

I have very great pleasure in greeting the NEW AGE weekly on the completion of its ten years of life.

Though a weekly, NEW AGE has taken the message of the Communist Party of India to the English-speaking readers in India and abroad and has helped unify the movement and struggles of the people inspired and led by the Communist Party. Those of us who are working in the states in the various spheres of activity of the Party have to depend on the columns of the NEW AGE for the general understanding of the national and international developments and for the reports of the progress of the democratic and revolutionary movement of our land.

The responsibility therefore of the editors and correspondents of the NEW AGE is high and I wish them success in their efforts to improve the journal.

The publication of a special number on the occasion of the tenth anniversary should mark another step in the effort to improve the quality of the journal.

Trivandrum

C. ACHUTHA MENON

I have great pleasure in greeting NEW AGE, its editors and correspondents and those comrades engaged in its publication on the completion of its ten useful years.

All through the last decade, of difficult times for the democratic movement of our country, NEW AGE, though a weekly, has striven to blaze the path of unity and advance for the toiling millions of our land, the kisan, worker or the intelligentsia.

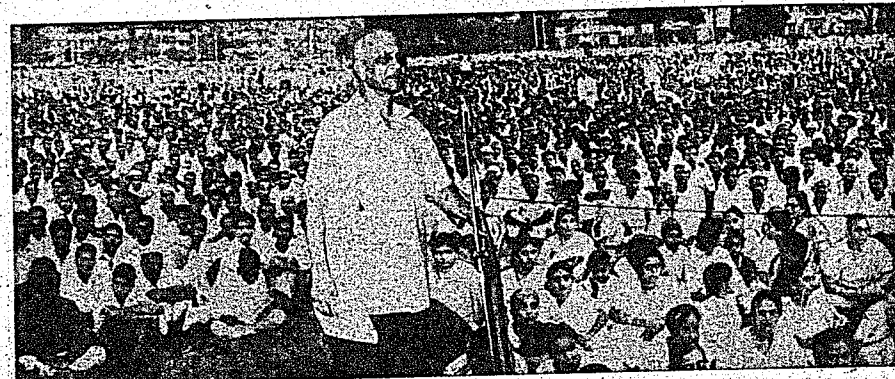
In a land of different religions and cultures, states and nationalities, divergent levels of social and economic development, NEW AGE has kept high the flag of unity of our great country, our people, and our movement for democratic and socialistic transformations.

Whether in the sphere of fighting for thorough-going and comprehensive agrarian reforms, or in the sphere of combating the growth of foreign and private monopoly in industry, trade and commerce, or in the sphere of raising the banner of secularism and national unity against forces of communal, religious and regional disruption, NEW AGE has kept aloft the highest interests of our country's political and economic advance as a whole.

On behalf of Kerala's peasantry engaged today in a mortal combat with reactionary vested interests to protect and safeguard their gains of the last decade in the sphere of tenancy and agrarian legislations, I send "NEW AGE" best wishes for further success in its objectives.

Alleppey

K. R. GOURI



S. A. Dange addressing big rally organised by the Party in Shivaji Park, Bombay on October 6

MESSAGES

THE NEW AGE has survived ten years of grueling struggle. It is born to struggle further for the emergence of a new age from the pythonlike hold of the long established and deeply embedded and highly fortified old order still existing in India, still holding vital economy, monopolies and power in its vicious hands.

Even in science, we have experienced the same difficulties. It is difficult to renounce long-established and habitual views, and especially to make up one's mind to choose a new line of behaviour.

I expect this is exactly what the task of the NEW AGE is and will continue to be—to point out a new way of looking at urgent problems besetting us and our epoch.

People with no hope for the future, or fear of the future, always look back nostalgically to the past, especially the long dead past, to idealise it as the lost millennium that once was. It is our task to investigate and clarify what the real past was which we so often talk so reverently about without knowing what was the reality and how much was myth that was woven around it.

It requires great courage to fight for progress, especially when reaction takes on the garb of "ancient culture," "ancient heritage," "immutable and inviolable social structure, law or usage." Also with regard to the present, we shall have to continue to fight against untenable trends no matter how ever much they may masquerade as "ideologies" (of whatever colour or direction).

Hyderabad

N. M. JAISOORYA

ON the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the NEW AGE I am glad to send my sincere greetings to the paper on behalf of myself and the Party in Karnataka.

As the organ of the Party it has not only popularised the policies of the Party, but has also been a powerful weapon in the hands of the toiling people in their various struggles.

It has also helped to unite all democratic and progressive sections of the people in the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. I am confident that NEW AGE will play even a bigger role in the future in the service of the people and our Party.

Bangalore

N. L. UPADHYAYA

I am a regular reader of the NEW AGE, since its inception. As a journalist it is part of my work to read newspapers and journals depicting divergent views and expressing varied shades of opinion. As a party paper the NEW AGE has its own place in Indian journalism.

But what I value most is its progressive and constructive attitude in respect to national and international politics. On the occasion of its tenth anniversary I wish it all success and pray that the day will soon come when it will appear daily.

Hyderabad

ABD ALI KHAN
Editor, SIASAT Daily

ALLOW me please to offer our heartiest greetings to the grand success achieved by the NEW AGE in the completion of its tenth year of publication.

It is a matter of joy and pride not only for us, Communists alone but for all progressive and democratic people to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the NEW AGE. The glorious record of its dedicated service to the cause of the working class and the toiling people hardly needs any mention here.

It has earned for itself a position of dignity and honour in the field of truthful progressive journalism as a reflector of the most advanced and progressive trends of our national political life and as the staunchest champion of our people's movements for better life, improved working conditions, social justice and all round democratic development of the country.

We cheerfully join our comrades, supporters and well-wishers on this occasion of the tenth anniversary celebration of the NEW AGE. I hope and trust that NEW AGE will continue to play, in keeping with its glorious tradition, an ever bigger role in our national life, in guiding the struggles of the people for their radiant future in socialism and will achieve ever bigger successes in the coming days.

SUREN BHATTACHARYA
Gauhati Member, Editorial Board
JANAMAT

Bangalore

N. L. UPADHYAYA

OUR heartiest greetings to 10th anniversary of the weekly NEW AGE. The cause it upholds and the service it renders are real incentives to the zealous patriots.

We have felt and we still are cognisant of its service to the state people and the state Committee in all the historic and crucial movements of our state. We wish its invaluable service will be ever growing in magnitude for the cause it champions.

Agartala

BENU SENGUPTA

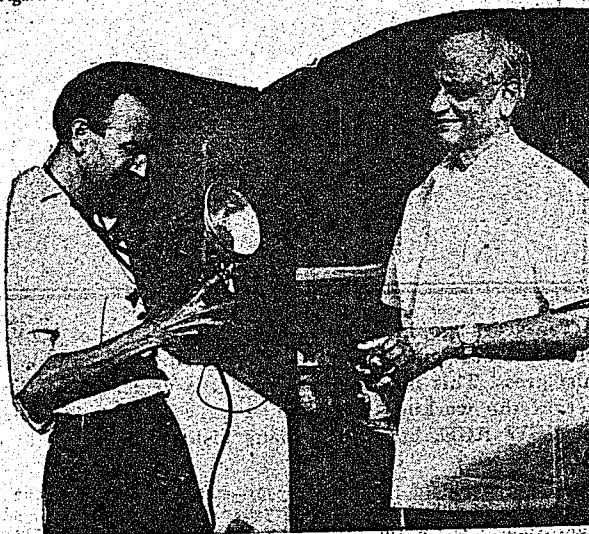
I am glad to learn that the NEW AGE, the weekly journal, has completed nine years of its existence and steps ahead towards future.

Although we do not subscribe to the political views it propagates, as professional newspaperman, I find it a pleasure to note that another newspaper in our country continues its progressive march towards the future.

The NEW AGE is known as the organ of the Communist Party of India, to which we are directly opposed. But the NEW AGE is also a well-edited newspaper. As a man belonging to the profession, I wish the NEW AGE useful existence in the service of our dear Motherland.

Shillong

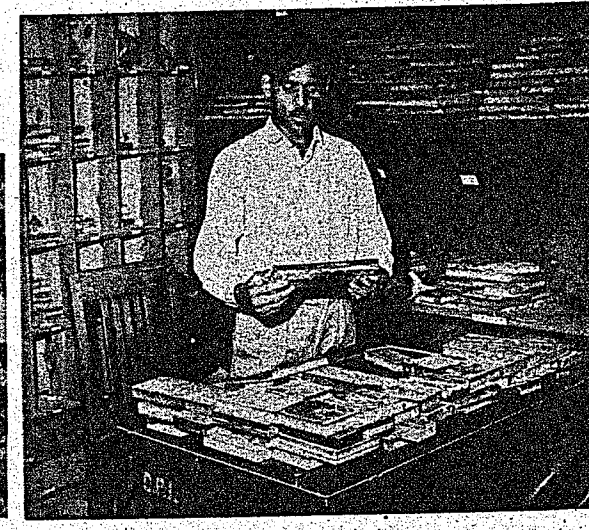
RANAJIT NAUG
News Editor
THE FRONTIER TIMES



New Age photographer with the Party Chairman



Off to the Railway Station with bundles of New Age



Blocks to brighten the pages of New Age

Immediately after the banning of the Party in the middle of 1934, the Party was in a difficult position. It was difficult to get the Party paper printed, and anything which had a progressive tinge was difficult to get published.

EVEN handbills etc. had to be printed in different presses at different times, and it was very hard to get a press to print our matter. We had to entirely depend on the good will of the printer who would charge exorbitant rates for printing etc.

It was in this period, that is, at the end of 1936 or so that we decided to bring out a Party paper in Madras. We managed to find sufficient funds to get a second hand printing machine and types etc., and a place for its publication. But the question was to get permission for printing the JANSHAHKTI weekly in Madras.

The hurdle to get the press registered was a problem. Two different applications were made, in different names. One was Janashakti Press and the other

was the JESU Press. We got the licence for the JESU Press, the other name for the Press was rejected.

Then we made a declaration for printing the JANSHAHKTI weekly in the JESU Press and permission was granted. Then there were difficulties for getting necessary money for getting types, money for wages and so on. But we went through all these difficulties and the first issue of JANSHAHKTI came under the editorship of Jeevanandam.

At the same time we had also got an English monthly, the NEW AGE, which was being edited by M. D. Rajah. When I went to Madras to stay there permanently, Comrade Srinivasa Rao was working on the NEW AGE. He told me that we could start writing articles in the NEW AGE monthly and that Rajah

NEW AGE OF THE THIRTIES

★ by S. V. Ghate

would be ready to accept articles for the same.

So at the end of 1937, articles from our viewpoint began to appear in the NEW AGE. Rajah was being pressurised by police that he should not permit such progressive articles as were being written at that time, by Joshi, Sardesai and Dr. Adhikari or the paper might be closed.

Rajah in the mean time, i.e. by the middle of 1938, had gone into insurance business, leaving the whole paper in my charge. At the end of 1938, he asked me to remove his name from the paper, since he had hardly anything to do with it, excepting that he had

started the paper in 1936. My insistence was that he should continue to be the editor of his paper.

But police pressure might have increased and he finally told me that he could not continue to be the editor of the NEW AGE, since he was connected with it only in name.

So at the end of 1938 or so the NEW AGE became a full-fledged paper of our Party. Rajah gave up the editorship and management of the paper and asked me to take over its entire responsibility, which I did. Srinivasa Rao was in charge of the management of the

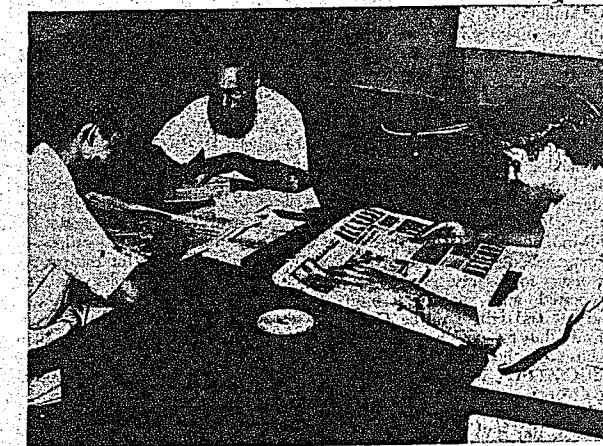
press and the papers—both the JANASHAKTI and the NEW AGE.

Both the papers continued to be published from the JESU Press. We also published several booklets of Marxist literature and we had no trouble about having our own materials printed—since we had our own Press.

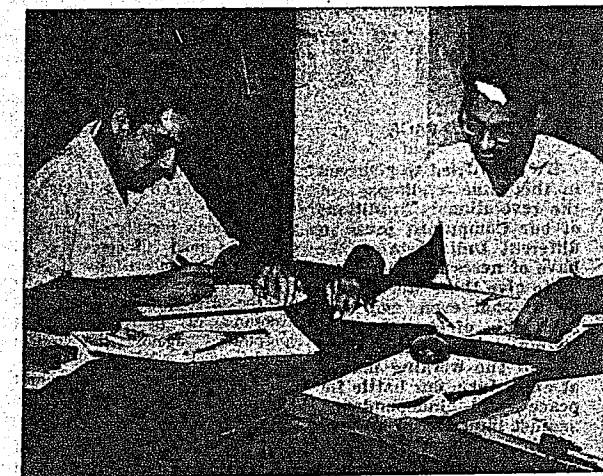
All this adventure of owning a Printing Press and having our own paper and publications, came to an end, at the beginning of the 2nd world war when most of us who were working for the papers were arrested under the then Defence of India Rules.



A meeting of the editorial staff of New Age



Correcting the proofs



In the Library and Information Bureau

messages

THERE are many reasons for trade unionists like myself to feel great gratitude for and pride in NEW AGE. It opens a window on India and the world and takes us out of our narrow

I send my felicitations to the NEW AGE on its successful completion of a decade of difficult but dynamic effort to rouse, unite and lead the millions of Indian people on the great march towards a socialist society.

I feel confident that the revolutionary flame you have lit up will burn out the reactionary, disruptive and anti-social groups and interests in the country and bring us nearer to the fulfillment of our socialist aspirations.

Ernakulam

Y. V. KRISHNA RAO

Hyderabad

OCTOBER 20, 1963

preoccupations, enabling us to see the context and perspective of our work.

The bank employees, in particular, have noted with gratitude that NEW AGE has stood by them, popularised their cause and educated them on each and every occasion when they have moved into struggle.

They rejoice in the fact that, immediate demands apart, their national demand for the nationalisation of banks was so splendidly supported by NEW AGE and indeed, initiated by it. The bank employees are sure that in the future too they can count on this great weekly.

I wish NEW AGE all success and hope that for their own sake thousands upon thousands of new readers will discover the journal.

Hyderabad

Dr. RAJ BAHADUR GOUR

NEW AGE has been a consistent champion of the largest section of Indian humanity, the peasants. It has made the urban dwellers aware of the problems and potentialities of the toilers in the fields.

It has helped to educate the cadres of the peasant movement not only about the problems of

land relations and class relationships in the village but also about the wider world.

In Andhra all the older cadres of the peasant movement have been constant readers of the NEW AGE and its predecessors. As one among them I can say that NEW AGE has not only been true to its heritage but given it a fresh and stronger touch and richness.

Hyderabad

Y. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE working class of Andhra Pradesh looks upon NEW AGE as its friend and guide. The New Age has been playing the role of unfolding the perspective of the working class movement, thus illuminating the future action and path of the workers.

There is no other journal in the country which so firmly stood by the working class. The overwhelming bulk of the press of the country carried on unbridled slander against the first nation wide glorious five days strike of the Central Government Employees. It was NEW AGE among the honourable few, that helped to rally the entire people in support of this just struggle.

It has been doing a tremendous job in developing the political and class consciousness of the workers.

We confidently look to the NEW AGE as a trusted colleague in the struggle to establish socialism in our country. In the coming years the NEW AGE will have more

and new readers and thus the working class movement will have in its fold more conscious fighters.

Hyderabad

N. SATYANARAYAN REDDY

NEW AGE continues the tradition of all the militant journals of our people from the time when the masses awoke and moved into the fight for freedom.

Many of us were drawn into active political struggle by the experience of life and made our choice of a political party by seeing which views most fully echoed life. NATIONAL FRONT played a big role in shaping my own decision in the 1930s and ever since the central journal of the Party

has been my aid in the decisions I have had to make in various public capacities and in getting a correct orientation. NEW AGE had played that role for me over the past decade.

In particular, I must mention the invaluable service that the NEW AGE rendered since the Chinese aggression in giving correct lead to the entire Party and all its multi-million supporters. Its firm and principled approach in defending the unity of the Party and of the world Communist movement against the dogmatic sectarian splitters has been a great help.

It is with great joy that I greet NEW AGE for all it has done for the people and wish it greater power and a multiplied readership.

Hyderabad

MAKHOOM MAHIUDDIN

OCTOBER 20, 1963

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

THE BEGINNINGS

* FROM FRONT PAGE

who participated in the struggles led by Lokamanya Tiark and Mahatma Gandhi, wanted to strike a new path in the liberation struggle: working in the city of Bombay they naturally turned towards the working class to give them the new forces and thus show the new path.

The group of young men that was organised by Comrade S. A. Dange, searching for a new force and new ideas of the revolution in India turned towards the ideology of Marx and Lenin. The book GANDHI V LENIN by S. A. Dange, appeared in April 1921, frankly discussing the perspectives of the Indian revolution and the necessity of choosing the path indicated by Lenin.

No doubt, it was an immature writing of a young student, who had joined the non-cooperation movement in response to the call of Mahatma Gandhi and then gave up his philosophy. The group of Comrade Dange did not approve of handspinning and nonviolence being made the two main weapons, as they were called, to achieve Swaraj. In the search for the new path, they found Lenin.

Soon after, to give more organised direction to his thinking, he started a weekly paper, called the SOCIALIST. That was the first all-India English paper that openly preached Marxism, called upon workers to organise in a new way, reported and supported militant strikes and criticised the Congress leadership for not championing the cause of the working class. The SOCIALIST was first published on August 5, 1922. The TIMES OF INDIA described it as a 'Bolshevik Raj' and asked the government to watch it.

The book and the paper drew the attention of the Communist International, which sent Charles Ashleigh, a British Communist, to contact Comrade Dange. Ashleigh met him secretly, as the police had discovered his arrival and had practically 'interned' him in the Taj Mahal hotel.

Comrade Dange was entrusted with the job of organising a delegation from the several Communist groups functioning in India to the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International. He was to centralise the movement in India under his direction and the guidance of the Communist International.

The Communist International in Moscow had helped the Indian emigrants in Moscow, who accepted Marxism, to establish a Communist Party of India there and it was declared as affiliated to the Communist International. M. N. Roy was in charge of the journal VANGUARD and later ADVANCE GUARD published as organs of the Party.

Advance Guard's Comments

The ADVANCE GUARD of October 1, 1922 wrote of the SOCIALIST as follows:

"The SOCIALIST (Bombay) is the pioneer of the political party which will lead the struggle for national liberation in order to secure real freedom for the masses of the Indian people. Judging from several numbers that have already reached us, the new contemporary has started very well in its career, which has a great glorious future before it. The appearance of the SOCIALIST marks the beginning of a new era in our movement. It is the harbinger of the coming revolutionary leadership to watch it."

ship which is alone capable of guiding our movement to the ultimate goal."

It is not possible here to even cursorily mention the subjects that the SOCIALIST handled until Comrade Dange was arrested in March 1924 in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case and sentenced to four years imprisonment, along with Comrades: Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaikat Usmani and Nalini Gupta.

The SOCIALIST continued for some time and closed at the end of 1924. On January 30, it wrote an article 'Lenin is Dead' and bade farewell to the great leader of world socialism.

Comrade Dange's mission to take an Indian delegation to Moscow did not succeed because of failure of the underground apparatus. Instead of Moscow, he was landed in Kanpur prison.

Before that, however, the SOCIALIST had given a call for founding a party of the working class. At the Gaya Congress in December 1922, he distributed a programme for the party, assisted by Singaravelu Chettiar of Madras, who had also formed a group there.

The SOCIALIST of September 16, 1922 announced the formation of the 'Indian Socialist Labour Party' within the fold of the National Congress.

Two of Comrade Dange's articles in the SOCIALIST of November 1922 and February 1924 show (see the facing page) how he was applying Marxism to the current problems. Some people think that Marx, Marxism and the Party began to be mentioned in India quite late in the day, perhaps in the late thirties. These articles and the facts of the Communist group working in Bombay under Comrade Dange's guidance and directly under the authority of the Communist International would have



This was how THE SOCIALIST looked. See facing page for reprints of two editorials.

a lot to tell about the beginnings of Communist thought and Marxism in India and its work in the labour and national movement of the period of 1920.

It was not only the weekly SOCIALIST that preached Marxism. Comrade Dange was also an associate editor of a Marathi daily in Bombay in which the biography of Lenin appeared in a series of twelve articles written by a member of the group—V. D. Sathaye.

Comrade Dange had also made preparations to start an English daily, and a company to publish THE MORNING STAR was floated but it did not go beyond the stage of printing its prospectus. A series of some sixteen books on socialism were published in this period under the direction of the Bombay group, which was already in the stage of forming a Party according to the advice of the International.

And all this was being done by a small band of some eleven people, of whom the names of Comrades K. N. Joglekar and S. S. Mirajkar can be mentioned as being still in the field.

The British government attacked the group in 1924, cut short the further development and prevented an all-India Communist Party from coming into existence. The decision to establish the Communist Party had been already taken.

From Kanpur prison the direction was given that a conference of the Communist Party should be immediately held despite the prosecutions.

The conference was held in December 1925 and the Party was founded, of which Comrade S. V. Chate was made the secretary. There we may end this short account of the beginnings of the Party and its press.

You will see our editorial and managerial workers also in this issue. It is the collective work of all of them, which makes NEW AGE live and grow.

This then is our collective. With us all the time, giving us that guidance and support without which NEW AGE could never live, stand the great Communist Party of India and the entire working people of our country.

From this issue onwards, NEW AGE will increase the number of pages in its regular issues from 16 to 20. New features and articles, more news, better and brighter journalism—all these we promise you.

NEW AGE is ten years old. It is celebrating its birthday surrounded by the love and affection of Indian Communists and of Communists all over the world. It is this love and affection which gives us the strength and the confidence to move on to a new year of Communist journalism in the service of the working people.

COMMUNIST PRESS

* FROM FRONT PAGE

We have tried to give you in this issue a glimpse of the revolutionary traditions of our Communist press in different Indian states. We have of necessity been forced to give these stories very briefly—but even so, our leadership of struggles, our championship of the interests of the working masses at every turn, our battle for peace and independence, against imperialism and reaction, can never be hidden. NEW AGE itself is the successor, as the central organ of the

CPI, of several great papers, which made a name for themselves in Indian journalism—of NATIONAL FRONT, of PEOPLE'S WAR and PEOPLE'S AGE. These journals went through periods of immense difficulties and of great glory. They are remembered by all who read them above all for their part in the freedom struggle. The exposures of British imperialist conspiracies against the Indian people week after week made these journals of the Communist Party of India a terror to the imperialists.

It is difficult to be worthy of this heritage. But during its ten years, NEW AGE has striven to

keep up the finest traditions of the Communist press.

Looking back over the files of the ten years, one can mark out numerous issues on which NEW AGE has acted as a clarion for the mass movement. One could mention scores of such issues: suffice it however to speak only of the campaigns for the liberation of Goa, of solidarity with the Communist-led government of Kerala and of support to the general strike of government employees.

For The Working Masses

At every stage, NEW AGE has raised high the banner of the working masses. Outstanding has been its contribution to the struggle for peace, for democracy, for socialism, against imperialism and reaction, against the monopolists.

Under the guidance of its successive editors—Comrades P. Ramamurthi, Bhuvnesh Garia, P. C. Joshi and E. M. S. Namboodiripad—and guided as always by the central leadership of the Party, the collective team of editorial and press workers of NEW AGE have done their best to improve the journal at every stage.

During the last year of difficulties and problems following the Chinese aggression, NEW AGE strove to interpret as faithfully as it could the policies of the National Council of the Party. It campaigned to the best of its capacity in support of the basic policies of the

TO THE MEMORY OF COM. AJAY GHOSH

Comrade Ajay Ghosh made a special and remarkable contribution to the development of NEW AGE. It was under his guidance as General Secretary of the Communist Party, that the NEW AGE was born in 1953. His articles were always eagerly looked forward to by the readers, and his advice equally eagerly sought by the editors and other makers of NEW AGE.

Comrade Ajay will not be with us, when we celebrate the tenth anniversary of NEW AGE. But his name is indissolubly linked with the building of the Communist press in India, and his memory continues to inspire always....

The Car of Progress and the Bombay Telephone Girl

OUR forefathers, when they wished to talk to a man, who was far off, walked down to his place and did their business. That took much time. So the services of feet swifter than human feet were requisitioned.

Business, on fast-going Arab horses, was the rule for sometime. But a horse would die, get tired; there was no knowing when it would fall. And moreover, everybody could not get an Arab horse. A better thing had to be invented. A thing that could carry swift and also carry heavy loads. The Arab horse required the supplement of a camel or an ox for a heavy load, a dead weight on its feet. Then men moved, to steam and electricity, to a fast railvan for a load and divine signaller for a message.

For a century the message was flashed on the telegraph wires only. But that took time. Business had to play in the hands of the man who knew the signs, and then much "talking, could not be done, as the telegraph wires demanded in writing what business had to say. The telegraph wires acted for long distances only.

Business within the four walls of a city, had still to depend on the errand-boy. Every minute wasted meant loss of possible profits on that minute. Efficiency, more efficiency. That was and is the cry of business.

Surplus values, more profits by eliminating costs of conducting business is the motive power of capital. The errand-boy must be replaced by something more efficient, something that would take less time i.e., would require less costs to send a word, a message: something more that would do away with waiting for replies, re-replies and re-re-replies.

Brains set to work. Genius hammered on the sealed doors of Nature. Desire for fame, for money, for power and a mixed desire for inventing something, that would not allow it to remain idle, worked hard and the telephone and wireless phone systems came into existence.

Business found it most convenient to speak through a sound horn and settle about contracts, disputes, rates, etc., on the spot. The speedy Arab horse, the steaming engine and cumbersome telegraph wire settled down quietly to carrying more solid things than speeches and letters. Poona Lahore, Calcutta and communications within the four-walls of the city began to be carried from "mouth to mouth" or rather "mouth to ear" direct.

Business sat on its throne, rang the bell and spoke with Business, on another throne. The telephone company, a creation of Business employed human being in the service of Business to see that the bell was rung on the right number, that business on one throne had communicated with another throne without trouble. Human beings hungry and in want of exchanging their labour for money were found. 227 women sat in the telephone company's building, at the feet of Business, ready for service at their beck and call.

While these girls served and drew their monthly pittance, Capital gained profits on the service of the system. More efficiency, more profits. The millions accumulated were stored in the vaults of the reserve banks. The telephone girls toiled on in their daily wooden chair, members of an iron and wooden system, which had no heart for them but a hand with a cudgel.

All this time the inventive brains did not sit silent. Why not find a system, where even the service of these phone-girls would not be required, i.e., where capital would not be required to spend even to pay the bread of the phone-girls? Why not more efficiency and more surplus of profits?

The vaults of Nature were still further unsealed and the automatic installation was invented and perfected. The phone-girls worked and lived. They worked and were paid for the work which bought them their bread and some happiness and comfort. The machine before them was their God, who fed them. The machine was their aim and end. To it they were to stick for their life. They might pray, weep and cry, laugh and dance. They might think of making their mothers and fathers happy by "working hard", by being good. But all these dreams and thoughts depended for their fulfilment on the telephone machine. The dead iron thing through which business kings spoke and earned profits was the source of fulfilment of their ideals.

When they were fondling the thoughts about their future, inventors worked hard to dash from their lips the cup of happiness. An automatic installation was the need of the hour. And it was found.

The Bombay Telephone Company called for the apparatus, and installed it. On the installation being complete a quiet, neat notice was written for all those souls, who dreamed many happy things, as if the machine before them was going to feed them for eternity. They were told by King Business that their services would no longer be required from 1st of March 1924, when the automatic system would commence work.

In one minute's time 227 women found themselves, without means to pay for their housing, their bread and comfort. An invention or more efficient service was made but 227 women in one Bombay Telephone Company lost their bread. The genius of invention has developed a tragedy....

THE TIMES comments on this deserve quotation in the following words:—

"Its installation is welcomed by commercial firms as an additional asset in the transactions of trade. But there is another and more sombre side to this interesting and welcome addition to the amenities of social and commercial life. In these days of competition a great city like Bombay cannot but adopt any device that ensures the more efficient conduct of business. The car of commerce must roll on, even if in so doing it crushes out of existence small units that however innocently obstruct its progress, for progress and improvement inevitably spell disaster, temporary and permanent, to some individuals."

THE TIMES asks what is to be done with these women thrown out of

work, and THE TIMES itself gives a "sombre" reply. "The Telephone Company has prepared detailed statistics giving information regarding girls...." A fine reply to women that are thrown out of work, to beg for some days or permanently. "Unemployment may mean privation, starvation to infirm parents or to little brothers and sisters." For this THE TIMES, prescribes, "It will require the willing help and the sympathetic consideration of all employers of labour in this city." But employers of labour are bent upon retrenchment by wage-cuts and dismissals.

The problem cannot be solved by such prescriptions and appeals to the charitable instincts of a community. The Times appeals to the European and Christian community. What can they do? Individuals or communities cannot handle and solve a problem that requires a world-wide solution.

Inventions are being carried on in every sphere of work, which requires human labour, inventions have to be carried on. The car of progress must roll on. But today the car rolls on carrying King Business on the throne collecting profits, while the wage-slaves are trampled under the wheels of the car. Inventions, when they are made are not used for social welfare, for reducing the hours of the wage-earner but for throwing out wage-earners on the streets.

A day is fast coming, when almost every social necessity will be produced by highly efficient machines requiring little human attention. What is society going to do then? Throw everyone on the streets? Experts say that if all the inventions of the world are employed socially and not given in the hands of capital for mere exploitation, all the necessities of society can be produced within at the most six hours of the day.

But the civilisation is moving another way. When the expenditure of human labour is reduced by an invention, that human labour is thrown to find a place for itself somewhere in society. The apparatus that saves human labour ought to add to the comfort and leisure, to the culture of the collective world. But today, constituted as society is, it adds only to the coffers of those, who can invest money, by the labour of others and reap profits.

The solution of the problem so glaringly brought forth in the case of the Bombay telephone girls, thus, requires a social solution; and it can only be given by a reconstitution of society, where all means of production, distribution and exchange are utilised for collective good and managed collectively.

Bombay's High Finance Verifies Marx

THOUGH the general public seldom troubles itself with the rise and fall of kings in the industrial and financial world, the recent crash of 'frenzied finance' in Bombay created not a little stir.

During the last six months Bombay saw many prominent industrial houses washed off in cotton speculation. Some speculators unable to meet their obligations, extricated themselves by the royal road of 'insolvency'. But there were some, who looked a little ahead, and met their obligations in a better way. It is of these that we wish to speak today particularly.

We refer particularly to the Sobhani and Mathradas groups. Everyone knows how these industrialists met their losses in cotton speculation, by transferring the highly profitable agencies of prosperous textile mills in their hands. The Sobhani group passed to the hands of the House of the Sassoons and the Mathradas group to the House of the Fazulbhoyas.

The whole affair looks very simple and innocent, calculated to have no effect on the life of the general society, at present or in the future. But for ourselves the matter assumes a very different aspect. We present the whole affair and its consequences as a verification of Marx. How, let us see.

Consider the position of the textile production before the crash. Some mills were in the hands of the Sassoons, some with the Sobhanis, some with the Mathradas group and some with the Fazulbhoyas. We leave the rest out of consideration. All these groups operated separately, employed separate staff, and carried on competition in production.

Now when the two powerful groups are merged in the other two, what will be the result? The Sassoons and the Fazulbhoyas had some constant capital, which they now invest in the productive mills of the other groups. And the accumulation of surplus values that were so long distributed between four houses henceforth be-

comes to be piled up and owned only by two houses.

Thus instead of four kings controlling the supply of society in textiles we get only two, which increases their hold on social life, the inevitable result of concentration, monopoly and trusts, predicted long before by Marx.

This trustification, besides concentrating capital, eliminating competition and ousting capitalists from higher ranks and throwing them in the ranks of the lower bourgeoisie plays another part too.

The Mathradas taking over the Mathradas concerns will find it easy to manage the big trust effected, with a lesser number of men than that of the two put together. The offices kept so long apart will be united, a reduction in space, in employees in the ranks of management, supervision, clerks, etc., will be effected. This will lead to unemployment in the middle-class men and intensification of the work of those who will be kept.

Society in a few days will find many begging for employment, and other industrialists, finding many applicants in the unemployment market, will take to retrenchment in salaries leading to misery in the home life of the intellectual middle-class-man, who so long boasted of his superiority to the worker and spurned him.

Thus a simple crash of frenzied finance, unnoticed by the innocent public leads to so many things: fewer but more powerful masters, monopoly leading to greater dependence of the needs of society on these few powerful heads, unemployment, fall in the 'wages', under the name of retrenchment of 'salaries' and more misery.

People will wonder whence came all these things. They will attribute their unhappiness either to the Gods or the Satan, but will never see that it came to Capital. But go to Maharshi Marx: He had seen it for you long before and has even kept ready forged a mighty weapon for you.

from "the socialist"

KERALA — A Glorious Record

★ By C. UNNI RAJA

The socialist and communist journals of Kerala have a history of nearly three decades of struggle against heavy odds of continuous repressive measures by the government and financial and other difficulties. But together with the movement, generously supported by the people, they have grown into a powerful factor in the political life of the state.

THE first radical and socialist oriented journal was a weekly by name PRABHATHAM, edited by E. M. S. Namboodiripad and started in 1935 from Shoranur as the organ of the Kerala Congress Socialist Party. But it had only a short life. The British government demanded of it a security of Rs. 2,000 for publishing a poem on Bhagat Singh. It had to stop publication being unable to deposit the security.

When the Congress formed its ministry in Madras in 1938, after the general elections under the new India Act, the previous order was cancelled and PRABHATHAM was restarted from Calicut.

Upsurge And Struggles

The late thirties were years of great popular upsurge and great mass struggles—the peasant struggles of North Malabar, the State Congress agitation in Travancore, the working class struggles in Cannanore, Calicut, Trichur, Cochin, Alleppey and other industrial centres—in all the three constituent parts of Kerala (Malabar, Cochin and Travancore).

The Congress in Kerala was manned by socialists and other leftists. Not only the Congress organisation, but also trade unions, Kisan Sabha, students' unions, progressive writers' organisation and other mass organisations spread throughout the state.

PRABHATHAM, as the only journal reflecting and helping the development of this new democratic mass upsurge of the people, also undertook the task of propagating the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the achievements of the first workers' and peasants' state, the USSR. Thus PRABHATHAM played a great role in laying the basis for the entire Kerala unit of the Congress Socialist Party to join the Communist Party when the Second World War broke out in 1939. When the war broke out and complete illegality was clamped down on the Communist Party, PRABHATHAM had to be stopped.

The first Communist journal in Malayalam began publication as a weekly in September 1942—DESHABHIMANI from Calicut. Later in January 1946, it was converted into a daily to become the first Communist Malayalam daily. The later years of the Second World War known as the people's war period and the post-war years were another period of great revolutionary upsurge for national independence and against the autocratic rule in the princely states in Kerala as they were throughout India.

Naturally, DESHABHIMANI during 1942-48 had to face continuously attacks from the government and from blackmarketeers and hoarders whose misdeeds the journal ruthlessly exposed. It was banned several times in Travancore and Cochin. Many prosecution

proceedings for libel were launched against it.

Twice the Madras government demanded heavy securities from it—first Rs. 10,000 in 1946 for publishing an article on the Malabar rebellion of 1921 by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, and again another Rs. 10,000 after confiscating the earlier amount in 1947 when the Madras government attacked the Communist Party, arrested many of its leaders and detained them. But the journal survived all these attacks. People in thousands contributed to the defence fund to pay the securities and conduct the cases.

After winning independence, the number of Communist journals in Malayalam increased. Two weeklies were started—one from Trichur, MUNNANI, and the other from Trivandrum, JANASABDAM. A political weekly named COMMUNIST was also published from Calicut. But all these journals including DESHABHIMANI were suppressed when the government launched its heavy repression against the Communist Party and the mass movement in 1948.

Black Reaction

During the period of black reaction from 1948 to 1951 the Communist Party had to publish its journals under various names from various places. JANAYUGOM (Quilon), VISWAKERALAM (Trivandrum), KERALABHUMI (Trichur), PRAVAHAM (Trichur), REPUBLIC (Trichur) were some of the weeklies, monthlies and dailies published from time to time during that period, through which the Party popularised its policies, supported the people's struggles and conducted ideological propaganda.

On the eve of the first general

elections in 1951-52, when the Party won gradually the right for legal political activity, a new daily NAVALOKAM was started from Ernakulam; DESHABHIMANI daily began publication again; another political weekly NAVAYUGOM was started from Trichur; JANAYUGOM continued to be published as a weekly.

These journals played an effective role in the victory of the Communist and other allied Left and democratic candidates in the first general elections when in Malabar as well as in Travancore-Cochin State, the Congress was reduced into a minority.

During the last ten years the Communist journals in Kerala crystallised into three dailies, DESHABHIMANI (Calicut), NAVAJEEVAN (Trichur) and JANAYUGOM (Quilon); a political weekly NAVAYUGOM, and a cultural weekly JANAYUGOM. Besides, from May 1960 onwards there has been a political-theoretical monthly, COMMUNIST, also.

During the last five years there are in addition local evening dailies from Trivandrum, Alleppey, Kottayam and Cannanore, published under the auspices of the Party.

The three dailies and the NAVAYUGOM have got their own buildings and presses; the local evening dailies also have their own printing presses. All this was possible because of the repeated and generous contributions given by the members, sympathisers and friends of the Party and the people in general.

When the Deshabhimani Company was floated in 1947 to purchase a rotary press and other premises and buildings, people contributed nearly one lakh rupees. Nearly 75,000 rupees were collected for the Janayugom fund in 1955 for purchasing a new press and constructing its own buildings. It was out of the Party fund collected in 1958 that the NAVAYUGOM building in Trivandrum was constructed and a new press installed.

Thus, created and nourished by the people, the Communist journals in Kerala do their level best to serve the people and help the democratic and popular movement in the State. They initiated and led

the united movement of the Malayalam speaking people for a United Kerala through all its stages culminating in the formation of the present Kerala State.

These papers played their role fully and effectively in carrying the policies and programme of the Communist Party to the politically conscious electorate of Kerala who voted the first Communist government to power in the state in 1957.

During the critical days when reaction inside and outside the state had combined to remove the duly elected Communist government from power through unconstitutional means, by releasing communal frenzy and violence, the Party papers rallied the millions of workers and peasants and oppressed middle classes behind the government and its progressive measures.

Educator And Organiser

In educating the Party members and supporters on the national and international issues from day to day, in organising and leading the struggles of the working class and peasantry, in mobilising the general public to fight corruption and attacks against democracy, the Party journals in Kerala continue to play their vanguard role, fearless of official repression and persecution.

Only last year all the three dailies of the Party were prosecuted by the state government for exposing corruption involving ministers. The cases against these dailies were however later withdrawn by the government.

Important as the achievements of the Party press are, there is still much room for improvement in the organisation and production of our newspapers. For they have to counter the influence of the bourgeois press which also has grown enormously rich and powerful in this period. The Party journals have therefore to acquire greater efficiency, greater awareness of the needs of their expanding readership and still greater heights of victory in the service of our toiling people.

The revolutionary traditions of the Punjabi press are half a century old. The beginning was made way back in November 1913 when the first anti-imperialist revolutionary paper, GHADAR, made its appearance in California, USA, as the organ of the Ghadar Party. Its editor was Lala Hardyal.

THIS paper, which first started as a cyclostyled Punjabi sheet, was later brought out in Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati and Bengali. It continued to appear despite persecutions and interruptions right up to 1947 and commanded a large

circulation in all foreign countries which had a good chunk of Indian population. After the great October Revolution, Bhai Santokh Singh, on his return from Moscow in 1925,

started the first Marxist paper in Punjabi. Its name was KIRTI (the worker) and it started as a Punjabi monthly in December 1925. Later on an Urdu edition was also brought out. The paper was published only for four years, but during this period many of its editors were arrested and imprisoned.

Some of the famous names in Punjabi journalism, started their journalistic career in this first Marxist magazine. Sohan Singh Josh was its editor at the time of

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Punjab's Revolutionary Press

★ by JAGJIT SINGH ANAND
Chief Editor: NAWAN ZAMANA

his arrest in the Meerut conspiracy case and the late Arjan Singh Gargaj also took his baptism of revolutionary journalism in the KIRTI.

With the growth of the working class movement and the national movement it was found that a monthly magazine would not fulfil the needs of the movement. And therefore a weekly paper called KISAN MAZDOOR was started in 1930 in both Punjabi and Urdu. The late Firoz-ud-Din Mansoor played a prominent part in the bring out of this paper. The KISAN MAZDOOR could continue only for two-and-a-half years because the government asked the paper and the press in which it was printed to furnish a security deposit of Rs. 5,000 each. The inability to do so brought this paper to a close.

In 1934 the Punjabi KIRTI LEHAR was started. In 1937 an Urdu edition was also brought out. Apart from this an underground publication LAL DHANDORA was also published in 1937 and a printing press was purchased. The government struck soon after by confiscating the original security deposits of Rs. 500 each and demanding fresh securities of Rs. 10,000 each from the paper and the press. The paper had to close down.

Under Unionist Rule

But soon after, with the establishment of the Congress government in the then United Provinces, KIRTI LEHAR was again brought out from Meerut and it continued to appear till the start of the Second World War in 1939. During the same period a Marxist Urdu monthly, CHANGARI, was started from Saharanpur by Iqbal Singh and Harkishan Singh Surjit. But this paper also had to close down in 1939.

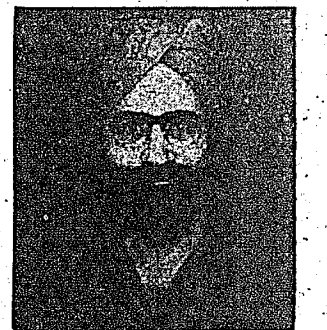
During the early days of the Second World War underground Communist papers continued to appear in different names. First it was ELANE JUNG, then COMMUNIST, then LAL JHANDA. These were cyclostyled hand-written sheets brought out under very difficult circumstances but widely distributed in Punjab.

After the Party became legal, the weekly JANGI-AZADI was started from Lahore in July 1942 and it continued to appear, first in Urdu and Punjabi and then in Punjabi alone, right till partition in 1947.

After the attainment of independence attempts were made to restart NAWAN ZAMANA from Amritsar in early 1948. But just after two issues came out the whole staff was arrested and put into prison on March 31, 1948. During the years 1948-51 underground cyclostyled sheets continued to appear and in late 1949 a legal

paper NAWAN RAH (New Path) was started from New Delhi. In 1951, from Jullunder the PARNANA weekly made its appearance. And there was also LAL SAWARA. Both were merged into LOK YUG in 1952.

In June 1953 the Party in the Punjab started its first daily paper called NAWA ZAMANA (New Age). It was brought out as an Urdu daily but converted into a Punjabi daily in 1956.



The daily NAWAN ZAMANA (Punjabi) came out in June 1956, after the Palghat Congress of the Party. For over seven years now it has continued to serve the Punjabi people despite repeated attacks launched by the government. Twice in this short period, first in March 1959 during the great betterment levy struggle and then in September 1961 during the civil liberties morcha, the NAWAN ZAMANA was forcibly closed down by the government. During the first attack all the members of the editorial and the managerial staff were put in jail, during the second, even the compositors and the copyholders were not spared.

Despite all persecutions and repression the NAWAN ZAMANA has carried on undauntedly. It commands the second largest circulation in the language and is acknowledged on all hands to be the best brought out daily in Punjab both in content and technique.

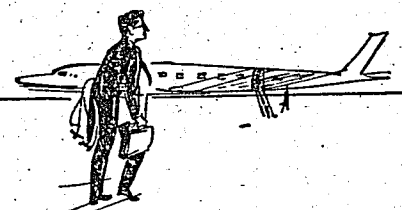
The daily NAWAN ZAMANA is waging a great battle as a fearless exponent of the interests of the workers and the peasants and has been prosecuted a number of times for boldly championing the interests of the masses. In the difficult months following the Chinese attack last year it helped to rally the Party behind the National Council and to clear the ideological confusion within the Party and fight the political slanders against it.

The paper's former editor Sohan Singh Josh continues to be incarcerated since November 1962 and it suffered a terrible loss in the death of its editor-in-charge Arjan Singh Gargaj in March last. But a band of young comrades continue to carry it forward in spite of severe handicaps. They are conscious of their revolutionary heritage and are determined to make it good despite all the disadvantages.

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ANDHRA: A Fighting Tradition

The history of the Communist press in Andhra is the same as that of the Communist Party in the State. It had its origin in the Congress Socialist Party in the thirties and grown along with the Party.

THE Communists were in the leadership of the Congress Socialist Party in Andhra, and as such the organ of the CSP, NAVASHAKTI, was also run by them. It was natural that the paper should reflect the Communist point of view on men and matters.

When the second world war broke out in 1939, the Communist Party broke away from the CSP. The NAVASHAKTI was banned by the government and had to discontinue publication. The Party then conducted an illegal paper for a short period, called SWATANTRA BHARAT.

In 1942, the Communist Party was again allowed to function normally. The Party immediately decided to start a journal to inform the people about the Party and to guide their struggles. The weekly, PRAJASHAKTI was started in June 1942.

PRAJASHAKTI was converted into a daily in 1945. It inspired the people into greater struggles against foreign domination, against the oppressive policies of the government and for a better life for the people. The government did not remain idle for long in the face of the people's offensive: in 1948 came the ban on the Communist Party and the wild repression that marked the following three years. Along with it came the ban on PRAJASHAKTI. In April 1948, the daily was closed down, its offices sealed and the press destroyed.

During the period April 1948 to December 1951, there was practically no Party press in Andhra. There were some cyclostyled sheets to inform the Party members about its activities, to guide them in their activities underground. Just before the first general elections, the government's repressive measures were relaxed a little, and the Party restarted publication of PRAJASHAKTI as a weekly.

In June 1952, the daily VISALA-ANDHRA was started from Vijayawada. It was the first Telugu newspaper to be published from the Andhra area. It gave the lead to the heroic struggle of the people for a Telugu-speaking State which culminated in the death of Potti Sriramulu and eventual formation of Andhra.

The Party had also a theoretical monthly called SANDESAM, which was run for about four years. This monthly stopped publication only in November 1962.

The people, for whom VISALA-ANDHRA has stood in the eleven years of its existence, has not forgotten the paper either. They have contributed liberally to build up the press, a modern one capable of bringing out an up-to-date paper. Today, VISALA-ANDHRA is printed on a most modern rotary machine and the press is well-equipped. Two years back the daily purchased its own plot of land and buildings.

ORISSA: Aid To Mass Struggles

★ By Nandkishore Patnaik

Communist press in Orissa had its beginning in 1939 with the publication of AAGEY CHAL, a cyclostyled bulletin brought out clandestinely during the days when the Communist Party was not allowed to function legally and openly.

THE journal had to be cyclostyled because no press ventured to print the Communist paper. Later on, however, the Sarawata and Manmohan presses undertook to print the journal.

In 1942, after the Party had become legal, it set up its own press and brought out its first weekly, MUKTIYUDDHA. Sarat Patnaik was its first editor and later Gurucharan Patnaik took over as the editor.

During the war years it was a very difficult affair to bring out a Party journal. Besides the normal difficulties which a people's organ had to face at the hands of the pro-landlord and pro-capitalist government, MUKTIYUDDHA had also to face the shortage of paper. For some time, the weekly was printed on handmade paper made by the Party's followers who were determined to keep alive the paper.

The period 1942 to 1947 saw many mass actions by the people in Orissa. There was the famine in 1943. Peasants were exploited and starved to death. There were great people's movements against these. Blackmarketing, MUKTIYUDDHA was in the forefront of the people's struggles against all forms of exploitation, for ending corruption, for democratic rights of the people. Consequently, the paper had to face innumerable prosecutions in law courts. Undaunted by these repressive measures, MUKTIYUDDHA espoused the cause of the people, giving guidance and inspiration to their struggles.

Along with the growth in the people's movement, the need was felt for a daily and the Party gave a call for funds for starting a daily newspaper. The response was warm and enthusiastic; and in a few months, Rs. 10,000 were collected. However, the daily could not be started because the government came down with a heavy hand against the Party and the existing paper also in 1948.

Immediately after the second Congress, the Communist Party was banned; its leaders arrested. Along with the Party, MUKTIYUDDHA was declared illegal and had to be closed. The press had also to face repeated raids by the police.

Though the Party was illegal, it could not remain away from the people and silent over their problems. Weeklies like SAMBAD, SAPTAH and SAMACHAR were started, but all had to face the same fate as their predecessor, MUKTIYUDDHA. But the Party outlived all the oppression and repression unleashed by the government in 1948-51.

In 1951, Party members and sympathisers began to bring out a weekly, NUA DUNIA, under the editorship of the kisan leader, Mohan Das. In 1952, on May Day, the Party set up a new press and NUA DUNIYA started coming out as the official organ of the Party under the editorship of Pranath Patnaik. Ramkrishna Panti and Sarat Patnaik succeeded him as editors.

RAJASTHAN: Difficult Period Traversed

The Communist Party had a journal of its own in Rajasthan only as late as 1949. The then provincial organising committee brought out from Jodhpur a weekly, ROSHANI, which gave a fillip to the workers' and peasants' struggle during the days. But the paper had to be closed down after eight months in the face of governmental repression.

AFTER that, it was in 1954 that the Party decided to start a journal. In July that year, NAYA RAJASTHAN started coming out under the

editorship of H. K. Vyas. As the name suggested, the weekly stood for a New Rajasthan. It debunked the feudal opposition known as Samyukta Dal, expos-

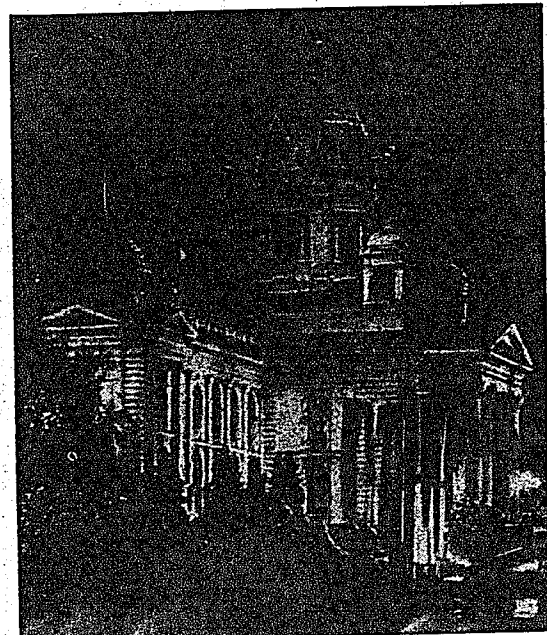
ed the misdeeds of the government and corruption in administration, gave publicity to the people's struggles for better life.

NAYA RAJASTHAN got a comparatively good circulation and continued publication till 1957, that is, for about three years when it had to cease publication because of serious financial difficulties.

The Party had also periodically brought out some district journals like KISAN SATHI and JANWAD from Alwar.

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PRAVDA was revived in February 1917, during the second revolution in Russia. The workers welcomed the newspaper as their old friend and tested it. Immediately after his return from emigration, Lenin joined the editorial board of PRAVDA and published in it his famous "April Theses" which defined the tasks of the Party and of the working class in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia.

Revolutionary Role

PRAVDA played an outstanding part in the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism and capitalism, for the victory of the Great October Revolution, for the establishment and consolidation of the world's first Soviet state and the realisation of Lenin's plan for building socialism.

PRAVDA always served as an effective weapon of the Party in the exposure and ideological rout of all splitters and factionalists who tried to divert the Party from the Leninist revolutionary road.

of communist partisanship, of profound Marxist-revolutionary ideological content.

Ideological Weapon

Both in the years of the first Russian revolution and during the reign of bourgeois-tsarist reaction, the revolu-

The Soviet press has always helped the Party actively in the pursuit of its Leninist general line, in organising the masses for the implementation of the tasks of socialist and communist construction.

Back at the outset of the 20th century, Lenin founded the ISKRA, the newspaper of historic importance which thoroughly prepared the ground for the formation of the party of a new type, a militant revolutionary Marxist party of the working class.

Under the guidance of Lenin, ISKRA, which united the efforts of Russia's revolutionary organisations, worked out and substantiated the first programme of the Party, its ideological tactical and organisational principles, and upheld them in a strenuous struggle against the enemies of Marxism, opportunists and revisionists both at home and in the international arena. ISKRA prepared the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which signified the birth of Bolshevism.

Six Decades Since then

Sixty years have passed since then. In the course of these six decades the press of the working class of Russia, the Soviet press, has been growing and developing in keeping with Lenin's principles. Lenin wrote: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organiser."

He stressed that the workers' Party press must be based on the broadest possible participation of the working people themselves—people's correspondents, Communists and non-Party people. Fighting against bourgeois and opportunist ideology hostile to communism, Lenin advanced and substantiated the supreme principle of the press of the working class—the principle

tionary press of Russia (the newspapers PROLETARY, NOVAYA ZHIZN, SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, RABOCHAYA GAZETA, and others) remained loyal to the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, serving as a powerful ideological weapon of the Party of Lenin.

Last year, 1962, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Leninist newspaper PRAVDA founded by the workers of Petersburg in the spring of 1912. "The establishment of PRAVDA," Lenin wrote, "remains an outstanding proof of the political consciousness, energy and unity of the Russian workers."

"We need a newspaper not only in order to help our working class struggle, but also to provide an example and beacon to the people as a whole."

In Lenin, PRAVDA, had, since its very appearance, its Leninist leader, its soul. Lenin tirelessly urged upholding in the press the purity of the Marxist teaching and combating any distortions of it, and, himself a brilliant Marxist journalist, showed how to do it. PRAVDA was a powerful weapon of the Bolshevik Party in organising the masses to struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia.

Forced to close down on the eve of the First World War,

but above all we must fight in the most difficult conditions, and therefore we must unite."

In the spring of 1921, in the period of acute struggle against anarcho-syndicalist, factionalist groupings, "Workers' Opposition," "Democratic Centralism," and others) Lenin considered it necessary to ensure that "all conscious workers clearly understand the harmfulness and inadmissibility of any factionalism, which, even with all the desire of representatives of some groupings to preserve party unity, inevitably leads, in fact, to the weakening of concerted work..."

Educating the Cadres

The preliminary draft of the resolution of the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on party unity, worked out by Lenin, read, in part:

"1. The congress calls the attention of all members of the Party to the fact that the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party ensuring complete mutual confidence among party members and genuine teamwork, genuinely embodying the

with the help of models of work in a new way, seeing in this the main task of the press in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism.

The press of the land of socialism helped the Party at all stages of socialist construction and mobilised the people to victories in the trying years of the patriotic war against fascist Germany.

The new, third Programme of the CPSU, the decisions of the 22nd Congress, N. S. Khrushchov's reports to the Congress defined the main tasks of the Party and the people in the struggle for communism over a prolonged period of time. They are the combat banner and a guide for action for the entire Soviet press as well.

The role played by the Soviet press has greatly increased in present-day conditions, when the Soviet Union has entered the period of full-scale construction of communism. As a result of the removal of the consequences of Stalin's personality cult and restoration of Leninist norms of party life and principles of collective leadership, the Soviet press has, to an even greater extent, become a press of the people, a rostrum of the people. It has occupied a worthy place in the socio-political life of the country, in the development of the Party and the state.

Leninist PRAVDA, the entire Soviet press carry high aloft the banner of peace, friendship and co-operation among the nations; they constantly propagate the sacred principles of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of proletarian internationalism, programmatic documents of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism—the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries (1957) and the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties (1960). They resolutely expose bourgeois ideology and combat revisionism, sectarianism and dogmatism.

Consolidation of Unity

In all its activities the Soviet press promotes the further consolidation of the unity of the mighty and invincible socialist camp, the development of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism, and resolutely comes out against imperialism, for the liquidation of colonialism; for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The strength of the Soviet press lies in the guidance provided by the Communist Party headed by its Leninist Central Committee. In its loyalty to the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

following the behests of the great Lenin

servance of Leninist norms of party life and Leninist principles of party leadership. The press fought for the consistent implementation of democratic centralism and inner party democracy, ideological and organisational unity of the Party, observance of party discipline by all, promotion of the activity and initiative of the party masses, encouragement of criticism and self-criticism, consolidation of the links with the people, adherence to the principle of collective leadership.

Lenin tirelessly stressed, in PRAVDA and other party newspapers as well as in speeches and books, that the Party had the most important source of strength in its inviolable ideological and organisational unity. In "A Letter to the Editors of the ISKRA," "On the Trade Unions, the Current Moment and, Trotsky's Mistakes," "The Report on Party Unity and the Anarcho-Syndicalist Deviation," and other works Lenin urged consolidation of party ranks:

"...A theoretical discussion is one thing, but the political line of the Party, political struggle is another," Lenin pointed out. "We are not a discussion club. We, of course, can and will issue collections of articles and special publications,

unanimity of will of the vanguard of the proletariat, are particularly essential at the present juncture when a number of circumstances are increasing the vacillation among the petty-bourgeois population of the country."

Following these behests of the great leader, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union defeated all and sundry manifestations of factionalism and clanishness, incompatible with the Leninist party spirit, all manifestations of Right and Left-wing opportunism, Trotskyism and revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, nationalism and chauvinism. In this tremendously important work the Party was constantly and effectively assisted by its newspapers and magazines.

In all its activities the Soviet press has been unwaveringly abiding by the behests of Lenin, who, in his article "On the Character of Our Newspapers" (1918), called upon the press to get closer to the life of the people, engage more in economics, abandon political fireworks, educate the masses with the help of living, concrete examples,

by

Sergei Sutotsky

Member, Pravda Editorial Board

WORLD COMMUNIST PRESS GREETINGS

L'Humanité

ON the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the NEW AGE, we convey to you our fraternal greetings. The weekly organ of the Communist Party of India has made good contribution in promoting a new age for the very ancient and great country that is India.

Since its birth, the NEW AGE dedicated its efforts in the emancipation of man, to the progress of society. Under circumstances often of very great difficulties, it faced with courage and clarity every move of internal reaction while upholding the positive aspects of the nonalignment policy of the Government of India.

It defended peace and peaceful co-existence; it propagated the noble ideas of Communism. The foremost role which the NEW AGE plays in the mobilisation of the masses of the Indian people was once again evidenced recently in connection with the great demonstration organised by the Communist Party of India before Parliament in New Delhi, for protesting against the measures which aggravate the exploitation of the toiling people.

We wish the NEW AGE a long life and new successes in the struggle it is waging for social progress, democracy and peace, for the final advent of socialism in India.

Etienne Fajon, Director.



Pacific TRIBUNE

CANADA

ON behalf of the staff members of the PACIFIC TRIBUNE, I wish to thank you for your letter of September 3, and to extend to the NEW AGE our warm fraternal greetings and good wishes on the occasion of its 10th anniversary.

In the heroic struggles of the great Communist Party of India and the Indian peoples to assert their independence and shape their own destinies, the NEW AGE has been a courageous and resolute pioneer, leading the way in all struggles, no matter how complex or difficult these have been. As a Marxist-Leninist tribune in the cause of working class emancipation, the preservation of world peace, and the sovereign independence and well-being of the people of India, the NEW AGE stands in the front ranks of English-speaking Communist journals.

With warm fraternal greetings to the NEW AGE, its editors, its staff, and its great army of readers and supporters. May the NEW AGE march forward to ever greater victories.

Tom McEwen, Editor

Пролетарият всех стран, соединяйтесь!

Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза



ПРАВДА

Орган Центрального Комитета Коммунистической партии Советского Союза

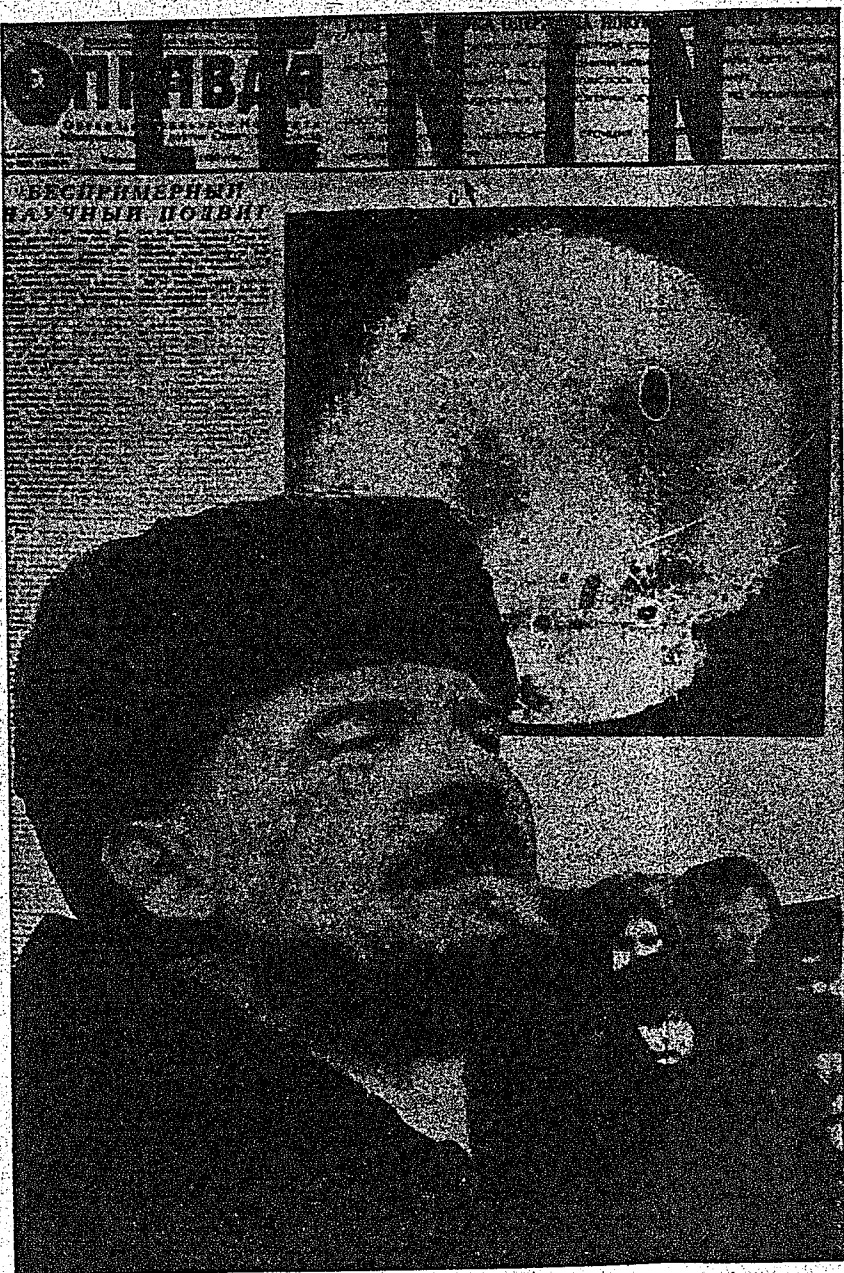
Газета основана 5 мая 1912 года В. И. ЛЕНИНЫМ

THE editorial board and the whole working staff of PRAVDA are sending their best wishes to the editorial staff of the NEW AGE on the occasion of the weekly's glorious anniversary.

In the course of its ten years existence this militant organ of the Communist Party of India has done its utmost to propagate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism among India's working class, to unite the progressive forces of the country against reactionary intrigues and provocations, to defend the vital needs of toiling masses of India, to safeguard the peaceful foreign policy of India, to consolidate the traditional friendship between Indian and Soviet peoples.

We wish you, dear Comrades, our brothers in the struggle towards the common goal, ever greater success in the noble cause of defending peace and social justice.

Editorial Board of the PRAVDA



WHERE TO BEGIN ?

In our opinion, the starting point of activities, the first practical step towards creating the organization desired, and finally, the main thread by following which we could be able steadily to develop, deepen and extend that organization, should be the establishment of a political newspaper on an all-Russian scale...

And never has the need been so great as it is now to reinforce the dispersed agitation carried on by individual action, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., with the generalized and systematic agitation which can be carried on only by means of a periodical press. It will hardly be an exaggeration to say that the frequency and the regularity of printing (and circulating) a newspaper can be the most exact measure of the firmness with which we have based this paramount and most essential branch of our... activity.

Further, we need precisely an all-Russian newspaper. Should we be unable, and so long as we are unable, to combine our influence on the people and on the government by means of the printed word, it would be utopian to think in terms of combining other, more complex, difficult, but more decisive means of influence. Both in the ideological and in the practical and organizational aspects our movement suffers most of all from its fragmentation, from the fact that the overwhelming majority of Social-Democrats are almost wholly immersed in local work, which narrows their outlook and the scale of their activity...

It is precisely in this dispersal that one must seek the deepest roots of the instability and vacillation mentioned earlier. And the first step towards getting rid of this shortcoming, along the path of transforming the several local movements into a single all-Russian movement must be the launching of an all-Russian newspaper.

—LENIN: Where to Begin, 1901.



BULGARIA

THE editorial board of the ROBOTNICHESKO DELO conveys its cordial greetings to the NEW AGE on the occasion of its glorious tenth anniversary.

We wish you new successes in your work dedicated to the cause of peace, and social progress in the world.

George Bokov
CHIEF EDITOR



HUNGARY

ON behalf of the readers and staff of NEPSZABADSAG we send our most heartfelt greetings to the NEW AGE on its 10th anniversary.

We wish you to know that despite the great distance separating our countries we are with you in your difficult struggle for the welfare of the Indian masses and for our common cause of peace and democracy.

We in Hungary are certain that following the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the NEW AGE and all our comrades in India will strengthen their ranks and attain new victories on the road to peace, progress and friendship among the peoples.

With Communist greetings,

Editorial Board.



YUGOSLAVIA

ON the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the NEW AGE weekly we send our cordial comradely greetings to the editorial office, to all the contributors and readers of the magazine.

During the past decade, your magazine won a particular and prominent place among the Indian progressive public and played a significant role in the political activity of the Communist Party of India.

We are following with sympathies and attention your struggle for the political democracy in India and the peaceful and constructive foreign policy of your country.

Sending you felicitations on the occasion of your anniversary issue, we wish greater success to your magazine in fulfilling its tasks.



RUMANIA

ON the occasion of the completion of ten years of publication of the NEW AGE weekly, we send to you our warm comradely greetings.

We are glad to see the achievements of the activities undertaken by the NEW AGE weekly, as the spokesman of the Communist Party of India, in defending the Indian working people's interests, for spreading the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for developing the friendship with the socialist countries, for the triumph of the cause of Peace.

Please transmit our warm congratulations to your staff members and your readers. We wish you, dear comrades, new successes in your noble activities.



ITALY

THE entire editorial staff of L'UNITA conveys warm greetings to you on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the NEW AGE. We wish you newer successes in your struggle for economic and social progress of India, and for the victory of peace and socialism in the world.



G. D. R.

ON the occasion of the tenth anniversary of your paper the board of Editors of the NEUES DEUTCHLAND sends you fraternal salutations and hearty greetings in the name of the entire staff.

We are conscious of the fact that the NEW AGE has won great merits, by spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in India in the struggle for peace, democracy and for the consolidation of national independence during the past ten years.

Our papers, the central organs of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the Communist Party of India, are fraternally united. Above all we are united by being faithful to the general line which was agreed upon by the Communist and Workers Parties in the declarations of 1957 and 1960. Both our papers have a special concern in standing for the consolidation and improvement of friendly cooperation between the Republic of India and the German Democratic Republic.

Wishing you dear comrades, further success in your work. We assure you of our fraternal friendship.

Hermann Axen,
Editor-in-Chief and
Board of Editors,

Daily Worker

GREAT BRITAIN

I have great pleasure in sending you, on behalf of the staff and readers of the DAILY WORKER, our warmest greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the NEW AGE.

We have watched over the years the great fight which the NEW AGE has waged for peace, national independence and social advance.

The massive march recently organised in Delhi under the leadership of the Communist Party of India testifies to the growing support for the policies for which you stand.

We in the Communist movement in Britain have always fought in solidarity with the progressive forces of India.

Today we stand with you in the struggle to ensure peaceful coexistence, to repel the efforts of the imperialists and Rightwing reactionaries to make India part of the Western imperialist war camp, and to ensure the release of the Indian Communists and other progressives who have been unjustly imprisoned.

With best wishes for still greater successes in the future.

George Matthews,
Editor.



POLAND

ON occasion of your tenth anniversary we send you fraternal greetings and wish heartily new success in struggle for victory of peaceful coexistence and socialism.



AUSTRIA

THE tenth birthday of the Communist press in India is a welcome opportunity for us to send you fraternal greetings and to wish you new successes in your hard and arduous struggle.

We in far away Austria are following your fight with intense interest and brotherly feeling. The pages of the NEW AGE especially are a constant mine of information for us. The Communist Party of India has a great revolutionary history. Through decades the Party was underground, its leaders and functionaries have been persecuted, imprisoned and murdered. Now it is facing the great task of beating back the onslaught of reaction and imperialist agents who want to drag India into the Western camp and endeavour to demolish her policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence.

We are convinced that your Party and press will achieve new successes and march forward on the road towards peace, freedom and socialism.

Editor-in-Chief,
Erwin Scharf

PARTY PRESS IN POLAND

by Jan Ruszczyk

Among hundreds of dailies and journals, which are being read by millions of readers in Poland, a prominent place is taken by the party press of the Polish United Workers' Party. There is a wide variety of party press organs.

THE list of party press organs is opened by TRYBUNA LUDU (People's Tribune) — organ of the PUPW Central Committee, a large circulation daily. Over a quarter million persons acquire every day this newspaper, get acquainted through it with latest home and foreign events, read articles devoted to the questions of everyday life and to important problems of the day. The editorial staff wants both Party members and wide masses of non-Party readers to receive materials helping them in their orientation in the complicated problems of the present world and indicating the direction of action.

Besides comprehensive publicist's articles and vast current information, TRYBUNA LUDU publishes also documents concerning the activity of the party and people's power, materials from the sessions of the PUPW Central Committee, statements of the government of People's Poland as well as materials concerning other socialist countries and the international Communist movement.

Central Organs

TRYBUNA LUDU is a national newspaper. A number of periodical papers, published by the PUPW Central Committee or by its particular bodies, is also of national circulation.

The monthly paper NOWE DROGI (New Ways), a theoretical and political organ of the PUPW CC, is of particularly great importance among them. The articles of this paper, written by party activists, managers of various bodies of the socialist economy, scientists and journalists, discuss the main assumptions of the home and foreign policy of the party and people's government, ideological and or-

ganizational problems of party work, problems of economy and culture. This monthly paper publishes main documents of plenary sessions of the PUPW CC. Much space is devoted to information on the fight of the working class and progressive forces all over the world. A comprehensive review of new books published at home and abroad is also befound there.

NOWE DROGI is eagerly read by the party and economic activists, by the party and non-party intellectuals. It has an edition of 40 thousand copies.

To the Party activists is addressed another monthly paper of the PUPW CC, namely ZYCIE PARTII (Life of the Party). It is a tribune for exchange of experience in party work, it publishes enunciations of party activists, discusses in separate columns the work of party organizations in great industrial plants and in the countryside, problems of propaganda, educational and ideological activity, work among the youth etc. The articles of this paper are generally short and concise.

Another organ of the party, CHLOPSKA DROGA (The Peasant's Way), published twice a week, is designed above all for the countryside. The editorial board of this paper is guided by the idea of reaching wide masses of Polish peasants, giving them news and articles adapted to different levels of education, readable also for people less familiar with the printed word.

One issue of this paper exceeds now 100 thousand copies and this may be a proof of its success. CHLOPSKA DROGA endeavours to extend further the circle of its readers in the countryside.

Let us mention two more papers of national circulation: the quarterly Z POLA WALKI (From the Battlefield) published by the

Institute of Party History at the PUPW CC, devoted to the history of the Polish and international workers' movement, and the fortnightly ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY (Problems and Materials), one of several papers designed for the party propaganda activists.

A feature very characteristic for the party press in Poland is a wide development of local party papers. In each voivodship (unit of administration, division of the country) a daily, the organ of the PUPW Voivodship Committee, appears. The joint one-day issue of 17 such dailies numbers over 1,800,000 copies.

Local Newspapers

Numerous local newspapers publish separate editions for smaller regions containing more information and articles on matters of interest for the local reader. The widely developed local press facilitates incomparably the connection of general problems of socialist construction with the concrete tasks of working people in the given region.

In Silesia, the biggest Polish industrial district, there appears e.g. TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA (The Workers' Tribune), a daily widely read by the inhabitants of Silesia and therefore its each issue numbers over 410 thousand copies. There are also other widely read party dailies, such as:

GAZETA ROBOTNICZA (Workers' Gazette) in Wrocław, GŁOS ROBOTNICZY (Workers' Voice) in Łódź and TRYBUNA OPOLSKA (The Opole Tribune) in Opole. Their issues number over 100 thousand copies each. Certain party committees in counties and in greater industrial plants publish beside it their own papers — weeklies and monthlies.

Which are the most important problems discussed in the party press and which are its main features?

The party press attaches considerable importance to the large and comprehensive informing of readers on the home and international events. It regards it as one of its more important tasks to provide readers with deep analysis of the international policy problems such as the worldwide struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, progress in the development of socialist countries and international workers' movement, significant processes of struggle against colonialism and liberation of oppressed nations.

Much attention is paid to supplying readers with comprehensive information on the current problems of the economic development of Poland; a kind of "economic education" of the community is being carried on, by emphasizing the importance of such developments as the further industrialization of the country, progress in technique, increase in labour productivity and raising of agricultural production.

Forum Of Discussion

On the pages of the party press as well on those of special economic papers one can frequently see the thorough discussions on the said subjects. The Party press

widely discusses the problems of educating people in the spirit of scientific world outlook based on the creative principles of Marxism-Leninism. The party press constantly strives to tighten its links with the reading public, the expression of which are numerous letters from readers to the editorial offices of party dailies and journals.

The work of press, radio and television was one of important problems discussed at the XIII Plenum of the PUPW Central Committee, which in July this year deliberated on the urgent problems of the Party's ideological work. Speaking about the tasks of the press, the First Secretary of the PUPW Central Committee, Władysław Gomułka emphasized:

"Instilling of socialist consciousness cannot be limited only to advocating general rules and slogans of our party. The point is that every problem should be thoroughly analysed, the people should be taught to think as masters of their country, by categories of 'state' and 'nation', so as to regard their particular everyday tasks on particular posts as a part of the common cause of building socialism."

"We need," continued Władysław Gomułka, "thorough publicist works on the main problems of the contemporary world, synthetic representation of contemporary ideological and political problems in our party press, daily and weekly, wider basic controversies in such key issues as competition of the systems, development of the contemporary capitalism, etc."

Those directives of the XIII Plenum of the PUPW Central Committee are at present the leading motive force in the work of the party press which aims at still better implementation of tasks put before it by the party.

COMMUNIST JOURNALS IN CANADA

by Tom McEwen, Editor, Pacific Tribune

Situated as we are on the Pacific rim of the Canadian Northwest, the PACIFIC TRIBUNE and many of its readers have a long and warm fraternity with the struggles of the Indian people and their heroic Communist Party.

WE have several thousand Canadian workers of Indian (Sikh) origin in our province, mostly engaged in the lumber industry—a few to whom we pass along any available copies of the NEW AGE, and which are deeply appreciated, as it keeps them in closer touch with the great struggles taking place in their native homeland.

Link With India

Over the years we have also had staff members and writers for the PACIFIC TRIBUNE who have worked in India as they have done in Canada, in the unions and in the Communist Party, for the common progress and common goal of the peoples of both countries.

Just recently we celebrated the 40th anniversary of our Communist press in Canada. While the names of some of our weekly papers have changed to meet the changing conditions of the times, our weekly papers and other Marxist-Leninist journals have largely maintained an unbroken continuity.

Notable of our weekly papers are the CANADIAN TRIBUNE, the central organ of the Communist Party of Canada; COM-

BAT, organ of Parti Communiste Canadien of Quebec, Canada's French-speaking province; and the PACIFIC TRIBUNE, published in Vancouver to serve Canada's Pacific province, British Columbia. In addition to these, is the Canadian MARXIST REVIEW, published quarterly, and dedicated primarily to theoretical questions.

Compared to a Canadian population of some 17½ million, with a labour force of some six million, the combined circulation of the Communist press is still relatively small. This is probably due to ideological conditioning resulting from a decade and a half of cold war, accentuated by the dominance of US imperialism in every area of Canadian affairs, economic, political, cultural, military, etc.

Readers' Cooperation

Hence to maintain publication, over and above circulation subscription rates, we are under the necessity of appealing to our readers and supporters annually for financial assistance to keep going. For the PACIFIC TRIBUNE this annual subsidy totals anywhere between sixteen to twenty thousand dollars. This, I may add,

is invariably achieved, which indicates a mass support for our Party press considerably beyond its actual paid subscriptions.

As with the press of the heroic Communist Party of India, we too in Canada have experienced periods of "illegality" and reactionary gag-rule. Despite these hindrances however, we are quite proud of our modest effort, in the cause of world peace and socialism, and in this spirit we salute the Communist Party of India and the 10th anniversary of its courageous and hard-hitting NEW AGE.

NEW AGE

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Half-yearly Rs. 6
Quarterly Rs. 3
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THE revolutionary press of Hungary has glorious traditions of old. More than a century ago, during the great war of independence against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy when the liquidation of feudal backwardness and the attainment of national independence was on the order of the day, MIHALY TANCSICS, belonging to the left wing of the revolution was the editor of the Hungarian "Worker's Newspaper" (MUNKASOK UJSAGA).

THOUGH at that time the teachings of Marx and Engels were yet unknown in Hungary and the working class was only in the process of being organized, the party press was always an important weapon in the hands of the most consistent fighters of the revolution.

The first Hungarian Communist newspaper dates back to the Council Republic of 1919 when the Party published the VOROS UJSAG (Red Journal) whose clear words and rousing effect brought it home to the downtrodden workers and peasants that their genuine freedom was to be achieved only through the dictatorship of the proletariat and people's power, which was for them to accomplish.

When the combined strength of the internal and external reaction put back again the wheels of his-

tory for a quarter of a century and terror and pogroms decimated the ranks of the Party, it was the Communist newspapers and leaflets which appeared periodically but always without interruption, that made people held in counter-revolutionary darkness awaken to the fact that the Communist Party was alive and fighting for them and that it could not be destroyed with any means.

The central organ of the Party, the SZABAD NEP (Free People) first appeared in 1922 during World War II and the reign of fascist terror. It was a real treasure to get a single copy of it in spite of the fact that many who read and circulated it and propagated its true voice faced prison and even the gallows. Szabad Nép appeared as a daily

Party Press in Hungary

newspaper immediately after the liberation in 1945 and soon became the first recognized Hungarian newspaper. True, there existed a lot of bourgeois parties each of which had several newspapers but the Communist newspaper won over the great masses with its consistent and progressive policy.

And the chief reason was no journalistic virtuosity but the faithful espousal of Communist ideals. This newspaper proved to be a great weapon of the Party in its struggle for the defence of national independence, the socialist transformation of the country and for the improvement of the material and cultural standards of the working people.

The years of the personality cult left their mark temporarily on the development of the country as well as on the Party and its newspapers but after the defeat of the counter-revolution in 1956 the party press rallied the Hungarian people more closely round the Marxist-Leninist party purified in its ideal and everyday practice.

It was in those days, crucial but full of hope, that the central organ of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the NEPSZABADSAG (Peoples' Freedom) appeared, keeping and improving the worthy qualities of its predecessors. Népszabadság has since developed into a huge press organ.

In the Hungarian People's Republic with a population of ten million people it appears in about 70,000 copies on weekdays while on Sundays and holidays it has a circulation of over 800,000 copies. In the years of people's power the Party has developed its other

press organs as well: in the 19 counties of Hungary each Party committee has its own daily whose total circulation is some 500,000 copies. The Party also publishes theoretical reviews, periodicals on Party organization and other periodic publications. The Party publications are unquestionably the most influential papers with the largest mass base. It should be known that under the peoples democratic system where the government gives permits of publication to any organization that represents the interests of the working people there appear a great deal of newspapers and periodicals from dailies to scientific publications.

The Trade Unions Council, the trade unions, social and mass organisations, institutions, enterprises and plants all have their own papers. It is in this great orchestra that the leading place has been won by the Party papers which find their way to nearly every second Hungarian family, to a much larger number of people than that of Party members.

What are the characteristic features of the Hungarian Communist Press? Naturally they are quite different from those of the Communist papers in the capitalist countries insofar as that power of the masses has become a reality in the Hungarian People's Republic engaged in completing the building of socialism which is yet but a goal of the near or more distant future in other countries.

In principle the task of the Communist Press can be condensed in this slogan: everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man. This means that the Communist

newspapers give daily coverage of the questions of the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence, the theoretical and practical problems of the international Communist and working class movement and — as in our country the whole wealth of the nation now belongs to the working people whose prosperity depends solely on their work and again on their well-done work — the newspapers follow with attention the tasks to be solved in socialist construction, industry and agriculture covering also the question of party and state activities as well as the problems of direction and administration.

The newspapers are at the same time those of the people because, being as they are papers of a party in power they picture the situation and the tasks not only from above, from the point of view of the leadership but also with an eye to the life and everyday cares of the ordinary working people.

Thereby the Party press takes on a remarkable educational character showing the place and role of people in society elevating their political consciousness, cultural standards and shaping their ideological outlook in the course of everyday work and life.

The Communist newspaper which educates the people to have respect for the peoples of the world and for the great Soviet Union is the herald of a new spirit of a new world of Communism. The more faithfully it adheres to this principle the more it deserves to have the affection and confidence of its readers and the virtue of a Communist newspaper.

Communist Press In Yugoslavia

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was established in April 1919, at the time of powerful revolutionary upheavals which swept Europe of the day. The Party soon became a significant factor in the political and social life of the just formed Yugoslav state.

THE Communist Party demonstrated its power at the first elections in which it participated. In 1920 when communists won a victory in many bigger centres including the Yugoslav capital Belgrade. It won 59 seats at the parliamentary election held the same year, securing thus, in the number of votes polled, the third place among all the political parties which took part in the elections. This undoubtedly was a success for a young party formed only a year ago.

The press of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia played an important role in the propagation of its stand and in the spreading of revolutionary ideas. The Party leadership initiated several newspapers to acquaint its membership and workers in general with its programme with the struggle of the working class for the liberation from exploitation.

At the beginning, during the underground activity of the Yugoslav Communist Party progressive workers' and other papers which were issued before the war, were taken over or revived. These were

mainly organs of those social democratic and socialist parties and groups which united in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, 1919. Having realized what a powerful opponent the Communist Party was, the united bourgeoisie and the reactionary regime of pre-war Yugoslavia banned its further activity and subsequently the publication of papers and magazines which propagated its ideas.

By adapting itself to the new conditions of the revolutionary activity, the Party started publishing underground papers, not renouncing its public activity through various progressive papers and magazines which owing to this were frequently banned. Besides this, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia used all the forms of legal activity, taking part actively in various cultural, artistic and other organizations. The organizers and editors of the underground Communist press were mercilessly persecuted and punished by the regime. One of the leading Party personalities, Mosa Pijade, was, for instance, sentenced to twenty years in

prison for taking part in the underground publication of the KOMUNIST magazine. Many never faced the court and were killed in jails and prisons. It should be mentioned that Communists even in prisons never gave up there they organized the underground press and published a number of handwritten prison papers within their underground Red University.

When during the last war Hitler's troops invaded Yugoslavia and when the Central Committee of the Communist Party called upon the people to rise against the enemy, a number of larger and smaller papers were initiated to acquaint the public with the aim and character of the national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia. The BORBA, printed in the partisan printing-works, was published, on the liberated territory of Užice, at that time the only liberated town in entire occupied Europe. In autumn 1941, BORBA was the organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During the war over 2,000 various papers, interpreters of the aims and character of the national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia, were published.

With the revolution and liberation struggle brought to a successful end, the entire Yugoslav press started serving progressive ideas of socialism. Immediately

after the war, BORBA resumed publication as the organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and KOMUNIST (theoretical monthly magazine) as the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Since 1957 KOMUNIST has been published as the weekly

organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and SOCIALISM (theoretical magazine) as the organ of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. BORBA is the daily organ of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

Papers in Austria

VOLKSSTIMME ("Peoples Voice") is the central organ of the Communist party of Austria. It is published under rather difficult conditions and its readers were for quite a long time subjected to various forms of discrimination. VOLKSSTIMME's circulation is about 40,000 on the average. The paper is the successor of "Rote Fahne" ("Red Flag") which was published as the Party's central organ during the first Austrian republic, before the second world war.

VOLKSSTIMME has now a relatively strong influence among the working masses and a special edition is sold every Sunday by the party members. In the fight for a socialist Austria, for peace, democracy and neutrality, for a better living standard and against fascism and West-German imperialism, VOLKSSTIMME is always in the forefront.

WAHRHEIT ("Truth") is a second Communist daily, appearing in Graz.

Then there are several progressive publications in various fields, for instance WEG UND ZIEL on questions of scientific socialism, STIMME DER FRAU a women's weekly, TAGEBUCH on cultural affairs, etc.

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COMMUNIST & DEMOCRATIC PRESS IN FRANCE

by Jean-Emile Vidal

The press of the French Communist Party plays, as a consequence of its strength, as well as its diversity, an important role in the progress of Marxist ideas in France.

It is represented first of all by the central organ of the Party, L'HUMANITE. A daily founded in 1904 by Jaures, L'HUMANITE has passed through difficult periods such as that of the Hitlerite occupation during which it never ceased to be distributed clandestinely by the militants of the French Communist Party.

Today L'HUMANITE represents, together with five progressive regional dailies, the most important and active section of French democratic opinion.

specialises in problems of literature.

Thanks to these instruments of propaganda which cover the most diverse areas of knowledge, and activity, the French Communists are in a position to search for and make known Marxist solutions of problems concerning the struggle for peaceful coexistence in the international field, and for democracy and socialism in France.

They are able to make contacts with the very widest



French miners protesting against de Gaulle's requisition order (1963)

circles and, as a result, to work effectively for the bringing together of democrats and of all who are victims of the reactionary policies of the monopolies, so that France may find again a true democratic socialism.

Half A Million Copies

L'HUMANITE - DIMANCHE, the weekly magazine is distributed each week by numerous Party comrades in the towns and villages in an edition of more than half a million copies.

This militant distribution from door to door, which is possible due to the regular contacts is a measure of the close liaison which the Communists have with the popular masses.

The Central Committee publishes also a weekly entitled FRANCE NOUVELLE, which provides valuable experiences in the organisation of action and gives the necessary explanation, on national and international events of the week.

LA TERRE, the weekly devoted to the peasant problems contributes by its large circulation, towards forging the alliance of the working class with the peasantry in France.

LES CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, the monthly of the Central Committee, analyses the most important events and reproduces the principal documents of the French Communist Party and the fraternal parties.

Other Journals

Besides there exists a whole series of democratic weeklies and monthly reviews.

LES LETTRES FRANCAISES, dedicated to literature and arts.

ECONOMIE ET POLITIQUE dealing with economic problems.

DEMOCRATIE NOUVELLE, analysing the international situation.

LA PENSEE, dealing with questions of Science and history.

LA NOUVELLE CRITIQUE, specializing in questions of history and philosophy.

RECHERCHES INTERNATIONALES, in which marxist men of letters and science from France and the entire world contribute.

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interads

TR-24

The year was 1939, the Second World War had just started. The Communist Party of India was an illegal organisation even before the war, but it was able to bring out its open central organ **NATIONAL FRONT**, from Bombay:

With the declaration of war hundreds of Communists were arrested, warrants for arrest were issued against almost all leaders and those who escaped arrest were to go underground. The **NATIONAL FRONT** was forced to close down. The Party leadership lost the weapon of keeping contact with the Party units in different provinces. The illegal Party centre was faced with the problem of keeping contact with units all over India.

Thus the illegal Party press and paper were born. The Party took up the challenge and within three months an illegal Party organ and Party publications started coming out. It was no mean job in view of the terrific repression of the British rule.

One day, early in 1940, I was asked to go to Bombay. I felt very happy that I was going to the Party centre. When I reached Bombay, Comrade P. C. Joshi, who was the General Secretary, asked me to work in the Party press under Comrade G. Adhikari.

Illegal Party Press

I had no previous experience of press work, except as a convict I had worked as a clerk in the Alipur Central Jail Press for one year. But I was thrilled and said I would do it. It was a new experience.

Illegal Party press sounds very big and the British police used to think that it was an elaborate affair. But it was not even a small size press. It consisted of a few cycle machines, typewriters and a good proof press. But we used to bring out publications, just like regular printed materials on that proof press.

The men behind the illegal press were Comrade Adhikari and Comrade Joshi. But there were so many comrades who contributed to its development. Their names cannot be told due to obvious reasons. But I must mention one name here—Comrade Venkateswara Rao, a peasant lad turned into a compositor, who worked and died for the illegal Party press. In the history of the illegal Party press, his name will remain for ever.

Everybody knew, including the police, that the illegal press was functioning from Bombay, and that too without a hitch. It was due to the boldness and audacity of its organisation.

The press was situated in a busy locality—Kalbadevi—the heart of Bombay business centre.



Managerial Section of NEW AGE.

Seedling That Has Grown

by D. P. SINHA

But our paper was not stopped even for a week. Two days after the attack our paper came out. It should be recorded that late Sadanand of the **FREE PRESS JOURNAL** came forward to print our paper in his press. And within two weeks our own press was running as usual.

During the existence of the illegal press, at no time did we have to change our place of operation and that showed the alertness and efficiency of the illegal centre.

In July 1942, it was decided to close down the illegal press and start an open press. All of us who were working in the press were asked whether we could do it. We told our leaders that it was for the Party to decide and we would do our best.

The illegal press was disbanded at the end of July 1942 and we carted all our materials to the open press. Many comrades were surprised that we did not have a regular press—only a few type cases and a proof press.

The open press was started with a very old cylinder printing machine. We used to call it 'Grandfather' because of its age. The Party started its organ **PEOPLE'S WAR** in English, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Urdu. We were asked to print all the four editions except Urdu.

It was an uphill task. We had three underground compositors only and we had no real experience of a regular press. Besides the Party organ, we were asked to bring out the *Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin* series of books. We told the leaders that we would do it and we did it.

The whole capital investment was only Rs. 5,000. We started the press in earnest. There were a number of press workers who were either Party members or sympathisers. We started recruiting them and by September 1942, regular issues of **PEOPLE'S WAR** were coming out from our own press.

We all had a uniform Party wage of Rs. 25 and the whole-timers used to get residential accommodation. We were happy about it.

Press Grew

By and by the press began to expand and in 1943 we purchased our own Lino composing machine at a cost of Rs. 32,000. That was a red letter day for our press.

In the meantime, we had procured some more printing machines and we were working two shifts. Many comrades used to work for 18 to 20 hours a day.

By the end of 1943, the combined circulation of **PEOPLE'S WAR** reached somewhere near 70,000 copies.

We not only used to work in the press, but on Sundays we went out in squads to sell our paper and used to sell nearly three to four thousand copies ourselves.

In 1945 our press was attacked by a frenzied crowd instigated by the Congress and the Forward Bloc. The press and Party office were attacked and the heroic fight our comrades gave to repulse the attack is a glorious chapter in the history of our press.

Our Lino machine was damaged and the press was set on fire. They thought that in this way they would stop the organ of the Communist Party.

ceased directing the activity of the publishing house and the press and the directors of the company took over the management. The business side of the press started increasing and we began working for all progressive publishers and papers.

There was a temporary set back during the years 1948-50, when the Party had to go underground. It was during this period that the government sealed the press for a few days but had to give in due to a decision of the Bombay High Court.

Glorious Role

During the RIN Mutiny in the year 1946, the press and paper



D. P. Sinha and M. B. Rao having a final look at the pages of NEW AGE.

played a glorious role in directing the movement and merging it into the mainstream of national movement for independence. The Bombay working class and the toiling people rallied and gave all support to the RIN movement and our paper strongly upheld the cause of the navymen. That is another glorious chapter in the history of our press and paper.

During the year 1947, the Party took the bold step of making the press and publishing house into an autonomous business concern. The publishing house and the press were made into a private limited company with a share capital of Rs. 5 lakhs.

Now we are housed in our own building, where the press and publishing house operate. Both are constantly expanding and some day we hope we shall become the leading press in Delhi.

This was a turning point in the history of the press. The Party

NEW AGE

Special Numbers

PEACE CONGRESS NUMBER
November 3

OCTOBER REVOLUTION NUMBER
November 10

MAKE SURE OF YOUR COPIES

The First Kannada Journal Of The Party

★ by C. R. KRISHNA RAO, Editor: JANASHAKTHI

May Day in 1947 was an important day for the workers and peasants in Karnataka: it was on that day that the Communist Party's first journal in Kannada started publication. The name of the journal was JANASHAKTHI and it was published from Hubli under the editorship of K. Siva Rao.

WITHIN a short period of its appearance, JANASHAKTHI became a powerful weapon in the hands of the workers and peasants to carry forward their struggle for a better tomorrow. After the attainment of independence, it was JANASHAKTHI which first raised the voice of the people for ending princely rule in the state and for a responsible, democratic government.

Its bold pronouncements and writings invoked the wrath of the rulers who banned the paper in the state. But the people's voice could not be stifled; JANASHAKTHI continued publication from outside the state.

Then came the period of bitter struggles of the people and the paper faithfully reflected in its columns these movements. The support given to the peasant struggle in Karwar in 1948 brought the heavy hand of the then Bombay government on the paper.

A number of cases were launched against it, but the paper outlived these repressive measures.

During the massive repression of the Communist Party in 1948, most of the comrades connected with the paper were arrested and JANASHAKTHI had to close down.

Immediately after the first general elections, when the Party was allowed to function normally once again, JANASHAKTHI was also revived. A fund collection was organised and the weekly came out in 1952 from Bangalore with M. C. Narasimhan as its editor. Efforts were made to establish a press for the Party during this period. A small printing press was purchased and JANASHAKTHI started to be printed at its own press. However, two years later due to serious financial difficulties it had to cease publication.

During its life, JANASHAKTHI had taken a prominent part in the fight for

a unified Karnataka. It was only natural that the birth of the integrated Karnataka state on November 1, 1956 also saw the rebirth of JANASHAKTHI. By this time, the Party's printing press also had developed considerably.

Since then JANASHAKTHI has been coming out every week supporting the people's struggles for better wages and working conditions, fighting for security for tenants against evictions and landlord oppression, exposing corruption, bribery and nepotism in the administration, carrying forward the great battle for a socialist system.

There is also a weekly journal run by the Party from Mangalore, named ARUNA. Starting as a monthly magazine in 1946, it was made into a weekly in 1948. Though it had to face many difficulties in its career, including cases launched against it by the government ARUNA has outlived them all and is continuing in the service of the people.

For a brief period, the state Party also ran a theoretical monthly magazine, JANAYUGA edited by B. V. Kakkilaya.



FIRST PARTY PAPER IN ASSAM

★ by PHANI BORA

A weekly newspaper called NUTAN ASAM came out from Gauhati in 1945. Comrade Dadhi Mahanta was its editor.

It was the first paper ever to be brought out to serve the revolutionary cause of the workers and peasants in Assam in the Assamese language.

In the 1948-49 period the paper was suppressed by the government. It had to come out from the underground in a cyclostyled bulletin form. It continued to appear till 1950.

A monthly, called NUTANJUG with Phani Bora as its editor has been published since 1958 and the Shillong unit of the Party brought out a progressive fortnightly in English, namely SHILLONG OB-

SERVER, primarily to serve the tribal people and city middle class people.

It was only in 1961 November that the Assam Party could resume the publication of its weekly. It is called JANAMAT and has Suren Bhattacharya as its editor. The JANAMAT has served the cause of the Party during last two years without any break.

It is still a small paper, only a drop in the vast ocean.

The Assam Communists are fighting very difficult battle to establish Party press as required by the masses of the state.

D. V. VARPE

The National Council of the CPI in its meeting on October 14 adopted

MESSAGE TO TOGLIATTI

The following message has been sent to Palmiro Togliatti, general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy by the Central Executive Committee of the CPI on October 12:

PLEASE CONVEY DEEP SYMPATHY CONDOLENCES VICTIMS TRAGIC DISASTER PAIVE VALLEY. HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES RELATIVES OF THOSE WHO LOST LIVES. INDIAN WORKING PEOPLE SHARE YOUR GRIEF.

the following condolence resolution:

THIS meeting of the National Council of the CPI expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Comrade D. V. Varpe and pays homage to his memory. Secretary of the Sangamner Taluka Committee (district Ahmednagar, Maharashtra State) of the CPI, Comrade Varpe was an extremely devoted and a rising young Party functionary.

His record in collecting signatures on the Great Petition was the highest in the district. On his way to Delhi for participating in the Great March he met with a tragic death in a railway accident. The National Council sends its condolence to his bereaved family.

Communist journalism in the Urdu language has a brilliant record. During our struggle for freedom and against British imperialism, in the twenties and early thirties of this century, Communist journalists repeatedly brought out weeklies and monthlies, which played a very significant role in galvanising the new revolutionary consciousness of the rising working class movements among the Urdu speaking workers of Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Kanpur, Calcutta, Bombay and Ahmedabad.

THESE weeklies, short-lived and brought out under very difficult conditions, also reached a section of the revolutionary intelligentsia and peasantry specially in the Punjab. The pioneers in this field were Com. Sohan Singh Joshi and the late Comrade Ferozuddin Mansur. At that time the Communist Party of India was working under illegal conditions.

After 1936, as soon as it was possible for the Communist Party to work under compa-

ratively better conditions, the central organ of the Party NATIONAL FRONT was published from Bombay and an Urdu monthly of Communist Party, CHINGARI (Spark) was published from Saharanpur (U.P.) It was edited by me and Comrade Iqbal Singh and the late Comrade Rashid Jahan worked on it. But when the Second World War started in 1939 and most of the Communist leaders and workers were put into jail and concentration camps, CHINGARI ceased publication.

Communist Journalism In Urdu

★ By SAJJAD ZAHEER

In the summer of 1942, with the change in the war situation—attack on the Soviet Union by Fascist Germany—Communists and other patriots were released from prison. The central headquarters of the CPI was established in Bombay. From these Headquarters were issued five weeklies: THE PEOPLE'S WAR in English, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi Weeklies and Urdu QAUMI JANG.

Among the regular contributors of NAYA ZAMANA were the late Dr. Mohammed Ashraf, the late Comrade Mandoor Rivai, Comrades Makhdoom Mohiuddin and Ali Ashraf.

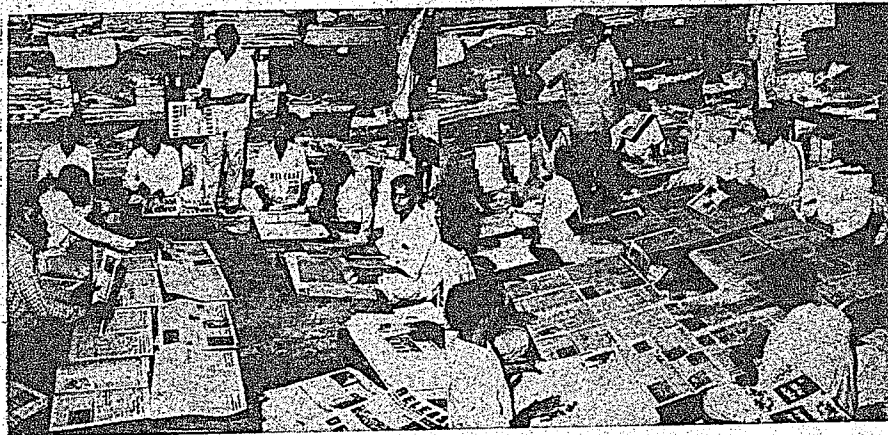
from Delhi to Jullundur and was made into a daily. It was edited by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh. Later the Urdu daily was stopped and in its place appeared the NAWAN ZAMANA in the Punjabi language.

However from the end of 1959, appeared again from the central headquarters of the Party, the AWAMI DAUR weekly which continued publication till July 1963, when it was stopped. A special feature of AWAMI DAUR was the publication in it of the writings of the most eminent progressive writers of the Urdu language who also helped it financially.

However, it has been only for three months that there has been no Communist weekly in Urdu. A new Urdu weekly entitled "HAYAT" (Life) is to make its appearance from the first week of November 1963.

The technical difficulties with which AWAMI DAUR was faced, have been overcome and more than that, the political and editorial side of the new weekly has been strengthened considerably. The new Urdu weekly will have an editorial Board consisting of Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, Sajjad Zaheer, Romesh Chandra and Ahmed Moazzam.

This new weekly, it is hoped, would be better in every way than all the previous Urdu journals of the CPI and would take a leading place in the progressive journalism of India. It will be a living proof of the high importance which the Communist Party of India attaches to the Urdu language in our country and will serve as weapon in the struggle of the Party for the attainment of the democratic rights of our people; for the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology among the Urdu speaking people of the country and for the general struggle for the establishment of socialism in India.



New Age printed forms are being arranged and cut to ready copies



Later when the war ended the name of this weekly was changed to "NAYA ZAMANA" (New Epoch). On the staff of this weekly, apart from myself as the Chief-editor, worked such brilliant Urdu progressive writers and journalists as Sardar Jafri, Sibte Hasan, Kaifi Azmi, Mirza Ashfaq Beg, Ziaul Hasan, Mohammed Mehdi, Zoe Ansari, Abdallah Malik, Kalimullah etc.

This Urdu weekly of the Party attained a circulation of about ten thousand copies, and apart from its political qualities achieved a high standard of technical and literary excellence. The Grand Old Man of Urdu literature, Mowlvi Abdul Haq, who was far from being a Communist, praised it as the best Urdu weekly of the country. The facsimile of Mowlvi Abdul Haq's letter was published in the NAYA ZAMANA.

In 1948, when the Party was again faced with severe repression, the NAYA ZAMANA was shifted from Bombay to Lucknow where it was edited by Comrade Ziaul Hasan and Wazir Hasan Abidi. Later again when conditions improved it was brought to Delhi and was issued from the central headquarters of the CPI under a changed name NAYA HINDUSTAN. In 1950 and 1952 another Communist Urdu weekly called the NAYA DAUR (New Times) was published from Hyderabad, under the editorship of Comrades Kalimullah and Makhdoom Mohiuddin. This weekly ceased publication in 1952. In 1953 a weekly entitled MAHAZ was published from Hyderabad.

From 1963, the NAYA ZAMANA weekly was shifted

DR. KITCHLEW

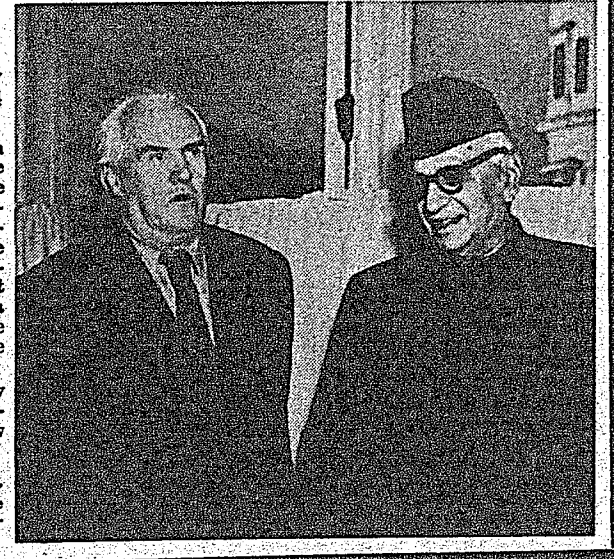
The National Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting in New Delhi on October 14 adopted the following condolence resolution:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the sad death of the veteran national leader Dr. Saifud-Din Kitchlew, the hero of Jallianwala Bagh, builder of the freedom movement in the Punjab and tireless fighter for national unity. In his death, the country has lost a great fighter for national independence and one of the most outstanding champions of world peace. Dr. Kitchlew's great con-

tribution to the freedom struggle made his name famous in every part of the country. After independence, Dr. Kitchlew's tireless work for the peace movement won him worldwide recognition: first President of the All-India Peace Council, he was the first Indian recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize.

The Communist Party sends its heartfelt condolences to Begum Kitchlew and the bereaved family.

Soviet Peace Committee President with Dr. Kitchlew.

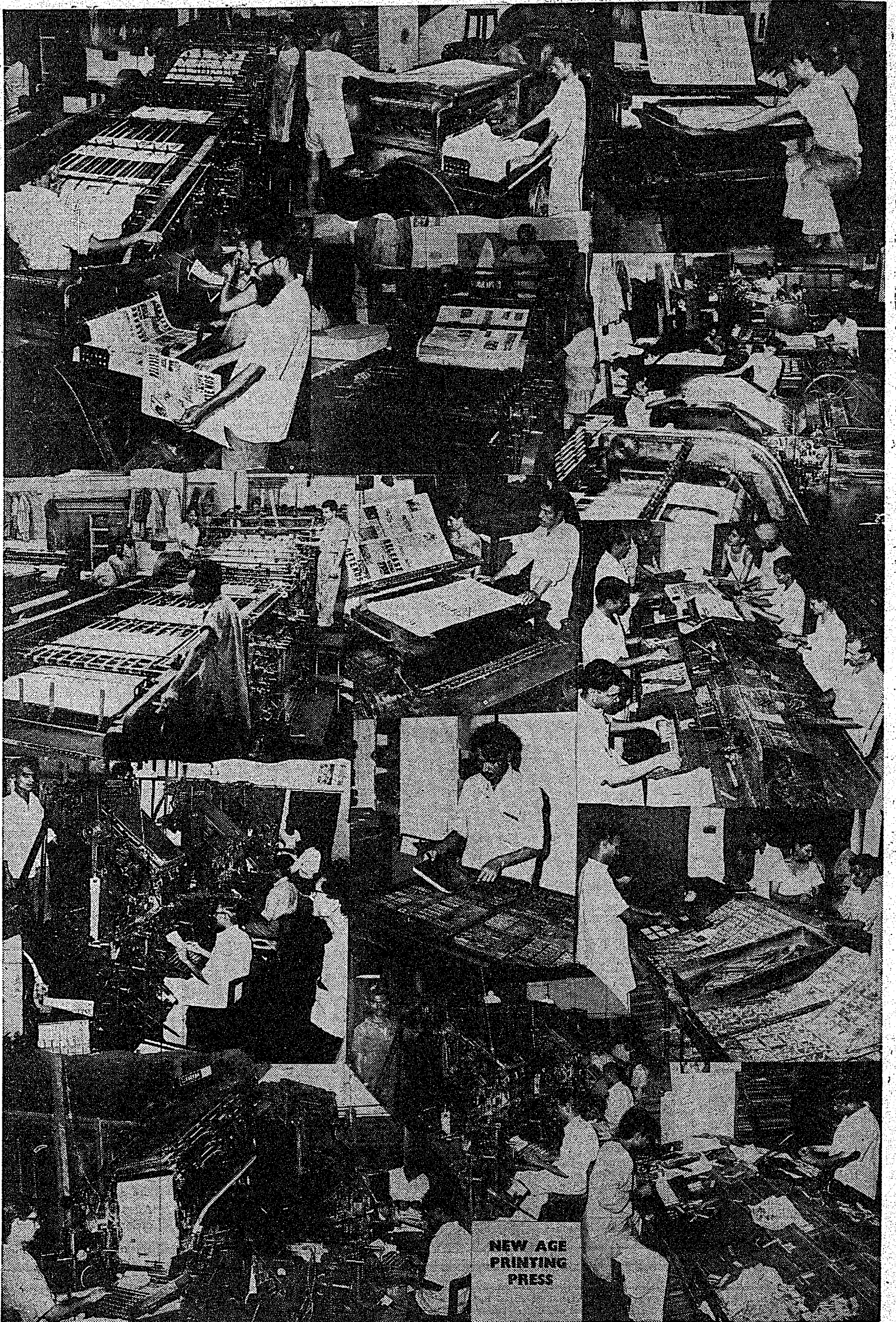


NEW AGE

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