trade Union Action at the Present Stage of the Defence of the Workers' Interests and Rights."

### Charter Of Rights

On this question the Bureau stressed that the contents of the Charter of Trade Union Rights adopted by the Seventh Session of the General Council of the WFTU are more valid today than ever, particularly as regards the section laying down that workers have a right, without any discrimination whatever, inside and outside their place of work, to meet, to discuss and freely express their opinions on all questions that concern them, to read the Press of their choice, and to exercise without hindrance the trade union functions to which they have been elected or assigned by trade union organisations.

While bearing in mind the objective conditions of working class struggles which differ from country to country, industries and enterprises, it cannot be denied that the Charter of Trade Union Rights today, as in the past, opens up broad prospects for united action.

The Charter directs the attention of the trade union movement towards the defence of trade union rights in factories and places of work themselves, where these rights are now most often attacked and violated and where the employers' repression weighs very heavily. This guidance is of very great importance.

The Bureau has recommended that the full meeting of the Commission should make a thorough analysis of the effectiveness of Conventions 87 and 98 of the International Labour Organisation, taking into account the great political, economic and social changes that have occurred in the world since their adoption. International standards can of course only play a positive role if they correspond to the current demands of the workers and the conditions of economic and political development and if they are clear and concrete and do not allow of any interpretation that is harmful to the workers' interests.

On January 22-23, 1963, there was a meeting of the Bureau of the International Trade Union and Juridical Commission for the Defence and Extension of Trade Union Rights and for the Protection of Victims of Anti-Trade Union Persecution to examine this pressing problem of trade union rights and democratic liberties, to consider the results achieved by the Commission and to discuss the future tasks of the WFTU in this field.

In view of the urgent need to encourage and develop the activities of the workers and their trade unions in defence of trade union rights the Bureau of the Commission decided to hold a full meeting of the International Trade Union and Juridical Commission on July 17-19, 1963, in

# MOSCOW PREPARES FOR MAY DAY

★ From Masood Ali Khan

Moscow, April 23: Preparations are going ahead in full force for the great spring holiday of the international working class, the First of May. Buildings are being cleaned, washed and decorated, parks and squares are being put into shape, flower beds are being cleared and with the arrival of sunny warm days, green grass is beginning to grow.

FROM all parts of the land, from farms, factories and construction sites, people proudly report their victories and achievements in the field of peaceful labour and the whole Soviet Union, all its nations and peoples bring in their offerings and presents before the celebrations of the big holiday commence and everyone takes part in the rejoicing.

That things are going well in this sphere is shown by the constantly rising living standard. Another happy indication is the report of Plan fulfillment for the first quarter of this year published last Friday.

The Industrial Plan has been overfulfilled again, by three per cent, and compared to the same

death-knell of oppression and rage in the era of socialism and liberation.

### Grim Reminder

The holiday mood was marred here by the grim reminder that dark forces of evil and stark terror still rule in some other parts of the world. The cruel and dastardly murder of Julian Grimau, the popular Spanish leader, by Franco and his thugs, sent a wave of wrath and indignation all through the Soviet land. There was no end to the mass protest meetings and demonstrations condemning this barbarous crime which only demonstrates the nervousness and inner-weakness of the fascist regime.

When the Soviet people celebrate and march on the International holiday of the First of May, they shall not forget the martyrs and prisoners of Spain, Iraq, Portugal and other lands and the martyrs of the past, whose sacrifices made the great advance of socialism and human liberation possible.

# Battle Against Reaction

The bye-election to the Lok Sabha from the Amroha constituency has already assumed vital national significance. Like bees round a honeypot, all the reactionary parties in the country are crowding round the "independent" Acharya Kripalani. As in the North Bombay contest, when Kripalani was trounced by Krishna Menon in the general elections, in Amroha, too, there is a sinister gang up in support of the ageing Acharya.

**T**HE Hindu and Muslim communalists have joined hands, as they did in Bombay, to support Kripalani. The Swatantra stalwarts are, of course, there. The PSP will not lag behind.

Kripalani and his associates are furious at the last minute nomination of Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim as the Congress candidate. The Kripalani fans counted on having to oppose a weak and comparatively unknown Congress opponent, who would not be able to muster Congress workers or voters.

*Informed quarters in Uttar Pradesh go to the length of suggesting there was a regular conspiracy between the Kripalani camp and certain sections inside the Congress. The story of the support lent by Congress Ministers Sucheta Kripalani and Banaridas to the notorious Jan Sangh Ma-ki-Pukar exhibition is quoted as proof of such a line up.*

The direct and insistent intervention of the Centre alone is responsible for the nomination of Hafiz Sahab. UP Ministerial leaders were strangely enough quite happy to "fight" Kripalani with the handicap of a weak candidate. Congress workers are openly stating that this was not mere complacency on the part of the UP bosses: it was, they allege, open treachery to the Congress in the interests of giving Kripalani a helping hand to the Lok Sabha.

The success of the progressive forces in ensuring that a strong candidate fights Kripalani should not blind us to the fact, revealed by the entire story of the nomination of the Congress candidate, that reactionary sections have a dangerously powerful say in State Congress politics. Behind the lip service to national policies are the masked supporters of Jan Sangh and Swatantra policies in high places in the Congress machine.

The sinister outcry against so-called Congress "communalism", raised by Kripalani & Co. after Hafiz Sahib's nomination sounds dangerously like the thief crying "Thief!". With the Jan Sangh throwing its weight behind Kripalani, there is little doubt that their election campaign will be on the usual reactionary, communal lines.

The united patriotic force working for the defeat of Kripalani will have to exercise the greatest vigilance against the disruptive activities of the motley gang which has raised reaction's flag in Amroha.

The Communist Party has already announced that it will do everything in its power to help ensure that Amroha gives the same verdict on Kripalani as North Bombay.

The Right reactionary parties count on the increased strength, which the events following the emergency gave them, with all the chauvinism and war hysteria which was then unleashed.

They count on the popular indignation against the latest anti-people taxation measures of the Congress Government. They count on the growing hatred among the people for the corruption in high places, the pandering by the Congress leaders to the monopolists and their crimes.

*They count on the unlimited*

*financial support from vested interests inside the country and abroad, which was showered on the Kripalani election machine in Bombay, and which is expected in even larger quantities at this critical juncture.*

But the Right and Kripalani count without their host. Certainly the voters of Amroha, like the masses throughout India, are totally opposed to the anti-people taxes, forced on them by the Morarji budget. Certainly they are sick and tired of the growth of corruption.

But the months since the cease-fire have helped to clear up many cobwebs, which might have clouded the minds of many people. The single biggest cobweb which has been removed has unmasked the right reactionary forces — the Swatantrites and the Jan Sangh, above all, and the monopolists, whom they and the Congress Right jointly protect, for the anti-national enemies of our people that they are.

The mass anger against the Ma-ki-Pukar exhibition was the foretaste for the Jan Sangh of the reception they are bound to receive in Amroha, provided that the national democratic forces act unitedly in the vital election battle for the defeat of Kripalani.

## Kashmir Partition and Joint Defence

**T**HE US and British imperialists are going all out for an Indo-Pakistan settlement. The blackmail and pressures seem to know no end. The Rostow Mission evidently did not meet with over-encouraging response in India. Prime Minister Nehru was quick to tell an American correspondent of India's opposition to any plan for a partition of Kashmir, along the lines reported to have been peddled by Rostow.

But the tale of partition is now no longer mere speculation. Partition is on the negotiations table at Karachi. The question only is where do we draw the line. The Indian delegation has its own proposals, which amount to giving Pakistan only a little more than what it already has grabbed of Kashmir. The Pakistan Government wants the partition line on the communal basis, to prove the two-nation theory, perhaps, in between come the proposals of the "true mediators" — the US and British imperialists.

Make no mistake about it. The US-British partition plans are not in India's interests — nor for that matter in Pakistan's. They correspond only to their own imperialist needs. They seek to control, through Pakistan, sufficient territory in Kashmir Valley to expand the military and air bases of aggression they already have established in Gilgit, etc.

Prime Minister Bakshi and other Kashmir leaders have rightly focussed attention on the grave dangers of countenancing any such partition plans. There appears to be considerable anxiety in Kashmir political circles at the very fact of India's accepting the concept of partition of Kashmir.

*It is felt that this is the thin end of the wedge: US-British pressure has brought India already to the point of making proposals for Kashmir's partition — even though these do not meet the imperialists' wishes in full and are unacceptable to Pakistan. Will this mean further surrender?*

The patriotic cry of "No surrender of Kashmir" is combined with firm opposition to the schemes of "air umbrellas" and other plots to drag India into the US network of military alliances, under one pretext or the other.

*The fact cannot be ignored that US military aid has strings. These strings are openly written into the US laws which*

*authorise military aid. It is one thing to buy arms on a commercial basis: it is quite another to become fawning recipients of the baited "bounty" of the imperialists.*

The latest American leader to give us his unsolicited advice (or blackmail) is US Assistant Secretary of State Phillips Talbot. He had told a foreign policy conference of editors in Washington that "it is hard to see how the sub-continent can be defended except on a sub-continental basis."

The old scheme of Indo-Pakistan "joint defence" is again reiterated. But there is not one word to explain how all this fits in with India's policy of non-alignment, with Pakistan's pact with China, with Pakistan's membership of SEATO and CENTO and all the other obvious contradictions which exist.

What is all this about a "sub-continent" anyhow? India wants friendly relations with all her neighbours, including Pakistan. But is this to be bought only by surrendering Kashmir and joining SEATO and CENTO via the so-called Indo-Pak joint defence pact?

Talbot, like Rostow and all the rest, must be told quite sharply to keep his hands off: India's defence is India's business; and we intend to take all measures possible to ensure it. Blackmail and pressure by the imperialists will never drive us to our knees.

## Vinobaji and Non-Alignment

An article by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the latest issue of the AICC Economic Review gives his views on the Sino-Indian conflict. His passionate adherence to peace and the nonviolent approach is well-known. And his call for negotiations is in line with his general standpoint.

What is specially interesting is his view on non-alignment. This is what he says:

*"India is at present a non-aligned country. Some people, even some prominent people, are trying to push us into the American camp. They will forgive me for saying that I see no wisdom in this."*

Vinobaji's argument is based on ahimsa, and one may or may not agree with the source of his views. But this condemnation of the "prominent" advocates of the "American camp" will certainly strengthen the patriotic forces in this country.

(April 24)

## NATION

# Probe Wanted

A Calcutta correspondent has sent me a story which calls for an immediate inquiry at the highest level.

**I**T seems that the Board of Directors of the Standard General Assurance Co. Ltd., at its meeting on April 5, decided to close down its insurance business from May onwards. Notices have been given, it is understood, to other insurance companies and to their policyholders. Forty-five employees will lose their jobs.

And why? When the employees approached boss Goenka, he said the company feared that business would be diverted from it by many of its existing clients; and hence there would not be sufficient business to run the company.

According to facts given by our correspondent, the company was started in 1943 and soon became one of the top ten general insurance companies in India. Besides Sir Badridas Goenka, Chairman, and his son K. P. Goenka, the company's Board had on it representatives of the Bangor and Jain Houses, as well as of James Finlay company, all of these controlling vast industrial and commercial empires. Thus there was every reason for the company to prosper.

But during the mid-fifties, business began to fall for reasons best known to the persons at the helm of affairs. In 1959-60, the management closed down all its branches numbering 12 and more than 150 employees were thrown out of employment. Only a strong movement conducted by the All-India Insurance Employees' Association and the employees saved the Head Office.

Our correspondent says that in 1960, business showed an upward trend, and with huge reduction of staff, the expenses went down greatly, so much so that while in 1959 the company had exceeded the permissible limits of expenses fixed by the Insurance Act at 26.57 per cent in Fire and Accident Departments and 35.78 per cent in Marine Department, in 1961 such expenses were 12.90 per cent and 3.05 per cent below the limits.

According to available information, both business and expense positions further improved in 1962. It is also to be noted that the company declared a dividend in 1961 for the first time after 1952. It is also learnt that business was as usual in 1963.

Then, why has the Company closed down? It is reliably learnt that no business, except that of K. P. Goenka himself, was transferred from this Company in 1963.

The employees have appealed to the Prime Minister and the Union Labour and Finance Ministers to intervene. It is felt that the motive behind the closure needs to be probed.

The company has a paid up capital of Rs. 8 lakhs and investment securities of over Rs. 23 lakhs. Even after payment of outstanding claims and payment of gratuity, etc. to the employees, more than double the paid up capital will be available to the controlling directors.

What will they do with it? Can the Government not intervene? The demand for nationalisation of the general insurance industry is growing among all employees, who fear that such closures, at the whims of employers, may be repeated, with resultant loss not only to the employees but to the nation itself.

## Zoolum Raj

**T**HE Secretary General of the All-India Non-Gazetted Audit and Accounts Association, in a memorandum, says that the 40,000 employees of the Central Audit and Accounts Department are going through tremendous difficulties:

Their All-India Association and some local Associations have been derecognised, some local Associations have not been recognised at all, 53 leaders of the employees victimised after 1960 strike are still kept out of service, no scope exists for representation and solution of problems of the staff on an all-India level, and the Comptroller and Auditor General deals with the staff as he likes, even defying Supreme Court direction.

The Government of India reviewed the post-strike situation in 1961 and decided to restore recognition to Associations and review all cases of disciplinary actions. In all other departments recognition was restored, but not so in the Audit and Accounts.

In all other departments, most of the dismissed employees have been taken back, but in Audit and Accounts, all 53 are still out.

In spite of the open declaration by the Home Minister on the floor of Parliament that employees' associations could take up cases of victimised employees, the Auditor General refused to allow this Association to make such representations.

Behind all this is the well-known case of Secretary-General Joseph of the Association. He was compulsorily retired at the young age of 27 in 1959. The Bombay High Court quashed a removal notice given on him for violation of Rule 4B of Conduct Rules. The authorities then served notice for alleged violation of Section 4A of the Rules. The Supreme Court of India quashed this order on October 30, 1962 and in the process struck down Rule 4B entirely and Rule 4A partly.

Instead of obeying the spirit of the order from the highest judicial organ of the Republic, the department is now proceeding against him on a charge-sheet submitted in 1961, on the ground that Joseph edited the journal of the Association.

Vindictiveness against the Association and its Secretary-General has led the Auditor General's department to the point of defying not only the Home Ministry but also the Supreme Court.

—Vigilante

APRIL 28, 1963

**NEW DELHI:** In his report to the General Council of the AITUC, that ended its session here on April 17, S. A. Dange, General Secretary, said that since the Council met in November last, a material change has taken place in the situation which should raise the question whether really now the conditions of emergency should persist.

**I**T cannot be said, Dange remarked, at the same time, that conditions of emergency have vanished altogether. But a certain material change has taken place in the situation which called for a reassessment of the need for continuing the emergency.

When the General Council met in November, it was at a critical time in the life of the nation. In those conditions of emergency and the need for all-out efforts for defence of the country, we adopted certain basic policies.

Those basic policies rested on the fact that the country was in danger, was required to be defended and that the trade union movement should participate in defence efforts and at the same time, continue to defend the interests of the workers and the people.

## Material Change

But subsequent events as the cease-fire, the withdrawal of the Chinese forces, the efforts made by the Colombo Powers to help promote negotiations and the fact that active hostilities do not exist now, demand a reassessment of the situation. The conditions which led to the declaration of emergency are no longer present, at least of the intensity which was there in November. A material change has therefore taken place.

While noting this material change which has taken place, Dange said, none can, of course, give the guarantee that the old conditions may not reappear and hence there is no need for ad-

quate defence preparations. But to pursue vigorously our efforts for strengthening the defence potential and to implement the programmes of industrial development, as part of strengthening our economic base to resist any aggression, it is not really necessary that the state of emergency should continue. These can be done quite effectively within the framework of the normal laws of the country.

## China Must Accept Colombo Proposals

Dange observed that the deadlock created by the non-acceptance of the Colombo proposals by China is pregnant with grave possibilities. China should accept the Colombo proposals in toto and agree to take the dispute to the arbitration table. Only then, the deadlock will be broken.

The present deadlock is being used by Rightwing reactionaries and the imperialists to pressurise our country into acceptance of arms aid proposals, seriously prejudicing our sovereignty and independence.

Dange referred to the pressure on India to surrender Kashmir to Pakistan, as a precondition for Western military assistance and the demand made by the U.S. to allow direct control over the utilisation of arms supplies provided by them and for the presence of American armed personnel on our soil. No sovereign country can accept such conditions. The question of national defence should therefore be seen as a part of the

# AITUC General Council Session S. A. Dange Outlines Need to Reassess Emergency Situation

question of the defence of the sovereignty of the country.

Dange characterised the present problems of defence as that of "an active build-up type" as against the earlier "active military type". The question to be examined is whether the new tasks can be carried out without the state of emergency in force.

Dange said that he did not agree with the demand made by certain political parties for immediately ending the emergency but was of the opinion that the material change that has taken place in the situation should be examined.

## Criticism of Budget Proposals

In the new situation, Dange continued, the question of defence of the people's interests should get greater emphasis. This was so particularly after the new burdens placed on the shoulders of the working people in the Union Government's Budget.

The budget is presented in the name of defence, to which is tied development, because defence cannot be carried out without development. We agree with the thesis that defence cannot be carried out without development. We agree to bear the sacrifices. But in this country, divided into classes, the question should be: Who bears what?

Dange observed that there are two angles of criticism of the Budget Proposals and two sets of solutions put forward as alternative. The Rightwing parties as the Swatantra and Jan Sangh oppose the new tax proposals but their alternative is that we shouldn't spend so much on defence but get all our military needs as "aid" from the obliging Western Powers.

They say that this Government, by sticking to non-alignment, is not accepting the generous American aid and is therefore imposing new taxes for defence needs. So, they say, the cause of the taxes is non-alignment. And therefore their solution is: scrap non-alignment, and accept American aid.

As far as the trade unions are concerned, we admit that money is necessary. But the money can be found not by abandoning nonalignment and not by hitting the people. We have three solutions which are basically anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and pro-people.

- a Nationalisation of the Banking Industry;
- b Nationalise the oil industry; and



**C** Foreign trade in major commodities to be taken over by the State.

By nationalisation of banks, the Government could get about Rs. 150 crores annually, besides controlling the enormous sums of private savings for genuine national development.

By nationalisation of oil industry, the State could realise much larger funds than what it hopes to get by new levies on kerosene and other petroleum products.

State trading in import-export of major commodities could prevent the loss of foreign exchange by under-invoicing and over-invoicing and also augment resources to the tune of Rs. 100 crores.

## Campaign Against Shady Deals

The trade unions should also activity campaign against the shady deals of the monopolists, as revealed by the Vivian Bose Commission, and demand take over of the Dalmia-Jain concerns by Government.

By their magnificent con-

tributions to the National Defence Fund, the workers have established their bona fides. What is now needed is that public opinion should be enlightened on the inequity of taxation proposals and the scope for raising additional resources by taking a progressive anti-monopoly stand.

Dange noted that the Government has also shown that it is conscious of the change and is not altogether opposed to taking note of the change and acting on that. He welcomed the decisions of the Wage Boards on steel, coal and coffee plantation industries to award interim relief to workers even after the Emergency was declared.

## Compulsory Savings Opposed

He opposed the compulsory savings scheme and said the workers are already contributing to savings by way of their provident funds. Instead of going after the wages of the workers, cutting into their meagre earnings, the Government would do better to mobilise the private savings of the country by nationalising the banking industry, he said.

The enormous amounts which are being invested by the Life Insurance Corporation on equities of private companies should also be diverted to the national exchequer, Dange demanded.

## Shillong : Centre of Attention in Ensuing Bye-Elections

SHILLONG: As the dates for polling for the ensuing bye-elections to the State Assembly are drawing near—April 23 is the date for polling in the two constituencies of Mizo district and one constituency of Garo hills and April 27 for the four constituencies of Khasi hills—the election campaign has also been reaching its climax. The main centre of attention in the current election campaign is Shillong, the state capital, which is also going to the polls on April 27.

AMONG the other constituencies Congress is fighting only one seat out of two in Mizo district. But not much importance is attached to that seat. Congress in Mizo district is rather a new organisation. Earlier Mizo Union, by far the strongest political party of the district, functioned as the *de facto* Congress organisation there.

The Mizo Union which was against the demand for a separate Hill State, however, broke away from the Congress for alleged negligence of the problems of the district by the Congress government and it eventually joined the All-Parties Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC) which stands for a Hill State. Then one section of the Mizo Union was won over by the Congress and this section formed the first unit of the Congress in that district. But if the result of the last general election is any guide, the Congress in Mizo district is still in an embryonic stage.

It is natural that main political interest should be focussed

on Shillong, not only because the Congress is fighting the APHLC in this seat, but also because it is the state capital with a cosmopolitan population. In the other three constituencies the "Independents" are said to be receiving good support of the Congress and at least one of them is a leading Congressman of the district. Though all pre-election forecasts contain some elements of uncertainties, political observers would not hesitate to predict the outcome of the election battle in these constituencies of the district. According to them, the result this time would be no different from what it was at the time of the general election, even if the margin in favour of the APHLC may not be as big everywhere this time as it was at the time of the general election.

### Complex Population

In Shillong as the polling date is approaching nearer almost all

the complexities of the political scene of the state are coming to the fore. Here the single major section of voters, community-wise, — and in Assam politics today community, whether linguistic or religious, plays a dominant role — is the Bengalis with about 18 thousand votes out of a total of about 48 thousand. The Khasis come next with about 15 thousand votes and the rest consists of Assamese, Nepalis and others.

Past experiences, according to observers, show that it is the Bengali voters who hold the balance here. Whichever way they swing goes the victory. It is also said that the Bengali voters of Shillong have always overwhelmingly voted against the Congress in all the three general elections, though in the first general election Congress could secure a good section of these votes.

### Prestige Fight

This time the Congress seems to have made the bye-election from Shillong constituency a "prestige fight" for itself. The Chief Minister himself has been taking personal interest. Reported by at his request the West Bengal Congress boss Atulya Ghose came here for Congress election campaign. Atulya Ghose addressed a number of public meetings in predominantly Bengali-inhabited areas of the city, besides holding some group meetings.

It has been suggested that Atulya Ghose is a "master election strategist" and hence his "advice" was sought by the Assam Congress in conducting the Shillong bye-election. But critics of the Congress maintain that the main purpose of bringing Atulya Ghose all the way from Calcutta to Shillong is not so much of seeking his advice as utilising his services for wooing the Bengali voters of Shillong.

What consideration made the Assam Congress use Atulya Ghose to woo Bengali voters? Observers think that the Congress leaders here must be under the impression that Atulya Ghose being a "Bengali leader", his call would find more ready response from the Bengali voters than that of the local Congress leaders. His performances here; lent further support to this view.

The APHLC also knows that to win the election from this general seat it must count upon securing the support of a substantial majority of Bengali voters and they, accordingly, have directed their special "appeal" to the Bengali voters. If Atulya Ghose sought to "assure" the Bengalis of a "fair deal" from the Congress government and proposed to discuss their problems himself with the state government, the APHLC reminded the Bengali voters of the 1960 riot and the "support and sympathy" the Khasis showed for the Bengalis, the victims of the riot, at that time.

The APHLC stirred old memories of how all sections of Parliament had demanded an

enquiry into the cause or causes of riot in Assam and how Atulya Ghose suggested that it should be held at appropriate time and thus shelved it.

### Congress Factionalism

It is also interesting to note that a section of Congressmen themselves also conducted a whisper campaign about this past incident among those who attended Atulya Ghose's group meetings to "harass" him. These Congressmen belong to the anti-Ministerial group of the Assam Congress. Inspired by these Congressmen, it is reported, some of those who attended Atulya Ghose's group meetings asked him about the "protection" of the Bengalis in Assam. Atulya Ghose is reported to have "assured" them of their "protection".

One result of this kind of election campaign, it is pointed out, has been stirring up old sores that have been fast healing, particularly in the wake of the national emergency. The relations between the Assamese and the Bengalis that had been none too happy in the past were getting closer under the impact of the Chinese threat. But the campaign for this bye-election, it is apprehended, threatens to revive the old bitterness which will help neither the country as a whole, nor the two linguistic groups inhabiting this frontier State.

## Bye-Election Developments

With the exposure of Congress high pressure tactics to dissuade PSP candidates from contesting the forthcoming bye-elections, the fight in the three constituencies which are going to polls in May, has acquired more political sharpness. Resenting the Congress tactics, PSP has come out with a sharp exposure of what has been going on behind their backs.

THE tussle for the key seat in Trivandrum has witnessed most these pressure tactics of the KPCC and particularly the active role of Home Minister Chacko in the matter. The PSP has decided to contest Trivandrum seat with their substitute candidate, as their original candidate has been forced to withdraw due to pressure from Congress, the Cabinet and Mannom.

PSP had originally proposed Thycaud Subramania Iyer, a prominent lawyer, as their candidate in Trivandrum. As a substitute they had put up B. Madhavan Nair also. Now the substitute has become the chief candidate and the other one has just disappeared from the field.

The State PSP chairman in a statement announcing this has alleged that the Home Minister who also happens to be in charge of elections, "had misused his powers as Home Minister in the matter of candidates and contests in the bye-elections".

He said that the PSP had considered the question of lending support to the Congress supported independent, Govinda Pillai, provided he agreed to be sponsored by the PSP. "But we have reliable information that a highly-placed police officer, acting under instructions from his boss had approached Govinda Pillai and requested him not to contest as a PSP sponsored independent.

We congratulate them for their unity and determination and are confident that they would secure a just and non-outrageable settlement.

(April 19)

### Govindan Nair's Tour

M. N. Govindan Nair, who toured the three constituencies, told *New Age* that in today's

our ticket.

★ ON FACING PAGE

## Govt. Fails To Control Increasing Prices

Calcutta, April 21: At a time when people's attention has been drawn to the campaign for "freedom from hunger", in West Bengal the situation after the new budget imposes has revealed a tragic tale of suffering of millions. The soaring rise in prices of food and other essential commodities has further accentuated the acute distress of the low-income people, the workers and the middle class employees.

PRICES of all foodstuffs, particularly rice, have shot up sharply during the last fortnight and reached the highest level since the Bengal famine of 1943. No rice, not even the coarsest variety, is available at anything less than Rs. 92 per maund. Average quality rice is selling at more than Rs. 40 per maund.

Chief Minister P. C. Sen, who also holds the Food portfolio, admitted last week that the price of rice is now higher than in the last few years. And par-boiled rice is not available at Fair Price shops. He could only suggest taking more wheat and he did not think there was hoarding or that the government could do anything in the matter.

Statesman made a first lead news with the heading: SOARING PRICES WREAK HAVOC ON BUDGETS: AVERAGE FAMILY IN QUANDARY: RICE NEVER SO DEAR: and wrote

"Even before the pinch of the new taxes can be felt the soaring prices of commodities in Calcutta are beginning to wreak havoc with family budgets as the rise in prices cover so wide a range of commodities. According to a chart published alongside the report, prices have risen between 1961 and 1963 as follows: rice 56%, masur dal 26%, potato 20%, hilsa fish 20%, goat's meat 15% and sugar 9%.

These high prices bode ill for the coming lean months when normally rice price goes up. And these months will put the burden of the new taxes on the people. Finance Minister's concessions will not mean much for the poorer sections. Barring the Stock Exchange, the reaction among different sections of people to Morarji's tax relief have been devoid of all enthusiasm.

### CHOLERA EPIDEMIC

AS the food prices are steadily going up, the outbreak of epidemics in this overpopulated slum city has also assumed serious proportions. Both cholera and

small pox have taken a heavy toll.

Last week 151 persons were attacked with cholera, of whom 59 died. The week before the figures were 88 and 57 and for the same period last year the figures were 35 and 6. Small Pox took a toll of 45 and 50 lives during last two weeks. Last year it was nil. Though not an epidemic like cholera or small pox, tuberculosis caused 32 and 36 deaths during the last two weeks. Last year's figures were 28 and 27.

The Calcutta Corporation and the West Bengal Government were toying with the problem, as is usual with them. The supply of filtered water, which is the crux of fighting cholera, is in a scandalous state. While the daily requirement is of 300 million gallons, Calcutta Corporation's own estimate of supply is only 83 million gallons.

In reality, the supply does not come to more than 60 million gallons due to large-scale leakage and seepage. Water supply pipes have long outlived their normal existence; experts advised replacement some 20 years back, but nothing has been done in this direction since then.

At present the corporation and the government cannot give any hope of immediate relief. A joint sitting of corporation and government authorities to find a solution is reported to have ended without reaching any conclusion and decision.

### DEVASTATION IN COOCHBEHAR

IN the wake of such problems, has come the tragedy of cyclone devastation in Coochbehar district in West Bengal and the adjoining district of Goalpara in Assam. In a cyclone lasting only two minutes, 83 people were killed and 640 lost their homes and belongings including cattle.

According to a telegram received from Debi Neogy, the Communist leader of Coochbehar, Communist and Congress workers are jointly doing relief work in Toofangunj. Their whole time work has rendered some help to the afflicted people. But more medicines, tents, and food are necessary; so are doctors. He has appealed to the relief organisations in Calcutta to rush all help they can. Detailed report of the havoc is still awaited and might be much more than what is estimated at present.

### BANK EMPLOYEES DEMAND DAY

THE Bank Employees of Calcutta observed Demands Day on April 17 by taking out a procession under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association. More than a thousand employees paraded the streets of the Dalhousie Square area and held the meeting at the Indian Association Hall.

The resolution adopted at the meeting demanded nationalisation of the banking industry with a view to "stabilise price line, curb hoarding and profiteering, check speculation, utilise the vast resources for country's agricultural and industrial purposes" as well as for "uniformity and security in the employees' service conditions."

### "NO AMENDMENT OF ART. 311"

CENTRAL Government employees held a mass rally on April 19 at the call of the Coordination Committee of Central Government Workers and Employees' unions and strongly protested against the proposed

amendment to Sec. 311 of the Constitution.

Resolutions were also passed demanding nationalisation of banking and import-export business, plugging tax evasion, realisation of arrears of taxes, exemption from compulsory savings scheme and surcharge on people with annual income of six thousand rupees or less and holding the price line.

They also demanded reinstatement of the employees victimised for participating in the 1960 strike, particularly those in the Audit & Accounts Department, and protested against anti-union activities of a section of officers, including the Director of Post and Telegraphs, Calcutta.

### "SAVE EDUCATION" DAY OBSERVED

ON April 19, teachers — both secondary and primary — observed "Save Education" day in response to the call of the All-India Secondary Teachers' Federation, by wearing badges and holding a public meeting. The All Bengal Teachers' Association and the West Bengal Primary Teachers' Association jointly convened the meeting at the University Institute Hall.

The resolution adopted at the meeting protested against the cut in education budget both at the centre and in the state.

### THUMPING VICTORY THROUGH UNITY

THE united strength of Communists and a section of Congressmen who

worked unitedly with them scored a thumping victory in the elections to the Bata Employees' Cooperative Society. Communists have won 35 seats out of the total 58 and Congressmen working with them have won 11 seats.

The PSP, RSP and an anti-Communist section of Congressmen could win only 8, 1 and 3 seats respectively. While Communists and their associates focused on the relief of the employees, PSP-RSP combine had staked their cards on anti-Communism. But the employees gave a categorical rebuff to them.

### GOLDSMITHS' STRUGGLE FORTNIGHT

MORARJI Desai's Gold Control Order has claimed two more victims in West Bengal, bringing the total to four. On April 9, when thousands of goldsmiths assembled at the foot of the Calcutta Monument at the call of the "Bangiya Swarna-Shilpi Samity" and took a vow "not suicide, but struggle is the road to salvation", a young goldsmith took acid and ended his life.

The rally demanded amendment of the Gold Control Order and decided to observe April 15 to April 30 as "Struggle Fortnight". This will prepare for the ensuing All India Goldsmiths Conference and the open session in the Raja Subodh Mulkik Square on April 10 also voiced the same sentiments.

### KERALA BYE-ELECTIONS

★ FROM FACING PAGE

situation in the State it was necessary and right that the Communist Party should offer serious contest to the ruling party in the three constituencies and fight the PSP as well.

Two ways were open before the Congress in Kerala, he said. Either they could accept the offer of the Communist Party, and unite with the biggest political party in the state with a view to defeat and rout reactionary forces and ensure stable and democratic administration or seek the support of and ally with communal reactionaries and fight the Communist party and go the anti-democratic way.

The last week's developments have clearly shown that the Kerala Congress has chosen the second path and sought the help of communal reactionaries to stabilise its position and seek success in the three seats. Moreover, the Congress has torn to shreds all facade of democratic norms and fair practices, and brought undue pressure on even the candidates of PSP with a

view to getting them out of the field. The net result was that the Communist Party, the RSP and other genuine democratic elements were left with no other alternative except to unite and fight the unashamed opportunism, and the anti-democratic role and surrender to communal reactionaries of the ruling Party and also the reactionary role of the PSP wherever they were contesting, Govindan Nair said.

An Influential Election Committee headed by S. Easwara Iyer (former MP) and with K. Balakrishnan (Editor, *Kaumudy* daily), Pankajakshin of RSP, Ali Kunju Advocate, M. K. Kumaran MP, Sree P. Sreedharan Nair and Bhaskaran Nair, Advocates and 100 others was set up in Trivandrum on April 21 in a largely attended meeting of workers of the Communist Party and RSP.

In the other two constituencies also, more and more democratic minded men belonging to all walks of life and shades of political opinion are seeing through the game of the Congress and the PSP and are coming round to supporting the Communist Party's candidates.

## BARAUNI OIL REFINERY STRIKE

### Settlement Held Up: Bureaucratic Delay

The complete stoppage of work on the construction project at the Barauni Oil Refinery came as a surprise to all. That such a stoppage had to come during the period of emergency and that it was caused not merely by the strike of 10,000 workers organised by the AITUC but also by mass resignation of 1200 technical hands organised by the INTUC has baffled many.

THE demands which led to the strike would surprise everybody even more. They contain, among others, such simple questions as the enforcement of an eight-hour day, payment for overtime at double the ordinary rate, payments of arrears of overtime earnings of one year, payment of wages illegally deducted and withheld by the contractors' firms, payment of bonus which was paid to only a section of the workers to all, reinstatement of victimised workmen.

It were demands such as these that were hanging fire for months but the Indian Refiners Ltd., could not concede them and the Bihar Labour Department could not press them. And there had to be mass resignation by the INTUC and a strike by the AITUC in order to settle such points. Could the wooden-headedness of the public sector bureaucrats and futility of the Bihar Labour Department go further?

Immediately after the general strike of April 15 the Bihar Labour Department took the

By Jagannath Sarkar

most ridiculous step of referring some of the demands raised by the AITUC union to a tribunal. Everybody knows that the Barauni Refinery is scheduled to be completed in October 1963 and even the speediest tribunal proceedings cannot produce an award before that. Workers naturally refused to accept this mockery.

In order to complicate the problem further, on April 18 the Bihar labour department brought about a settlement in Bridge & Roof where work was completely stopped due to the INTUC-led mass resignations. The Labour Department got the seventeen victimised workmen reinstated, met certain other demands and promised to carry on conciliation on the rest after resumption of work. And after that work was resumed in Bridge & Roof.

It passes our understanding why at least this much could not be done in respect of the 10,000 AITUC-led

workers on strike, when their demands are also similar.

We understand that if the same formula of settlement as in the Bridge & Roof is pursued particularly in connection with the victimised workmen, and the Bihar Labour Ministry is accepted as the sole arbitrator in respect of the rest of the demands, the AITUC-led workers will be prepared to resume duty.

We appreciate the tone of sympathy for the workers in the statement of the Bihar Labour Minister made on April 17. We appeal to him to accept the very reasonable and moderate offer of the striking workers and to persuade the IRL to accept the same in the interest of speedy resumption of work.

Finally we would like to congratulate all the 12,000 workers of Barauni for their magnificent unity and cool courage in the face of such mean manoeuvres of the Bihar Labour Department, callousness of the IRL authorities unworthy of a public sector undertaking and provocative attitude of some of the police officials who are resorting to unnecessary arrests of peaceful workers.

We congratulate them for their unity and determination and are confident that they would secure a just and non-outrageable settlement.

(April 19)

# MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE AITUC



Every year since 1890, the working class has demonstrated its international solidarity and brotherhood by the united, massive demonstrations on May Day. And the might of the international working class movement has been manifested with ever greater vigour as the years went by.

THE world socialist system—the political expression of the triumphant ideology

of the working class, has become the determining and decisive factor of the advance of all mankind.

last strongholds of colonialism. We greet the working people of South Africa, Spain and Portugal who are heroically fighting against fascist dictatorship.

**b** Scrapping of the policy of prohibition, which would alone yield about Rs. 60 crores;

**c** Imposition of a ceiling on remittance of profits of foreign concerns out of India, at least for the duration of the emergency;

**d** Suspension of payment of privy purses to the ex-Rulers;

**e** Taking over of the Dalmia-Jain enterprises exposed by the Vivian Bose Report.

on grounds of "security" and to prevent the large-scale victimisation in the private sector.

THE AITUC calls upon all workers to unite firmly in action to beat back the political offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries, to work for world peace and Afro-Asian solidarity, to strive for an early peaceful settlement of the dispute with China on the basis of the Colombo proposals, to strengthen the defence potential of the country on the basis of self-reliance and industrial strength, to strive for alternate and equitable resources for the development of defence and economy.

THE AITUC is confident that the workers of India, steeled in many struggles and years of anti-imperialist movement,

will strive even more firmly to achieve these tasks. In the fulfilment of these tasks, no barriers of affiliation and organisation will divide them. In the unity of the class lies the way forward for the class and the nation.

Let us all pledge on this day of International Solidarity that we will do our best to fulfil our tasks, to further strengthen our struggle for peace, democracy and socialism!

**LONG LIVE MAY DAY 1963!**  
**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!**  
**LONG LIVE PEACE AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES!**  
**LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS!**  
**LONG LIVE THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS!**

IN the months which followed the last May Day celebrations, the united struggles of the workers have been able to realise certain important gains from the point of defending their interests. The interim wage increases in coal, iron and steel, the settlement reached providing for increased wages and amenities for employees of the Life Insurance Corporation, the agreements in the oil industry and in certain other sectors, are some of the notable examples.

IN India, we had to face an aggression on our borders and the country rallied round to defend its territory. In the months following the declaration of National Emergency, the working class has lent its sustained support to the tasks of strengthening our country's defence potential and has creditably fulfilled their role as the second line of defence.

Taking advantage of the desire of the Indian people to strengthen the country's defence potential, the imperialists and the reactionary elements in India are hatching numerous schemes to entangle India into their war pacts, to make India renounce non-alignment, to renounce all planned efforts for economic development and to give greater concessions to the imperialists abroad and monopolies at home. They are blackmailing India to surrender Kashmir to Pakistan.

The working class in all-India with all progressive sections has to rally all its forces to prevent such a development.

The cherished desire of our people to strengthen the country's economic and defence potential, to rely on our own strength to resist any aggression, is being utilised by Government to impose a number of new levies on the common people by way of the tax proposals in the 1963-64 Budget. As has been pointed out by the General Council of the AITUC, the effects of the budget proposals will "entail much privation and suffering for the ordinary working people in town and country and a further fall in the existing wages of the working class."

While carrying on a sustained protest campaign against the Government's unjust tax policy, for early withdrawal of the compulsory deposits scheme, the working class calls for the immediate adoption by Government of the following measures, to raise additional resources:

**a** Nationalisation of banks, oil companies, jute and sugar mills, coal mines and the country's export-import trade;

**b** Scrapping of the policy of prohibition, which would alone yield about Rs. 60 crores;

**c** Imposition of a ceiling on remittance of profits of foreign concerns out of India, at least for the duration of the emergency;

**d** Suspension of payment of privy purses to the ex-Rulers.

**e** Taking over of the Dalmia-Jain enterprises exposed by the Vivian Bose Report.

The Government to take bold steps in the above direction with the backing and support of the working millions in this country and despite the opposition and obstruction of the vested interests represented by the monopolists.

The AITUC calls upon the workers and employees of India, in fraternal alliance with all sections of the affected people in town and country, to carry on a sustained protest campaign against the Government's unjust tax policy, for early withdrawal of the compulsory deposits scheme, and for compelling the Government to adopt radical democratic measures as suggested above. The unions of the AITUC should take the initiative in mobilising and uniting all sections of the working class for this campaign.

The General Council decides to observe May 27, 1963 as an All-India Day for Nationalisation and against Tax Burdens on the Poor and calls upon its unions to observe it in a fitting manner.



S. A. Dange addressing the rally of Bank workers in Delhi on April 17.

## AITUC RESOLUTION

### ON TAXATION PROPOSALS

**1** The General Council of the AITUC, while appreciating the Government of India's requirement for unusually large revenues amounting to over Rs. 1800 crores in 1963-64 for the twin purposes of defence and development, cannot but protest against the basically inequitable character of the Budget proposals for raising the additional revenues.

**2** On the one hand, these proposals place an intolerably heavy burden on the poorer sections of the community, by taxing a wide range of essential commodities such as kerosene, tobacco, tea, soap, paper, cloth, etc., by raising postal charges and by imposing a new scheme for compulsory deposits.

On the other hand, the proposals make only a negligible addition to the tax liabilities of the private corporate sector and the upper income brackets of society, while introducing no institutional changes whatsoever in the economic structure for mobilising the enormous resources required.



Bank Employees procession (April 17)

The "concessions" announced by the Union Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha on April 16, 1963, have not only not changed the basically unjust nature of his proposals in any way, but have, in fact, further accentuated the glaring inequality of their incidence.

**3** Two-thirds of the additional taxes proposed for 1963-64 are comprised of indirect taxes, mainly in the form of excise duties on a large number of essential commodities. The 50 per cent concession on inferior and 20 per cent on superior kerosene, subsequently announced, though welcome, does not alter the general pattern of burdens on the poor man. A substantial rise in prices and cost of living is bound to be generated and to encourage the anti-social activities of profiteers and hoarders. This will entail much privation and suffering for the ordinary working people in town and country and a further fall in the existing real wages of the working class.

The position will be aggravated by the proposed increase in postal charges, including even the cost of the humble postcard.

**4** The AITUC notes with particular concern the proposal for a compulsory deposits scheme. Instead of creating conditions for voluntary savings, the Government has preferred to go in for compulsory deductions from the meagre incomes of crores of people who had already given ample evidence of their patriotism and self-sacrifice by their generous contributions to the NDF in the last five months.

All workers earning between Rs. 125 per month to about Rs. 400 per month will now have to undergo what, in fact, amounts to a wage cut of between 3 to 4 per cent. When on Government's own admission, the per capita income is not rising as it should and wealth is concentrating in the hands of few monopolists, to compel the poorer sections to save, when there are no margins to save is a cruel imposition. Over and above this, the rise in prices and fall in real wages make the compulsory saving amount to an obnoxious wage-cut in the name of national needs and savings.

The exemption now proposed for those already saving at least 11 per cent of their incomes on account of Provident Fund, Life Insurance, etc., may benefit only a very small section. The same applies to the niggardly exemption permitted to peasants paying Rs. 5 or less as annual land revenue.

The AITUC protests strongly against the iniquitous burden of Rs. 60 crores sought to be realised by the compulsory deposits scheme and demands its withdrawal.

**5** In striking contrast to the Government's attitude towards the poorer sections of the community, is its willingness to lighten still further the already modest burden of the Super Profits Tax, income-tax surcharge, ceiling on salaries and perquisites, etc., on the private corporate sector. In these respects, Government has bowed before the organised pressure of the monopolists, both Indian and foreign, and has given them unjustified concessions.

**6** The AITUC notes, with regret, that, despite the urgent need for an unprecedented mobilisation of resources, the Government has so far refused to explore alternative channels other than those of taxation or to introduce basic institutional changes of a democratic character in the national economy. The AITUC is of opinion that, both in order to provide relief to the people from the crushing burden of taxation as well as to lay its hands effectively on ample resources, the Government should adopt the following measures without delay:

(a) Nationalisation of banks, oil companies, jute and sugar mills, coal mines and the country's export-import trade;

(b) Scrapping of the policy of prohibition, which would alone yield about Rs. 60 crores;

(c) Imposition of a ceiling on remittance of profits of foreign concerns out of India, at least for the duration of the emergency;

(d) Suspension of payment of privy purses to the ex-Rulers.

(e) Taking over of the Dalmia-Jain enterprises exposed by the Vivian Bose Report.

The heroic actions of the French miners and other sections of the French working class, the united struggle of the Italian workers, of the British working class against rising unemployment and the three-month long struggle of the American newspaper workers illustrate the growing tempo of united action of the working class in the capitalist countries.

We greet the working class of the Asian, African and Latin American countries who successfully completed the struggle for national independence recently, and are now engaged in the task of national development. We send our fraternal greetings to the brave working class of Cuba, the first country in the American continent to embark on a path of socialist construction.

We send our greetings of fraternal solidarity to the people of the colonial and oppressed countries who are striking powerful blows at the

of the working class, has become the determining and decisive factor of the advance of all mankind.

The Fifth World Trade Union Congress has convincingly confirmed, as history and facts testify, that the time has come "when the working class, together with its natural allies is able to solve in a positive way, the problems which confront mankind today."

**WE** in India salute our brethren in all lands on this May Day, wishing them greater successes in their struggles for peace and a better life.

We salute the World Federation of Trade Unions, representing the organic unity of the world working class, and expressing the will of its 120 million members and the workers of the whole world.

We send our fraternal greetings to the working class of the Soviet Union, the first country in the world to overthrow the rule of capital 48 years ago, and now successfully marching onward to Communism. The bonds of friendship between Soviet Union and India, symbolised in the ever-growing economic cooperation, are getting strengthened every day.

We greet the working class of all socialist countries, who, after throwing off the capitalist yoke, are achieving great successes in building a new life for a third of humanity.

We send our greetings of solidarity to the working class of the capitalist countries who are bravely fighting against the policies of imperialism and colonialism and are engaged in class battles against the monopolist exploiters for the betterment of the life of the working people.

The heroic actions of the French miners and other sections of the French working class, the united struggle of the Italian workers, of the British working class against rising unemployment and the three-month long struggle of the American newspaper workers illustrate the growing tempo of united action of the working class in the capitalist countries.

We greet the working class of the Asian, African and Latin American countries who successfully completed the struggle for national independence recently, and are now engaged in the task of national development. We send our fraternal greetings to the brave working class of Cuba, the first country in the American continent to embark on a path of socialist construction.

We send our greetings of fraternal solidarity to the people of the colonial and oppressed countries who are striking powerful blows at the

**a** Nationalisation of banks, oil companies, jute and sugar mills, coal mines and the country's export-import trade;

**b** Scrapping of the policy of prohibition, which would alone yield about Rs. 60 crores;

**c** Imposition of a ceiling on remittance of profits of foreign concerns out of India, at least for the duration of the emergency;

**d** Suspension of payment of privy purses to the ex-Rulers.

**e** Taking over of the Dalmia-Jain enterprises exposed by the Vivian Bose Report.

IN India, we had to face an aggression on our borders and the country rallied round to defend its territory. In the months following the declaration of National Emergency, the working class has lent its sustained support to the tasks of strengthening our country's defence potential and has creditably fulfilled their role as the second line of defence.

Taking advantage of the desire of the Indian people to strengthen the country's defence potential, the imperialists and the reactionary elements in India are hatching numerous schemes to entangle India into their war pacts, to make India renounce non-alignment, to renounce all planned efforts for economic development and to give greater concessions to the imperialists abroad and monopolies at home. They are blackmailing India to surrender Kashmir to Pakistan.

The working class in all-India with all progressive sections has to rally all its forces to prevent such a development.

The cherished desire of our people to strengthen the country's economic and defence potential, to rely on our own strength to resist any aggression, is being utilised by Government to impose a number of new levies on the common people by way of the tax proposals in the 1963-64 Budget. As has been pointed out by the General Council of the AITUC, the effects of the budget proposals will "entail much privation and suffering for the ordinary working people in town and country and a further fall in the existing wages of the working class."

While carrying on a sustained protest campaign against the Government's unjust tax policy, for early withdrawal of the compulsory deposits scheme, the working class calls for the immediate adoption by Government of the following measures, to raise additional resources:

**a** Nationalisation of banks, oil companies, jute and sugar mills, coal mines and the country's export-import trade;

**b** Scrapping of the policy of prohibition, which would alone yield about Rs. 60 crores;

**c** Imposition of a ceiling on remittance of profits of foreign concerns out of India, at least for the duration of the emergency;

**d** Suspension of payment of privy purses to the ex-Rulers.

**e** Taking over of the Dalmia-Jain enterprises exposed by the Vivian Bose Report.

The Government to take bold steps in the above direction with the backing and support of the working millions in this country and despite the opposition and obstruction of the vested interests represented by the monopolists.

The AITUC calls upon the workers and employees of India, in fraternal alliance with all sections of the affected people in town and country, to carry on a sustained protest campaign against the Government's unjust tax policy, for early withdrawal of the compulsory deposits scheme, and for compelling the Government to adopt radical democratic measures as suggested above. The unions of the AITUC should take the initiative in mobilising and uniting all sections of the working class for this campaign.

The General Council decides to observe May 27, 1963 as an All-India Day for Nationalisation and against Tax Burdens on the Poor and calls upon its unions to observe it in a fitting manner.

**a** Nationalisation of banks, oil companies, jute and sugar mills, coal mines and the country's export-import trade;

## PROFITS AND

Despite claims by the employers that wages and other "costs of production" have gone up, the industrial profits show an upward trend since the second Plan. The Reserve Bank has computed Index of Industrial Profits till 1960 taking 1955 as the base year.

ACCORDING to their calculation between 1955 to 1960 the gross profits (including depreciation) of all industries went up by 68.1 per cent. The index of industrial profits before tax show a rise of 60.9 per cent during the same period.

The highest rise in profits was recorded by Chemicals I.e., 225.2 per cent higher in 1960 than 1955. Jute, Silk and Woolen Textiles have also shown a rise of more than 150 per cent. Engineering industry has shown more than double the profits during the same period.

Significant rise in profits was recorded in tea plantations, Sugar, Iron and Steel, Matches, Paper and Cotton Textile industries. Index of industrial profits for all the industries can be seen from the following table.

Index of Industrial Profits (Base 1955)					
	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Gross Profits including Depreciation	109.7	101.1	113.0	141.2	166.1
Profits before tax	112.0	90.4	102.9	138.7	160.9

(Reserve Bank of India Bulletin Jan-1963)



But the Survey conducted by the Economic Times, Bombay has given some indications of profits during 1961-62. According to this survey of 1011 big companies in India which account for about 75 per cent of paid up capital of all public limited companies in India, excluding government companies, 227 companies increased their dividends in 1961-62 compared with the previous year. It also pointed out that the 378 companies maintained their position so far as dividends were concerned. Only 240 companies had not

May Day Parade 1962—Prague.

given dividends for both the years.

It can be said without much hesitation that industrialists in India have maintained their profitability even after 1960. The profits were particularly higher in textile and engineering industries. Increase in production during the Emergency without rise in the wage level has resulted in increased profits for the employers. If the rise in the production does not reflect in increase in the standard of living of the workers and reduction in the price level, it is bound to result in more and more accumulation of wealth with the rich sections of the community.

The index of industrial production went up from 147.6 in September to 159.2 in November 1963. If the production has to go up still higher the government has to convince the workers that the rise in the production will not only benefit the capitalist class but the workers as well as the consumers.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahabub committee. Even though the Report has not yet been officially published, its main conclusions have been published unofficially.

According to the report in 1959 ten largest groups of industries in India controlled 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years. The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement, for example, ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite of all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1955-56 had a per capita income of Rs. 10 per month.

## RED FLOWERS FOR A COMMUNIST HERO

COMRADE JULIAN GRIMAU GARCIA has been murdered. The blood of yet another great Communist has dyed our scarlet banner. Spain was his land. For the Spanish people, he worked and died. But Julian belonged to our world Communist family. And the tears of his comrades in every land mingle with those of his dear ones, with those of Dolores Ibaruri, 'La Passonaria', with those of Julian's comrades of the indomitable Communist Party of Spain.

### WORLD SHOCKED

The shock at his murder in Franco's Madrid prison on April 20 is universal: all men and women with a conscience are aghast at the brutal barbarism of the Spanish fascists; all who stand for democracy are horror-struck at the complete negation of all democratic principles, the absence of the least pretence of a trial; all who stand by the most elementary civilized codes are blinded by the sight of the tortures inflicted on the body of Julian Grimau—tortures crying aloud against their perpetrators as he stood in the dock; with his skull smashed in, his bones broken, his flesh cut...

The fascist beasts can smash the skull of a Communist; they cannot break his spirit and his heart.

### LAST WORDS

All the world has now heard Julian Grimau's last words:

"I HAVE BEEN A COMMUNIST FOR 27 YEARS. I SHALL DIE AS A COMMUNIST."

And the imperialists and monopolists, all the enemies of the people everywhere, shiver as they hear. Of what stuff are these Communists made?

The working masses smile back their tears: for Grimau's words give them new confidence, new hope, new determination—their battle will be victorious, for a cause for which men like Julian Grimau gave their lives, can never be defeated.

And we, Grimau's comrades of the international Communist movement, we are silent, as our Red Flags are dipped in mourning—silent, because our hearts are bursting with pride of belonging to Grimau's family; silent, because we are overwhelmed by the thought—can we be worthy of our martyred comrade?

NEW AGE places red flowers at the feet of a Communist hero.

## FASCIST FRANCO IGNORES HUMANITY'S APPEAL

★ By P. Kunhanandan

Berlin, April 20: In Madrid prison this morning, the Franco Fascist dictator regime executed Julian Grimau Garcia, hero of the Spanish Civil war, an outstanding Spanish patriot and a Communist leader who was working underground for the last 25 years, ever since the end of the Civil War in 1939.

JULIAN Grimau, who was 52 only, when shot today, was a member of the Spanish Communist Party since 1937. He was elected to the Central Committee in 1954 and died in a very high and honoured position, as a member of the top leadership of the Spanish underground resistance movement which is fighting for liberation of the country from Franco dictatorship.

Grimau was arrested last November in Spain, where he was leading the heroic resistance struggle against the world's most cruel and dangerous regime. Last April (1962), in organising the historic Spanish miners' strike, the biggest after the Civil War, Julian Grimau had played a leading role, especially in forging a united front of the working-class with other patriotic sections and radicals in Spain.

### CHARGES

After his arrest, the prosecution hurriedly framed a fictitious charge-sheet. These are the main charges:

- 1 He aided a Communist political police unit in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39;
- 2 After living abroad, he returned to Spain to reorganise the Communist underground;
- 3 Carried out a 1959 Communist Party directive to "revitalise its clandestine apparatus in Spain";

4 Set up underground cells, repeatedly slipping into Spain;

5 Tried to organise political strikes and rally the labour opposition to Franco Government around the Communist Party.

And for these "crimes", the prosecution claimed the death sentence!

### TORTURE

After his arrest, Julian Grimau was repeatedly tortured in prison. He was seen in Court, according to Western press reports, with traces of injuries. He suffered a deep skull injury when he was thrown out of the window of the prison's top floor, for refusing to give information to betray his comrades-in-arms.

All these brutal tortures did not weaken his Communist will and Marxist conviction and unflinching faith in the final victory of the Spanish revolution.

He gallantly defended the democratic rights of the people to fight against the Franco dictatorship. He said the Communist Party attempted to end the dirty regime and create a new life for Spaniards jointly with all democratic forces, and enjoyed full support of world public opinion.

In the final argument, the prosecution could say only this: "He is a Communist. The State must protect itself against Communists to stave off another civil war."

Hearing this, Franco's puppet military tribunal decided to kill this hero of the great Spanish Civil War, the noble son of the Spanish people who upheld the banner of *La Passonaria*.

The whole world raised a protest cry against this ghastly death sentence. Thousands upon thousands of telegrams were sent to Franco to commute the death sentence.

### KHRUSHCHOV'S CABLE

Soviet Premier Khrushchov himself intervened. In a telegram to Franco, he expressed his great alarm at the sentence. Khrushchov told Franco:

"No State can justify that 25 years after the end of the Spanish civil-war, a person can be sentenced under the laws of the war period."

Khrushchov appealed:

"Guided by feelings of humanism, I entreat you to lift this sentence and save the life of Julian Grimau."

He pointed out: "I am deeply convinced that broad international public opinion would accept such a human step from your side with great satisfaction."

But Franco has no international responsibility; he cares nothing for public opinion, fascist that he is.

## H-Bomb's Thunder

★ By John Brunner

Don't you hear the H-bomb's thunder  
Echo like the crack of doom?  
While they rend the skies asunder  
Fall-out makes the earth a tomb.  
Do you want your homes to tumble,  
Rise in smoke towards the sky?  
Will you let your cities crumble,  
Will you see your children die

Men and women, stand together  
Do not heed the men of war.  
Make your minds up now or never  
Ban the bomb for evermore.

Tell the leaders of the nations,  
Make the whole wide world take heed:  
Poison from the radiations  
Strikes at every race and creed.  
Must you put mankind in danger  
Murder folk in distant lands?  
Will you bring death to a stranger  
Have his blood upon your hands?

Shall we lay the world in ruin?  
Only you can make the choice.  
Stop and think of what you're doing,  
Join the march and raise your voice.  
Time is short: we must be speedy,  
We can see the hungry filled,  
House the homeless, help the needy:  
Shall we blast, or shall we build?

LONDON: Nothing has stirred the conscience of the people of Britain as last Easter week-end's Aldermaston March and all that went with it. It was the biggest Aldermaston march ever (80,000 at the triumphal rally at the end), bigger than in any previous year—proof, if proof were needed, of the rising tempo of the struggle for peace in Britain.

SIMILAR Easter peace demonstrations took place in other parts of Europe, particularly in West Germany, where a million people participated in anti-bomb rallies and marches.

But what really roused the British people was the distribution of the exposure pamphlet titled "Danger: Official Secrets". Those who might have thought the whole business a joke were dumbfounded at the Whitehall confirmation of its authenticity by its statement that:

"This document is a serious breach of the Official Secrets Act. The information it contains must have been taken from a secret document."

Distributed by an organisation, describing itself as Spies for Peace, the pamphlet gave detailed information about the British Government's plans, already evidently in operation for organising an emergency Government in the country in the event of a nuclear war.

The horror of the facts exposed has gripped the

British people. The document describes a network of "Regional Seats of Government", 14 in number (12 of them are said to exist already). These, it is said, are housed in centres which have been heavily camouflaged and hidden—some of them in underground bunkers, buried in hill sides, with hidden entry points.

There are the most convincing details in the pamphlet, telephone numbers, names and ranks of the experts in charge of at least one of the "Regional Seats of Government" and so on.

The hue and cry about "Official Secrets" does not hide from the mass of British men and women the main questions and the main problems, which are put thus in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's journal *Sanity* in its Easter issue.

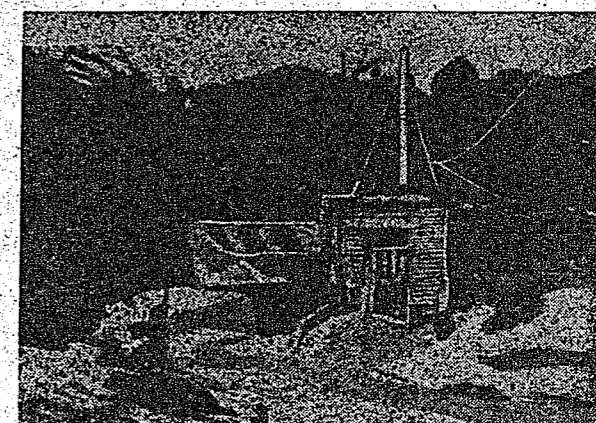
"The Society of terror emerges from the very preparations for war—before a single missile has been launched in anger. War already exists in the minds of the men who framed these

plans as a real possibility. They are preparing not to avoid war, but to survive it...

"The 'Secret Society of War' is present in our society already. The effect of this revelation should be to shock public opinion into an awareness of how close we are now, every day of our lives, to the 'fraternity of death' which is offered by our possession of nuclear weapons and our plans for using them."

Meanwhile, the "Spies For Peace" pamphlet is being used by the British Government to try to launch a witch hunt against the Communist Party—though it is absolutely clear to everyone that the Communist Party had nothing to do with the publication or distribution of the pamphlet.

Rightwing Labour Party leaders are also seeking to use the pamphlet for their own ends. They want to use it to



The cover picture of the Spies pamphlet, described as "the entrance to RSG-6, seen from the road."

condemn the Government on the ground that its "security" arrangements are defective—and at the same time, they are joining in the witch-hunt against the Left.

What is clear is that those who have been distributing pamphlets have not done so in order to give "secrets" to the enemy; they quite evidently want only to rouse the wrath of the people against the nuclear war plans of a Government, which prepares to save itself "under-

ground", while tens of millions are destroyed above ground.

The Aldermaston March saw also the efforts of a certain number of people who carried out activities of a kind which divided the peace forces at a moment when unity was most essential. There is every hope, however, that these efforts will be frustrated and this year's Aldermaston will lead to new initiatives for united mass action by the British peace forces.

## FOR UNITY WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS Ulbricht's New Proposals

★ From P. Kunhanandan

After the Easter march, Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, advocated a policy of developing objective relations with West German Social Democrats. The new proposals to achieve the unity of the entire German working class, and unity of action with West German Social Democratic Party, were outlined in his speech at the Central Committee session on April 16.

ULBRICHT visualised mutual contacts and manifold connections in spite of ideological contrasts and differences in views. He told the Party's Central Committee:

"Nobody here throws the Social Democratic Party leadership and the Christian Democratic leadership in one and the same pot. This would be basically wrong. We are of the opinion that there are many matters of mutual interest between the Socialist Unity Party and the Social Democratic Party, because the German working class and all peace-loving people in Germany have mutual interests, in spite of the State frontiers."

He proposed to establish objective relations between the Socialist Unity Party and the Social Democratic Party in order to remove the barriers erected by the Social Democratic Party leadership's anti-Communism. As an example of possible unity of action, Ulbricht referred to the struggle for relations of common sense and goodwill between the two German States, including a solemn renunciation of any form of atomic armament.

The Socialist Unity Party's 7-point proposals for the establishment of normal relations between the two German States corresponds fully to the interests of the citizens of the GDR, and the Social Democrats and the peace-loving West Germans.

In view of the stupidity and stubbornness of the militarist circles around Adenauer, joint Socialist Unity Party-Social Democratic Party endeavours for an implementation of the seven-point proposals would certainly help relaxation of tension in Europe, and peace in the world.

## WEST GERMANY

# MILLION DEMONSTRATE AGAINST N-BOMBS

These Easter days have been mighty demonstrations for peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence, organised by fighters against nuclear weapons in West Germany. Despite police persecution and bans in certain areas, over a million have participated in these three-day demonstrations which concluded on Easter Monday.

UNDER the present conditions in West Germany of illegality for the Communist Party, suppression of civil liberties, prison for anti-fascist fighters and terror against all democratic movements, these Easter marches are highly significant.

This year, in three days, the Central Committee of the 1963-Easter March in West Germany held 137 public meetings, where the powerful sentiments of the people against nuclear rearmament and West German militarism, were openly expressed.

After Easter, many of these peace advocates had to face persecution, some have been thrown into police lock-ups. Last year, over a thousand West Germans were persecuted revengefully, for their active part in the Easter march.

### Central Demand

The Committee, this year, organised demonstrations under the central demand for a nuclear-free-zone in Central Europe. On the concluding day of the Easter March, the Committee appealed to all West German nuclear war opponents to make 1963 an year of action to achieve disarmament. The statement says:

"We demand from the Federal German Government that it negotiate without delay with American and Soviet Government, to obtain agreement with the People's Republic of Poland,

Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to create a nuclear-free-zone in Central Europe.

"We know that such a step will find support in the United Nations and among all nonaligned States. A Central European Zone of detente would not only bring security to Germany but would serve as a model for comprehensive international disarmament."

### N-Free Zone

The West German Easter March Committee has decided that its representatives will travel to Poland and Sweden to discuss with their respective Governments the question of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe.

This noble declaration and peace demonstrations were met with cruel opposition from West German circles. The West German Ministry of the Interior declared on Easter eve that West European participants in Easter marches were "unwanted foreigners", and took police action against them.

The police prevented British, Danish, French, Greek and Italian peace workers from entering West Germany to express their solidarity with the West German peace workers, thus creating an international scandal.

When 55 British nuclear weapon opponents arrived in a chartered plane at Dussel-

dorf air port, they were forcibly prevented from depending by the West German police. On Good Friday, when a British peace mission landed, West German police used water jets to force them back into their aircraft. The police assisted by the fire-brigade, dragged the Britons, drenched to the skin, into their plane, after they were declared undesirable elements.

The Captain of the aircraft declared his full solidarity with the Easter marchers and refused to fly the plane back to London, as demanded by the West German authorities. He protested against the insulting treatment accorded to his crew and passengers.

After throwing all the men into the plane, the West German police threw a cordon round the aircraft and locked up the cabin doors. They were forced to remain locked inside the aircraft from Friday night to Saturday night in the Dusseldorf airport.

Thousands of West Germans gathered near the air field, waved flags, threw flowers and shouted slogans supporting peace.

### Message of Peace

In several West German cities and villages, the police prevented Easter marchers from passing through crowded streets and thickly populated areas to prevent the people from listening to the Easter message of peace.

It is noteworthy that in this year's Easter march, thousands of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats have taken part. Social Democrats with the official sanction of local committee of their party.

## Faridabad Workers Demonstrate Against Tax Measures

Led by the Bata Shoe Workers' Union, over a thousand workers of Faridabad—an important industrial township near Delhi, paraded the streets on March 17.

THE demonstration was organised to protest against the taxation measures of the govern-

ment. The demonstrators demanded withdrawal of taxes on kerosene, tobacco, tea, paper and soap and nationalisation of banks, oil companies. They also demanded state trading of im-

portant goods, both for import as well as export.

In a mass rally held following the demonstration, which was addressed, among others, by A. C. Nanda, General Secretary of the union and Abdul Hal, an important trade union leader, resolutions were adopted incorporating the demands raised by the workers of Faridabad asking for tax reliefs.

## PRICES...

★ From Centre Pages

Official figures of the wholesale price index and the consumer price index since the Emergency are given below:

	Wholesale Price Index (1956=100)	Consumer Price Index (1949=100)
1962 July	129.7	132
August	131.1	133
Sept.	130.6	133
Oct.	129.9	134
Nov.	130.2	133
Dec.	125.8	131
1963 January	126.0	131

While the workers have recently felt the pinch of the increasing prices, it is intriguing to find the Labour Bureau figures dropping down. It is equally intriguing to find that while there was a drop

been the criticism of the trade unions that the index figures do not correctly reflect the reality. The recent experience, only provides a more convincing argument.

## NEW AGE

EDITOR

Romesh Chandra

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

Telegraphic Address

MARKBADI

Phones

Managerial: 271784  
Editorial: 22879  
Press: 24659

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Inland: Yearly Rs. 12.00  
Half-yearly Rs. 6.00 and  
Quarterly Rs. 3.00

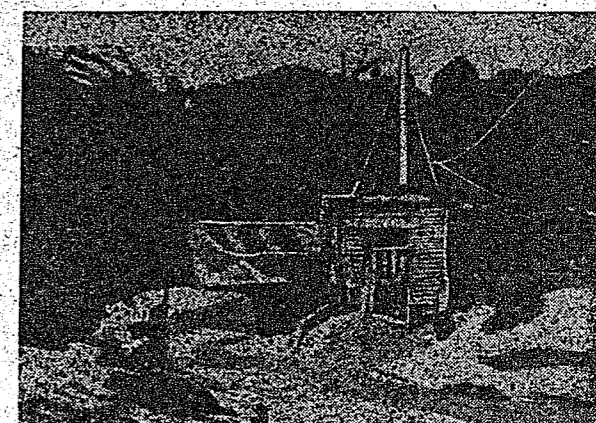
Foreign: Yearly Rs. 20.00  
Half-yearly Rs. 10.00

All cheques and drafts are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to NEW AGE.

# "SPIES FOR PEACE"

★ From Our Correspondent

plans as a real possibility. They are preparing not to avoid war, but to survive it...



The cover picture of the Spies pamphlet, described as "the entrance to RSG-6, seen from the road."

condemn the Government on the ground that its "security" arrangements are defective—and at the same time, they are joining in the witch-hunt against the Left.

What is clear is that those who have been distributing pamphlets have not done so in order to give "secrets" to the enemy; they quite evidently want only to rouse the wrath of the people against the nuclear war plans of a Government, which prepares to save itself "under-

ground", while tens of millions are destroyed above ground.

The Aldermaston March saw also the efforts of a certain number of people who carried out activities of a kind which divided the peace forces at a moment when unity was most essential. There is every hope, however, that these efforts will be frustrated and this year's Aldermaston will lead to new initiatives for united mass action by the British peace forces.

# CAUSES OF POVERTY & UNDERDEVELOPMENT

\*By Laipat Rai

In most countries of Latin America, 60 per cent or more of the working population is engaged in agriculture. Exceptions are Argentina and Chile, where the corresponding figures are 25 and 30 respectively. Therefore, the prosperity of a large segment of the population depends upon efficient farming.

NO definite answer, in terms of square miles, can be given to the question of how much land in Latin America is suitable for cultivation. Only a few soil surveys have been conducted which give neither a clear nor a complete picture.

Nearly one-third of Latin America is covered by dense forests: tropical-growth forests known as Selva. A considerable part of the region is too mountainous and rugged for cultivation. The Andes are the largest unbroken mountain range in the world, which seldom falls below ten thousand feet and there are few passes across it. Another part of the region is desert which, however, can easily be reclaimed provided capital and technical skill are available.

Yet, according to Pearson and Harker, in their now famous work "The World's Hunger", Latin America has three times as much land suitable for agriculture as Asia, per head of population.

Also Latin America has some of the most fertile agricultural lands in the world, such as the Argentine Pampas, red soil (terra rosa) of South and South Eastern Brazil, Central Valley of Chile, irrigated plains of Mexico, Central America, Columbia and the fertile plains of Cuba.

There is, however, a tremendous scope for expanding the area under crops by reclaiming land both from the jungle and desert. This is made clear from the example of Mexico and Paraguay; both these countries have expanded their harvested area by 50 per cent in the last twenty years. Finally, of the cultivated land, only two per cent is irrigated and the rest dependent on the elements.

A Survey conducted by the FAO in 1952 entitled "Prospects for Agricultural Development of Latin America", gives the following data regarding irrigation:

Country	Area Irrigated in acres (1952)	Principal crops
Mexico	5,600,000	Maize, sugarcane, coffee, rice,
Peru	3,000,000	Wheat, alfalfa, sugarcane
Chile	3,300,000	Cereals, wine, fruits, vegetables
Argentina	2,500,000	Rice, sugarcane, tobacco
Others	1,900,000	
	16,300,000	

The conclusion is that not only more land can be reclaimed, but also that it can be made to yield more crops if irrigation is extended for which there is a great scope.

## LAND OWNERSHIP

IN most of the countries of Latin America, much of the land is held in large estates. Beginning with the 16th century up to the present time (except now in Cuba) the system of land use, land tenure and land division in

the continent passed through three distinct phases.

These different phases were not always exactly the same in all countries, as local differences came in, nor were they clearly differentiated, but often overlapped and even merged with each other. They were: (1) *Encomiendas*; (2) *Haciendas*; (3) *Latifundios*.

Briefly, the *Encomienda* was a right to labour of a specified number of Indians (the local inhabitants) granted by the Spanish Crown to a colonist. The extent of land occupied depended upon the number of Indians granted who were virtual slaves. The colon was responsible to feed and clothe them and look after their spiritual welfare i.e. by helping the Missionaries to convert them.

## SLAVE LABOUR

In actual practice, the colon was interested only in working their slaves often to death. The system resulted, in a brief period of time, in annihilating hundreds of thousands of natives by overwork, malnutrition and disease.

In the 17th century, when the mad desire of the Spanish colon for gold had subsided, they settled down to agriculture under a system of land tenure known as *Haciendas* or *Mercedes*. There *Haciendas* were land grants extending to large areas where cultivation was done with the help of Indian labour and the imported African slaves.

Most of the land thus granted, could not be cultivated as a primitive agriculture and a very large holding did not go well together in the conditions of short labour supply.

It was during the latter half of

the 18th century and onwards, when agricultural methods improved, that a system known as *Latifundium* came to settle down in agriculture. *Latifundium* was a Roman agricultural estate worked by slaves. In Latin America, it meant a large estate owned by landless agricultural labour and was also a modern variation of the former *Haciendas*. Even now, in some of the Latin American countries, *Hacienda* is the word used for a large estate.

In the 19th and the 20th centuries, foreign capital also purchased large agricultural *Latifundia*, particularly the sugar,

coffee, banana lands in the Latin American Republics.

With this background of the development of land system, it is not surprising that the distribution of land (except in Mexico after 1910; and after 1899, in Cuba) in Latin America is the most uneven in the world.

In Mexico, before the revolution of 1910, according to Manuel Huber (*Land Problem in Mexico*), 834 great landowners controlled two-third of the total land of the country. Some estates had fantastic number of acres. One family in Chihuahua region of Mexico, known as *Terrazas*, owned 30 million acres. During the revolution of the 19th century, Church holdings were broken up, but the private landowners, mostly absentees, continued to expand. Under Don Porfirio Diaz it reached its climax. He distributed 194,000,000 acres of Church lands; one of his friends alone received 17,000,000 acres.

Between 92 to 95 per cent of the heads of rural families in all Mexico had no land at all in 1910.

In Cuba, before the revolution of 1959, the land ownership was on the same lines. According to the census of 1953, 114 persons or 0.1 per cent of the total number encompassed 20.1 per cent of the land, while 8 per cent of the total number encompassed 7.1 per cent of the land. On the other side, 40 per cent of the small farms (1 to 25 acres) encompassed only 3.3 per cent of the land.

According to Robert F. Smith's

IN the previous article (NEW AGE, April 21) the author concluded that although Latin America had vast actual, and more so, potential, economic resources, yet the people were some of the poorest in the world. In the present article, he analyses the agricultural economy of Latin America to show where lie the causes of the poverty and underdevelopment of the Latin American people.

and less than 1.8 per cent is in farms smaller than 50 hectares. According to Mr. George M. Macbride in his book "Chile—Land and Society":

"Most good land is owned by a handful of large *Haciendados*. For instance, in the fourteen Central Provinces, 375 big landlords, less than half of one per cent of the population, own 52 per cent of the land. In one province (Curico), 437 landlords own 83 per cent of the land. One *Fundo* near Santiago is half as big as Rhode Island, with an area of 1,500,000 hectares or nearly 618 square miles."

In Peru, two-third of the land is owned by the Church and the "gamonal" (the big landowners) who comprise 12 per cent of the population.

In Paraguay, 3 per cent of the people own 47 per cent of the best lands, while in Ecuador, 12 per cent of the people own 75 per cent of the total cultivated land area.

In Paraguay (believe it or not), one Argentinian *Casaca* owned 59 million acres of cultivated land in 1943.

In the so-called banana States of Central America—Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras, land is held in more or less the same manner, with one difference, that foreign capital owns much of the fertile land in these countries.

According to economist Mario Farias Olav, 85 per cent of privately held land in Argentina is in estates larger than 500 hectares

wonder. Latin American agriculture is one of the most backward agricultures of the world.

## ONE-CROP AGRICULTURE

Another feature of Latin American agriculture is that most of the countries of the region are the producers of one crop or one product. Ecuador lives mainly on cocoa; Brazil lives mostly on coffee; Bolivia lives on tin; Venezuela on oil; Panama and Honduras on bananas; Cuba on sugar; Chile on copper and nitrates; Haiti on coffee; Argentina on beef; and so on.

This makes their economies most vulnerable to the vagaries of the prices of their products. Everything is determined by the international price of the commodity or the crop the country produces.

Laury Nelson, the famous American agriculturist economist, writing about Cuba in his book "Rural Cuba" says:

"The quantity and the price of sugar determined everything, such as the extent of the employment, duration of work, traffic on the railroads, the activity in the harbours, the sales in the stores, even attendance at the movies."

Describing further the connection between the large estates and single crop agriculture, Nelson says:

"In the formation of these large holdings, the small proprietors were uprooted and at the same time the agriculture of the country was committed

# Basic Facts—II Agricultural Resources

well-known book "Cuba and United States" published in 1960: "Over 200,000 Cuban families had no land, while the United States Fruit Company alone owned 370,000 acres."

The census of 1953 revealed that 85 per cent of the farmers owned no land at all and were purely labourers on land, rather than peasants.

Faulkner writing in *American Economic History*, had the following observation to make:

"Under the impetus of United States economic penetration, Cuba has become a land of sugar and tobacco plantations owned abroad and worked by a landless proletariat, whose poverty is abysmal and incomparable and whose prosperity is entirely dependent on the American market."

## LARGE ESTATES

In Chile, 64 per cent of the privately owned land is in estates of a size greater than 5,000 hectares (or 12,500 acres) and is owned by 570 proprietors,

(1250 acres), while only 1.5 per cent is found in farms of less than 125 acres.

Much of the finest Pampa land, perhaps the most fertile land in the whole world, is held by individual landowners whose "estancias" are of fabulous size. Fifty families have holdings of 75,000 acres or more. The holdings of these fifty comprise 15.2 per cent of the total area of the province. Eight families own more than 2,500,000 acres each.

The above are examples from some of the Latin American countries, but with minor differences the position is the same everywhere, except in Mexico and Cuba.

As would be expected, these great landholders are mostly absentee landlords living on the backs of the poor tenants or landless labourers.

Thus, in a region where 60 per cent or more people live and work on land, this system of land tenure is bound to lead to extreme luxury on one side and horrible poverty on the other.

Also, as everywhere else, such a system militates against agricultural efficiency and improvement in the methods of farming. No

more thoroughly to a monoculture of such vast importance that it dominated the entire economy... Instead of the relative security that flows from the production of diversified crops, there is the insecurity that comes from an economy geared to a single crop and a market dependent upon foreign consumption."

As in the case of sugar in Cuba, so in the case of oil in Venezuela, coffee in Haiti, beef in Argentina, copper and nitrates in Chile and so on—the position remains the same—the position of a speculator. No wonder these economies have been described as "speculative economies" by an eminent Latin American economist Rodriguez Olaveira, where all is staked on one crop or product.

We shall have to say more about this when we discuss foreign trade and industry in our next article.



freedom is the basic requirement for the maintenance of the rule of law in a democratic State. This right in substance means a person's right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit of legal justification."

The Defence of India Rules are a gross violation of the above British bourgeois democratic dictum. Indian democracy is claimed to be based on the best in British and American democracy.

The claim has failed, in the test of practice, during the current Indian emergency. India's rulers have violated the right to personal freedom in an undemocratic and unconstitutional manner.

## US Example

In the USA the right to personal freedom is guaranteed under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution which lays down that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without the processes of law."

The US Constitution did violate when the citizens' right to the writ of Habeas Corpus may have to be suspended and very specific conditions were provided for this contingency.

"The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." (Article I, Section 9 of US Constitution).

In the whole history of the USA this power has been exercised only once, a long time back, when in 1863, during the Civil War the US Congress passed an Act authorising the President to suspend the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus, whenever in

his judgement public safety required it. The Act laid down stringent conditions for the exercise of this power. The list of the arrested had to be given to the Judge, with charge to be placed before the Grand Jury. If the Grand Jury received no such charge, the prisoner had to be released. If no list was given to the Judge, any one could move the Judge and secure the prisoner's release.

The Writ of Habeas Corpus was not suspended in the USA during World War I and II. Is the "Emergency" in India today more serious than the Emergency in US during the two World Wars?

Also, must the Indian Government in the year 1963 deny to any Indian citizen legal rights which the US Government has not done ever since 1863?

More, how to characterise the Indian Government's denial of the safeguards which the US Government did not deny to its citizens even during the American Civil War, a whole century back while suspending the Habeas Corpus.

## British Example

In UK during World War I, there was the Defence of the Realm Act (1914) and during World War II, the Emergency Powers Act of 1939.

Under these regulations were made authorising detentions during both the wars but they laid down very stringent conditions regarding the exercise of the power of detention by the executive and contained detailed provisions for the establishment of an advisory committee to consider the representations made by the detenus against the order of detention and the detenu was to be supplied with necessary particulars to enable him to make a

# UNDER THE D.I.R Is Detention Legal?

proper representation against the detention. There were also safeguards in the form of Parliamentary control and the Secretary of State was required to furnish information to Parliament from time to time with regard to the detentions made in exercise of powers conferred by the regulations.

The safeguards guaranteed to the British detenus by the British Government during the two World Wars are denied to the Indian detenus by the Indian Government. Can Indian democratic opinion tolerate such a political-constitutional scandal?

Again, is the Emergency in India, which embraced a month-old border war followed by a ceasefire situation, more serious than in the UK during World War I (which lasted from 1914 to 1917) and World War II (which lasted from 1939 to 1945)?

The very poser of these questions must cause every Indian the deepest concern.

Under the British rule, there was a meaningful contradiction between the situation in UK and India under the Emergency regulation.

## Situation in India

The Defence of India Rules, 1939, under the British regime, did not provide for those safeguards to Indians which, under similar legislation, in the same period, were guaranteed to the British citizens. This was imperialist discrimination and understood as such.

Though thus muffled, the voice of Justice did speak up, even under the British, when Indian detenus filed Habeas Corpus writs in the then Federal Court. The

then judgments of the British Chief Justice Cooper and the now famous Vivian Bose are there to put the issues in their proper perspective!

In India, under British rule, the fight for the right to personal freedom was a part of the fight for national freedom. Thus when the famous Committee, under Pandit Motilal Nehru, sketched the outlines of a democratic constitution for India in freedom, it stated:

"Our first care should be to have our fundamental rights guaranteed in a manner which will not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances."

One does not feel happy to remind the worthy son, our present Prime Minister, of the solemn words of his esteemed father, the author of the Nehru Committee Report.

The framers of the present Indian Constitution, following the American precedent, incorporated a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. These rights have been declared as fundamental rights in the Constitution and have been placed on a high pedestal. They are absolutely inviolable save as expressly enacted in the Constitution.

The Indian Constitution does wisely provide for a situation of national emergency. The provisions of the Constitution clearly postulate that during the emergency the right to personal freedom, guaranteed under Articles 21 and 22 of the Constitution, is not suspended and a law made in violation of the said provisions (as are the Defence of India Act Rules) is void ab initio. The constitutional provisions under the Emergency do provide that the right to trade and business and the right of free movement can be suspended.

The Indian Constitution provides that only Parliament or State legislatures can make the law of Preventive Detention and the safeguards for arrested citizen must be incorporated in the law itself and not left to some other authority. It is the legislature provisions for the restriction of personal liberty.

The Supreme Court of India has held these safeguards "minimum" for any reason to deprive individuals of their liberty. Violations of these safeguards by the executive led to Habeas Corpus petitions and release of the detenus.

The Defence of India Act passed in the hectic days following the Chinese invasion and the proclamation of the national emergency has now turned out, in many ways, to be an illegitimate measure which brings no credit to our Parliament and our parliamentary system. Indeed, this measure with its blanket negation of fundamental rights and its draconian provisions constitutes an assault on our very Constitution itself.

The Defence of India Act, unlike the Preventive Detention Act, contains no safeguards for the prisoners, as demanded by the Constitution, and in violation of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The present Defence of India Act, which came into force on December 12, 1962, is a carbon copy of the 1939 Defence of India Act passed under the British regime, especially the new Rule 30, regarding detention, of the old Rule 26. The very shame of it should stir the Indian Parliamentarians into making due amends.

Further, the Defence of India Act under Section 3 authorises

the Central Government to make rules for preventive detention. This delegation does not stop here. Under Section 40, the Central Government may delegate its powers to any authority; instead of the Central Government, a district magistrates may make the rules on which depends the individual liberty of any Indian citizen.

How true it is that Parliament rules in name and the bureaucrat in practice, in the India of today, and we talk so aloud about Indian democracy and the supremacy of the Parliament!

The Indian Constitution, however, does not permit this play with the rights of the individual. The Indian Constitution specifically provides that only the legislature can make the law of preventive detention and the safeguards should be part of the law made by the legislature and not left to some other authority.

It is not open to Indian Parliament to state that whatever the Central Government says, we adopt. Parliament has to lay down provisions for the restriction of personal liberty. Then alone they are constitutional; otherwise illegal.

The present Defence of India Act and its Rules, which deny the arrested citizen the safeguards provided by the Indian Constitution are not only undemocratic in principle but a shameful violation of the Indian Constitution. When the present Defence of India Rules were being passed in Parliament, P. N. Sappu, MP, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court protested against them and another Congress MP, Sachin Chowdhury, an eminent Calcutta lawyer, left the Committee in disgust.

Our Constitution makers did foresee that the nation must be prepared to face external aggression and internal rebellion, hence they provided for measures during such an emergency. It was never their intention that constitutional safeguards must be denied to citizens arrested during the emergency. Hence they made no provision for the suspension of Articles 21 and 22 of the Indian Constitution containing these safeguards.

Let us leave legal niceties and constitutional issues to the legal luminaries to debate and make the thick walls of the High Courts and the Supreme Court resound.

Our Constitution makers did foresee that the nation must be prepared to face external aggression and internal rebellion, hence they provided for measures during such an emergency. It was never their intention that constitutional safeguards must be denied to citizens arrested during the emergency. Hence they made no provision for the suspension of Articles 21 and 22 of the Indian Constitution containing these safeguards.

Let us leave legal niceties and constitutional issues to the legal luminaries to debate and make the thick walls of the High Courts and the Supreme Court resound.

## Let Public Opinion Assert

Indian Parliament is in session. Can it abrogate its authority enjoined upon it by the Constitution? Must it not put itself right? It will raise its own high status by correcting the wrong unwittingly done during the nerve-wrecking days of November-December last.

Indian public opinion, proud of India's democratic tradition, cannot permit the Indian Government to do during the present emergency what the British Government did not do during World War I and II.

The issue is not merely the release of Communist detenus, we are used to being in and out of jails all through our lives, but of the defence of the fundamental rights of Indian citizens, as sanctified under the Indian Constitution. In this connection, it is very apt to recall the US Supreme Court, in the leading case of *ex-parte Milligan* (3 L. Ed. 25):

"It could well be said that a country preserved at the sacrifice of all the cardinal principles of liberty is not worth the cost of preservation."

Surely, our dear independent democratic India, is not such a country!

# Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

## TURKEY

One of the countries which receive "massive" military "aid" from the USA is Turkey. For the benefit of the advocates of "massive" military "aid" for India, I am giving below just a few facts about the results of similar "aid" for Turkey.

THE first fact is given by Turkey's President Cemal Gursel himself. This is what he said in March last year:

"Turkey is threatened with hunger. Even wheat we have to buy from America. This is a shameful fact."

Please remember that Gursel is no "anti-American". He is the US imperialist's "trusted man" today, in every sense of the word. When he came to power, he proudly stated that by the military coup of May 1960, "we have done a great deal for NATO".

But, you will ask, what has Turkey's hunger to do with US military "aid"? The fact is that not many years ago, Turkey was exporting 20,000 tons of food-grains annually—after meeting all its own needs.

The Turkish newspaper *Vatan* explains why hunger has gripped the new Turkey. It says:

"Turkey is shouldering military expenses which are beyond her possibilities. That is why her industries and economy as a whole, and also education and health services are so backward."

A few more facts about the life of the people:

★ Half a million peasant families do not have any land at all, while a few hundred feudal lords own vast estates;

★ The workers' wages do not cover even a quarter of the subsistence minimum for their families, laid down by Turkish economists;

★ In October 1961, there were four million unemployed, according to the General Secretary of the Economy and Trade Board of the Foreign Ministry.

★ And lastly, how do the 8,700 US troops in military bases in Turkey behave?

According to Kamal Yilmaz, author of "Beware of Approaching American" the occupationists committed 338 crimes against the people between 1953 and 1961—attacks on Turkish citizens, murders and threats of murder.

All US Servicemen enjoy immunity from trial in Turkish Courts. They engage in currency speculation on a big scale.

The newspaper *Cumhuriyat* sums up the life of the American overlords in Turkey thus:

"These Americans have also their own shops, where everything is supplied from abroad, beginning with stockings and ending with pepper, and which sell only to Americans. Gardens in Izmir are only for American children, cinemas in Ankara are only for the Americans; in Istanbul, these Americans have their own clubs, places for meeting, and for having a walk."

That is why more and more people in Turkey are demanding that Turkey should change its foreign policy to one of nonalignment and independence.

And that is also why, Rajaji notwithstanding, the Indian people are determined to defend and pursue the policy of nonalignment. No umbrellas, no occupation troops; for us, now and never. (April 24)

Further, the Defence of India Act under Section 3 authorises

the Central Government to make rules for preventive detention. This delegation does not stop here. Under Section 40, the Central Government may delegate its powers to any authority; instead of the Central Government, a district magistrates may make the rules on which depends the individual liberty of any Indian citizen.

How true it is that Parliament rules in name and the bureaucrat in practice, in the India of today, and we talk so aloud about Indian democracy and the supremacy of the Parliament!

The Indian Constitution, however, does not permit this play with the rights of the individual. The Indian Constitution specifically provides that only the legislature can make the law of preventive detention and the safeguards should be part of the law made by the legislature and not left to some other authority.

It is not open to Indian Parliament to state that whatever the Central Government says, we adopt. Parliament has to lay down provisions for the restriction of personal liberty. Then alone they are constitutional; otherwise illegal.

The present Defence of India Act and its Rules, which deny the arrested citizen the safeguards provided by the Indian Constitution are not only undemocratic in principle but a shameful violation of the Indian Constitution. When the present Defence of India Rules were being passed in Parliament, P. N. Sappu, MP, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court protested against them and another Congress MP, Sachin Chowdhury, an eminent Calcutta lawyer, left the Committee in disgust.

Our Constitution makers did foresee that the nation must be prepared to face external aggression and internal rebellion, hence they provided for measures during such an emergency. It was never their intention that constitutional safeguards must be denied to citizens arrested during the emergency. Hence they made no provision for the suspension of Articles 21 and 22 of the Indian Constitution containing these safeguards.

Let us leave legal niceties and constitutional issues to the legal luminaries to debate and make the thick walls of the High Courts and the Supreme Court resound.

Our Constitution makers did foresee that the nation must be prepared to face external aggression and internal rebellion, hence they provided for measures during such an emergency. It was never their intention that constitutional safeguards must be denied to citizens arrested during the emergency. Hence they made no provision for the suspension of Articles 21 and 22 of the Indian Constitution containing these safeguards.

Let us leave legal niceties and constitutional issues to the legal luminaries to debate and make the thick walls of the High Courts and the Supreme Court resound.

# Monghyr Agricultural Production Conference

★ From ALI ASHRAF

**LAKHISARAI:** The South Monghyr Agricultural Production Conference, on April 12-13, at Lakhisarai was a unique event in many ways. It was symbolic of the way in which the kisan movement in Bihar is struggling to face the problems of increasing agricultural production, in the context of the country's requirements.

It was not the first conference of its kind. Already agricultural production conferences had taken place in Gaya and some other districts. The South Monghyr Conference, however, was also remarkable for the tremendous amount of preparatory work put in, the response evoked among the broad masses of peasantry, the cooperation extended by all sections of people and political parties, including the Agricultural Department of the Bihar Government.

For a fortnight scores of village meetings were held explaining the objects of the conference. Cash and grain were collected in a village to village and house to house drive. Besides a thousand wall posters, about five thousand leaflets and one thousand invitation cards were distributed.

The District Congress Committee President pleaded his inability to attend the Conference, due to a resolution by the State Congress prohibiting Congressmen's participation in joint conferences with Communists. Karyanand Sharma, the

A special feature of the proceedings was the participation by the Sub-divisional Agricultural Officer who was present with his staff. He spoke on his Department's policy regarding manure, improved seeds and irrigation facilities etc. Later he discussed the problems with the delegates in greater detail and demonstrated the use of improved implements.

On April 13, in the afternoon about a thousand kisans marched in a procession through the Lakhisarai bazar terminating in the Conference maidan.

**Presidential Address**  
Karyanand Sharma, in his Presidential address stressed that "increased agricultural production is our main task. It not only benefits the peasantry but also lays the foundation for strengthening country's defence and economic progress."

But there are difficulties in the way. "In order to rouse the working peasantry and agricultural labourers it is of utmost importance that the landless get land, and they are guaranteed a living wage and other facilities."

"The Land Ceilings Act and other laws of the Government," Sharma pointed out, "have not solved this problem. The settlement of cultivable wasteland with the Harijan

and Advaisi kisans is not proceeding satisfactorily. The question of land continues to be the basic question.

There is no substantial improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourers. The various acts fixing the scale of their wages have remained only on paper. The question of their homestead land is not solved. The official machinery has not proved equal to its task. Inefficiency and corruption rampant in the administration, have led to deep discontent among the labouring masses and tend to dampen their enthusiasm for increasing production.

"If this state of affairs continues," warned Sharma, "agricultural production instead of increasing will actually decrease."

Sharma then referred to some of the immediate problems facing the peasantry. "Water for irrigating land, improved variety of seeds and agricultural implements and capital were absolutely necessary. The question of agricultural produce was no less important. The kisans are looted by unequal prices of their produce in relation to industrial goods. Low prices of jute and sugarcane is harming the peasants' interests."

**Resolutions**  
The Conference passed many resolutions demanding among other things immediate measures before the rainy season to repair the existing small irrigation arrangements. Panchayat development committees for this work should be constituted in a general meeting of all the villagers, to stop all repressive measures against poor peasants for the realisation of dues.

By a special resolution the Conference called upon the State Government to release immediately the popular kisan communist leader of the district Bhola Prasad whose active services in the cause of the peasantry was required today more than ever.

"Cooperative societies are important for agricultural production. But the present situation is that rich peasants and village money lenders have succeeded in dominating these cooperative societies rendering them inactive and ineffective. Loans are neither given in time nor realised in time."

Sharma also referred to the large scale destruction of crops due to insects and other animals and human pilfering. The Panchayats have so far neglected this problem.

In the end Sharma referred to the additional tax burden proposed in the new Central budget, which will have the effect of ruining the peasantry. Then there was the question of the realisation of old dues of rents and loans.

Pandit Karyanand Sharma made an appeal to all mass organisations and political parties to jointly launch a campaign to help the peasants increase production by removing these difficulties and solving these problems.

**MOSCOW, April 21:** Viktor Spandaryan, leader of the high-ranking Soviet trade delegation, who returned to Moscow recently after holding talks in Delhi on a further long-term trade agreement, told our correspondent that the Soviet side is very much satisfied with the results.

**TERMS** for the next five year trade agreement (1964-1968) and the lists of commodities for reciprocal deliveries had been specified in the main, he said, and now it was clear that economic cooperation between the two countries in the field of trade is going to take a new leap forward.

**Manufactured Goods**  
More than half are going to be India's manufactured goods—jute products, cotton and woollen textiles, footwear and leather goods, etc. i.e. the output of India's developing industries. The Soviet Union will now become one of the topmost three buyers of India's products. It is already the major importer of a number of Indian commodities. Spandaryan said that the Soviet Union would like to increase its purchases of manufactured goods, other equipment and even machinery, it was now buying from Japan. For this, it was necessary that

**Ten Years Ago**  
If we compare this with the situation ten years ago, when the trade between the USSR and India amounted to a mere two million dollars or 10 million rupees, we see clearly

such equipment is shown in working condition at the Indian exhibition in Moscow. Japan, at her last exhibition, acquainted the Soviet experts with what she could supply and now the Soviet Union had placed considerable orders for these things. As the Soviet Union does not have to spend convertible currency for its purchases from India, this factor can become a bigger incentive for the increase of trade.

Sources here say that Tatas are boycotting the Indian Exhibition in Moscow and Birlas are half-hearted about it. The people concerned in India should see to it that an exhibition fully representative of India's all-round progress, is brought to Moscow.

**Book Review**

## OUTSIDE THE CONTEST

A study of Nonalignment and Foreign policies of some nonaligned countries, edited by K. P. Karunakaran, pp. 226. People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price Rs. 15.

This collection of essays could not have come at a more opportune moment. One of the key issues of raging contest in India today is non-alignment. Assailed by the Chinese adventurists abroad and Right reaction at home, nonalignment as the essence of our foreign policy has stood the test. Not that the danger is over but the strength and resilience and popularity of the concept has been demonstrated.

It has been conclusively proved that nonalignment is not a personal predilection of an ambivalent Prime Minister but an essential function of Indian sovereignty. The defence of non-alignment is the defence of India.

The volume under review was written on the very eve of the Chinese aggression and its powerful challenge to non-alignment. Yet it is a testimony to the scholarship and the acumen of the writers that they came through their study to a conclusion that historic events were so soon to endorse that nonalignment is an attribute of states newly free and anxious for national development.

K. P. Karunakaran, the editor, deserves the gratitude of all progressive and political analysts all over the world for this pioneering effort. He is well known as a student of international affairs as well as of the evolution of Indian national thought. By his bringing together the work of others no less than by his own contributions, he may well help to initiate a new trend of progress in Indian political thinking.

The negotiations leading to political independence did not automatically result in the adherence to nonalignment. The mounting pressures of imperialism to make the newly won independence a mere formality and the counter-pressure to use this independence for national development sharply collided and the triumph of the latter trend led inevitably to nonalignment. To start with the leaders of the newly free states of Asia and Africa favoured the con-

# Growing Indo-Soviet Trade

★ FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

India's exports to other countries, specially manufactured goods, faced considerable difficulties lately. The discrimination practised against India by the countries of the European Common Market has also become a hurdle in India's path.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is coming forward to buy precisely those commodities which are being barred from the Western markets and areas under their influence.

**Complete Equality**  
The vast markets of the Soviet Union are opening up for India's rising industry without discrimination on the basis of complete equality and with an increasing application of the most favoured nation principle in trade. And the continuous ascending planned socialist economy which is free of all crises is going to provide a steady and reliable demand for the goods India is anxious to export to keep

up her rate of development and to increase employment. Those circles, who tie up with the West are going to suffer with the inevitable slumps of the capitalist world. Whereas the rapid economic advance of the Soviet Union in the next 20 years is going to increase its capacities immensely for trade and aid.

**By MOHIT SEN**

Continuation of the "old traditional links", i.e. links with the imperialist west. It was only when experience proved the incompatibility of these links with the expectations of national growth that the search for non-alignment began.

Thus, those in India who now urge an abandonment of nonalignment or who want to whittle it out of existence want nothing more or less than a reversal of the history of the past eighteen years.

These case studies very well illustrate the essays on the more general aspects of non-alignment by Karunakaran and Parameshwaran Naik.

These two scholars, from different angles, give us the roots of nonalignment. The philosophies and experiences of the national movement, the shift from an inadequate liberalism to radical democracy, the compulsions of national reconstruction and the existing balance of power internationally pushed the Afro-Asian states to nonalignment. In addition there was the pressure of the emerging political trends within the different states which the governing parties or groups or personalities were sensitive towards and influenced by.

The two scholars also note the considerable impact made on the growth to non-alignment by the change in attitude towards the newly free states by the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, following the break with the sectarian dogmatism of Stalin.

Without this new approach, initiated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the adoption of nonalignment would have been thwarted for a good many more years. The need for a realistic and correct socialist foreign policy, based on peaceful coexistence and anti-imperialism, is positively demonstrated by this shift no less than the negative lesson of the Chinese sectarianism from, approximately, 1959.

Such equipment is shown in working condition at the Indian exhibition in Moscow. Japan, at her last exhibition, acquainted the Soviet experts with what she could supply and now the Soviet Union had placed considerable orders for these things. As the Soviet Union does not have to spend convertible currency for its purchases from India, this factor can become a bigger incentive for the increase of trade.

Sources here say that Tatas are boycotting the Indian Exhibition in Moscow and Birlas are half-hearted about it. The people concerned in India should see to it that an exhibition fully representative of India's all-round progress, is brought to Moscow.

**Complete Equality**  
The vast markets of the Soviet Union are opening up for India's rising industry without discrimination on the basis of complete equality and with an increasing application of the most favoured nation principle in trade. And the continuous ascending planned socialist economy which is free of all crises is going to provide a steady and reliable demand for the goods India is anxious to export to keep

up her rate of development and to increase employment. Those circles, who tie up with the West are going to suffer with the inevitable slumps of the capitalist world. Whereas the rapid economic advance of the Soviet Union in the next 20 years is going to increase its capacities immensely for trade and aid.

**Snail-Paced**  
When will the snail-paced officials in New Delhi at last finalise the arrangements for the publication of an Indian journal in Russian for Soviet public? There is no need to prove its necessity and usefulness today. I know that months ago, both Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Minister of Culture Furtseva told Indian representatives that such a publication will be welcome.

Karunakaran and Parameshwaran pair very correctly link the adoption of non-alignment with that of a programme of national reconstruction along radical democratic lines. The two are inextricably linked and the pressures for or against non-alignment within a country are tied up with the progress (or lack of it) toward the goal of radical democracy, or the state of national democracy as the Moscow statement of 1960 puts it.

The ironic fact that non-alignment in our pioneering country has been subjected to such ferocious onslaughts that we have lost our leading role among the nonaligned (as the Belgrade Conference study reveals), is inseparable from the failure of the Congress to advance the country in the direction of a radical democracy.

In his speech at the recent AICC session, Pandit Nehru stated this truth when he drew the distinction between conservative and progressive forces ranged all along the line. But one can quite legitimately wonder whether actions and approaches will be made by Panditji along the lines of this distinction. Nothing is more needed by India.

Other suggestions for study include the evolution of Yugoslav foreign policy, of the changing attitudes towards nonalignment of the communist and imperialist states and of the shifts now appearing in Latin America.

Such additional studies would help to round off the volume and add to its already considerable value. Above all, it would enhance its role in clarifying issues and aiding the progress of that very policy which is the object of its study. The volume is a scholarly contribution. It is also a fighting book. It is this combination which is a good augury for the future of studies in depth in our country.

## CPI Publications On

### QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

- Booklet 1** Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy. People's Daily, 15 December 1962. Strengthen Unity of the Communist Movement for the Triumph of Peace and Socialism. Pravda, 7 January 1963. 50 NP
- 2** The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us. People's Daily, 31 December 1962. Let Us Bring the Discussion Back to its Real Terms. By Palmiro Togliatti. The Struggle for Structural Reforms and its Revolutionary Significance. By Luigi Longo. 50 NP
- 3** Let Us Unite on the Basis of Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. People's Daily, 27 January 1963. For Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement, for Cohesion of the Socialist Countries. Pravda, 10 February 1963. 50 NP
- 4** Exchange of Messages Between Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. Cementing the Unity of the Communist Movement is our International Duty. World Marxist Review, February 1963. 35 NP
- 5** The Cuba Crisis and the Struggle for World Peace. Statement by CPUSA, 9 January 1963. A Comment on the Statement of the CPUSA. People's Daily, 8 March 1963. 25 NP
- In Press**
- 6** A Mirror for Revisionism. People's Daily 7 March 1963. Neither Revisionism nor Dogmatism is our Guide. By S. A. Dange. 50 NP

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, NEW DELHI

# SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

New Delhi, April 23: Nearly two hundred representatives of various organisations went today to the Cuban Embassy in New Delhi, to present a message of solidarity to the Cuban Ambassador, to be conveyed to Prime Minister Fidel Castro. The solidarity demonstration was led by Aruna Asaf Ali and included representatives of the All-India Peace Council, All-India Trade Union Congress, National Federation of Indian Women, All-India Youth Federation, All-India Progressive Writers' Association, All-India Democratic Lawyers' Association, All-India Bank Employers' Association and several Delhi State organisations, including the Delhi State Trade Union Congress, Democratic Women's Federation, Delhi Youth Federation, Delhi State Peace Council and the Indo-Cuban Friendship Association.

THE solidarity demonstration was organised by the Indian Committee of Support to the Continental Congress of Solidarity with Cuba, in response to the worldwide celebration of a week of solidarity with Cuba.

The letter sent to Prime Minister Fidel Castro, on behalf of all participating organisations, warned against the dangers of renewed aggression by the US imperialists against Cuba. The letter said:

"It is absolutely necessary that the people of the world must not relax their vigilance against the imperialist provocations and continue to extend their full support to the people of Cuba. Peace in the Caribbean and independence and sovereignty of Cuba are both necessary factors in maintaining world peace.

"Indian people are fully aware of this and are with you in the defence of Cuban independence and sovereignty. The Indian people fully support the right of the Cuban people, as of all other peoples, to choose the social system they consider best for themselves. We oppose all foreign interference and aggressive threats and pressures. It is heartening that the awakened peoples of Latin America have raised their united voice for these principles at their historic Continental Congress of Solidarity with Cuba recently held in Brazil, and we earnestly hope that this movement of solidarity will grow stronger.

"Dear Prime Minister, permit us to assure you once again of our wholehearted support and solidarity with your people and also of our esteem and affection for you personally. We wish still greater successes and glory for the Cuban people in their creative labour, which, we believe, will strengthen the cause of freedom from colonial domination in Latin America and ensure world peace."



# ENGLISH CANNOT CONTINUE FOR EVER

*Hiren Mukerjee Supports Official Languages Bill: Demands Safeguards for Non-Hindi Speaking People*

\* BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

When the Lok Sabha began consideration of the Official Languages Bill this week, Hiren Mukerjee, Deputy Leader of the Communist Group extended welcome to the measure and appealed to the government to make suitable changes in the Bill so that it will become less controversial and more acceptable to all sections of people in the country.

**H**IREN Mukerjee also spoke strongly about the need to encourage and develop all the regional languages on an equal footing and to provide safeguards in the Bill to allay the apprehensions of non-Hindi speaking people in regard to recruitment to services etc. He opposed the idea of perpetuating the present position of English.

Hiren Mukerjee at the outset pointed out that the measure before the House was one of national significance and it was very important that as nearly as possible a national agreement is reached on this Bill. In this connection, he suggested that if the assurances given to the non-Hindi speaking people by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister were more clearly incorporated in the Bill, it would have better results.

## Clear Assurance Wanted

He said: "If there was in this Bill a clearer assurance—and my hon. friend the Home Minister has already tried to give something of that assurance—if a clear assurance was incorporated in this Bill and not merely the assurance verbally given by the Minister, it would have been better. If the apprehensions of the non-Hindi speaking areas regarding discrimination against them can be laid at rest, then surely there ought to be no difficulty in securing almost unanimous agreement on this Bill. As far as I am concerned, on behalf of our group I support this Bill, and we are only making

certain suggestions so that it might be made really acceptable for the people of this country".

Hiren Mukerjee said that there could not be an indefinite continuance of English as official language. "I hope there will be no disagreement with regard to the basic principle, namely that we cannot and must not perpetuate the present position of English. We cannot also, unless there is clear patriotic justification, prolong indefinitely the transition from English to Hindi and the other national languages of our country.

## No Hindi Fanaticism

"I know there are some people who wish English to continue for as long as we can foresee in the future. We cannot agree with that point of view. English cannot perpetually have its present position, but we must not then be goaded by fear and dislike of what is described sometimes as Hindi fanaticism into supporting the point of view of some of our friends here who want English to continue permanently in this country".

At the same time, he cautioned against any kind of hustling of Hindi to replace English as official language. He recalled the assurances given by the Prime Minister in this regard and added:

"I do believe that the Prime Minister made a very statesmanlike statement on that occasion and I am sure he is going to stand by it. But I do hope also that he is going to make it clear that

we are not going to have anything in our statute which would make it impossible for Parliament to have a law in regard to our national languages, Hindi as well as the other national languages. Only a minority, vocal and vociferous minority should not have a veto in regard to whatever democratic decision we arrive at.

"Our basic principle is clear. We have to have as quickly as we can our own languages—Hindi and the other national languages—into the picture. English cannot continue permanently. But English has to continue for a certain length of time which we cannot specify at the present moment. In the meantime every effort must be made to see that Hindi and the other national languages really and truly come into their own.

"All together, therefore, we have to decide what to do, Hindi and non-Hindi areas together. I do not want a bifurcation between Hindi and non-Hindi areas. I do not wish it to be said that only non-Hindi areas would decide. All together, we should decide this question of national importance".

Commenting on the position of English, Hiren Mukerjee said that we have developed some kind of "fixation" about English and this fixation has got to go. English is a magnificent language, but there is no denying that it is a foreign language to our people. The predominance of English had been "a break on our creative work and creative development through which alone we can justify ourselves as a people".

## Our Culture

"It is only through our own languages that we can think

and write and act creatively". Hiren Mukerjee pointed out that the deepest springs of our people's culture and activity are inextricably linked with the great contributions of our own great men who wrote in our own different languages.

"Now that we are trying to stand on our own, let us try to depend on our own resources and then alone shall we be able to make a contribution to the world which is worth-while".

Hiren Mukerjee regretted that the process of change from English to Hindi and other national languages had not been fast enough. Even in the Hindi speaking areas, the change is very slow. The recommendations made by the Parliamentary Committee in 1958 for Hindi as well as for other languages in the matter of recruitment to government services etc. had not been carried out.

On the specific provisions of the Bill, Hiren Mukerjee suggested that the word "may" in clause 3 should be changed to "shall" so that there is no risk in the matter of interpretation of the provision.

## Clause 3 Of The Bill

Clause 3 in the Bill provides:

Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi,—

(a) for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day; and

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament.

Another suggestion made by Hiren Mukerjee was that the

report of the Parliamentary Committee to be appointed after ten years to review the progress made in the use of Hindi should not only be discussed in Parliament but also should be circulated in the state legislatures so that they can also discuss the same and give their opinions.

Hiren Mukerjee wanted that the translation of Central and state legislations into Hindi should be undertaken by the Centre.

He further suggested that in the matter of recruitment of services "there should be a definite assurance that recruitment to the services even at the all-India level would be by an examination where the medium of examination would be Hindi as well as the other Indian national languages". For Parliament, he suggested a system of simultaneous translation of speeches into at least some of the leading Indian languages.

## Fundamental Unity

At the conclusion of his speech Hiren Mukerjee stressed the fundamental unity in diversity of our culture. "Let all of us, whether we live in Tamilnad or Punjab or in Assam or in Kerala, join together in the task of serving our country and our people. And we can do that best in our own way by the use of our own language as the key to the people's heart. Let the Hindi-speaking areas behave so that all suspicion and fear is eliminated and then we can all embark on our common endeavour and achieve the success which is overdue".

Photo:  
VIRENDRA KUMAR

