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NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VII, NO. 17 SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1959 25 nP.

FOUR YEARS OF BANDUNG

● by P. C. JOSHI

The Fourth Anniversary of the epoch-making Bandung Conference falls this week when the threat to the security of India and the entire region by the U.S.-Pak Military Pact and other imperialist aggressive schemes is sought to be sidetracked by the continued playing up of the recent Tibetan events by a section of the Indian Press. The very elements that wanted Bandung to fail, who again have been doggedly resisting all the liberationist events that followed Bandung, are the very elements that are using the Tibetan issue for their own ends.

THE success of Bandung was mainly due to Nehru-Chou En-lai cooperation. It is only proper that on this anniversary of Bandung, we take due note of what a throw-back it will be for Afro-Asian liberation and world peace if our common enemies are able to misuse the Tibetan issue and create India-China disunity. The Afro-Asian solidarity demonstrated at Bandung and the solemn call for self-determination strengthened the struggle for national liberation in this whole region and new independent States were born, in Africa—Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia, Ghana, the Guinea Republic, and in Asia—Malay Federation. And despite unprecedented bloody terror of the imperialists, the heroic peoples of Algeria, Kenya, Belgian Congo, Nyasaland and other countries are waging an irrepressible struggle for their liberation.

● The Vietnamese people have defended the Geneva agreements with the support of India and China both. It should not be at all difficult to see that weakening of India-China unity is a blow against Afro-Asian solidarity and disrupting the liberationist wave and playing the imperialist game. The imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. has incessantly worked to create division and disruption in the Bandung comity of nations. Hence their military pacts with their puppets in Asian countries. Hence the latest U.S. bilateral pacts with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. Hence the slanderous campaign against Iraq and the attempts to sow discord among the Arab countries. Hence the latest series of U. S. conspiracies against the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, installing a reactionary Government in Laos and stepping up pressure against Cambodia. Hence the organisation of the armed rebellion of separatist elements against the Indonesian Government. Hence the decision of the U.S.-dominated SEATO to set up a "mobile force" to attack Southeast Asian countries as and when the need and the opportunity arise. The Tibetan rebellion was part of this picture.

IMMORTAL SPIRIT
The imperialists cannot succeed. Colonialism is doomed. The spirit of Bandung is immortal, it represents the common will of 1,600 million people of Asia and Africa. It is the spirit of the times in our two continents. The Bandung Conference was followed by the Afro-Asian Conference on the popular level in Cairo. Fruitful Afro-Asia meets of writers and youth have been held and so also a Conference to strengthen economic cooperation. The recent All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity has called upon the heads of Afro-Asian Govern-

ments to "consider the possibility of convening another Afro-Asian Conference." It is those who oppose the Bandung spirit within our country who have emerged as the chief protagonists of Tibetan reaction under false slogans. Despite their pressure, Pandit Nehru has stressed the need to maintain India-China friendship. Our national interests demand vigilance against U.S.-Pak Military Pact and what can be a better method than forging Afro-Asian common action against the whole system of imperialist military alliances and conspiracies through another Bandung Conference. Our common interests demand that we further cement India-China cooperation to make the Second Bandung a greater success than the first, and together help sound the death-knell of colonialism. (April 22)

Demonstrate Solidarity With Punjab

—Communist Party Secretariat's Call

THE heroic struggle of the Punjab peasants against the betterment levy has added a new glorious chapter to the history of the Indian peasant movement, but the way the Punjab Government had handled it has been disgraceful by all democratic standards. The present position is grave and critical and calls for serious national attention and urgent popular action.

The demands of the Punjab peasants were so elementary and just that peasant masses cutting across all party barriers participated in the struggle. The movement grew like a tidal wave.

The Punjab Governor, Chief Minister and the spokesmen of the Government and the ruling party gave a number of assurances publicly and in private talks with the General Secretary of the Communist Party and the General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha and asked that the movement be called off.

After the withdrawal of the movement, however, the Punjab Government has shamelessly broken every single promise made earlier and refuses to negotiate a just settlement with the Kisan Sabha.

More, even after the withdrawal of the movement repression continues unabated, in all its brutality. It is vindictiveness and vendetta, of a type unknown in the days of British rule. Large police contingents are being sent to the villages to make forcible collections even though this is a season when normally no such collection is made, kisan leaders and activists are being jailed, even those who have gone

to help with the harvesting work of peasants who are in prison are being arrested. Simultaneously with this police harassment, the Chief Minister and the State Congress President are making provocative utterances against the Communists.

It is a tense and explosive situation and the Punjab Government is playing a dirty political game and risking the peace in our border State.

The Punjab peasantry is indignant.

Indian democratic opinion must assert itself while there is yet time. The Punjab Government must be compelled to keep its pledged word and function democratically. The Punjab peasantry must get the assurance that the rest of the country is with it in its struggle for a just and peaceful way out.

The issues are simple. The Punjab Government must immediately start business-like negotiations with the Kisan Sabha, meet the just demands of the peasantry, stop realisation of the levy till the whole question is settled, end repression, release the prisoners, withdraw all cases and refund all fines.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party units to organise solidarity in a big way with the heroic Punjab peasantry. Our Party is confident that the issues involved are so vital to the health of Indian democracy and the peace of our border region that our national Press and patriotic and popular leaders and organisations would also speak and act for justice to the Punjab peasants and democratic decencies in our political life.

Chou En-lai Reports . . .

ON April 18, in the Huai Jen Tang Hall of Peking opened the first session of the Second National People's Congress of the Chinese People's Republic. Chairman Mao Tse-tung opened the session. He announced that 1,222 deputies were attending. Besides them, members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which had opened a day earlier were also present. Diplomatic envoys also watched the proceedings.

Premier Chou En-lai made a 30,000-word report, reviewing China's great achievements during the First Five-Year Plan period and in 1958—the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, outlined the 1959 economic, cultural and educational tasks and spoke on important home and foreign policies. He also analysed the current international situation.

Evaluating the People's Commune as a great creation in social organisation by the Chinese people, Premier Chou En-lai said that the economic plan for 1959 envisaged a continued big leap forward. After explaining the Tibetan situation, he declared:

"There is a friendship over two thousand years old between China and India, who are moreover initiators of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. There is no reason at all why either of our two countries should let off mutual friendship and the principles in foreign relations adhered to by our countries jointly be shaken on account of a handful of Tibetan rebels."

Next week NEW AGE will give extensive extracts from Premier Chou En-lai's report and further proceedings of the National People's Congress which is continuing.

The Punjab peasants, with their rich and glorious traditions of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles, have blazoned new and glorious traditions of valiant fight against the reactionary policy of the Congress Government of financing development projects at a heavy cost to the labouring peasants.

WHILE Finance Minister Morarji Desai was announcing concessions to the millionaires in Wealth and Excess Profits Taxes, Punjab's Chief Minister Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon was trying to drown in blood the heroic peasant struggle against the huge burden of betterment levy. Nehru and Pant may call him the 'lion' of Punjab, but the people of the State will for long remember him as a man-eater, the person responsible for the killing of innocent men and women—of Aitiana, Narur, Dhaliwal, Bhaini Maraj. The cruelties perpetrated by his ghoulish police have served as a reminder of the dark days of Dyer and O'Dwyer.

All honour to the brave sons of the Punjab who withstood the diabolic repression without flinching for 49 hectic days of satyagraha between February 2 and March 22, 1959. Glory to the brave Communist and Kisan Sabha cadres who stood in the forefront of the struggle and bore the brunt

of the brutal repression. The depth, sweep and upsurge of the movement surprised friends and foes alike. The accumulated discontent of peasants of all strata found concentrated expression in the mighty yet peaceful upheaval. A huge human avalanche was on the move; unless the Government reverses its policies it might only serve as a rehearsal for far bigger struggles in the years to come.

Unique Features

There are certain unique features of this unprecedented mass movement which need to be noted. Seventeen thousand peasants offered satyagraha in nine districts of the State—Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Bhatinda, Sangrur, Patiala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar at nineteen centres. Ten thousand of them were arrested and put into jail.

All sections of the peasantry, despite political differences—Communist, Akali

by **MASTER HARI SINGH**

and Congress-minded, joined the struggle, which is proof positive that it was a real mass movement. For the first time in history, village headmen tore up demand slips and willingly went to jail. Hundreds of panches and agricultural workers in solidarity with the peasants joined satyagrahi jathas in their hundreds. Of the ten martyrs of the movement, one was an agricultural worker woman. Fathers and mothers willingly sent their sons to jail. Brother vied with brother for a place in the jatha. There arose competition among villages as to who should send the jatha first.

Women did not lag behind men. In Jullundur, Sangrur and elsewhere, hundred of them courted arrest. It was they who bore the brutal offensive of the police who went to terrorise the peasantry in villages through attachment of properties of satyagrahis. Of ten martyrs, three are women—mostly of old age.

As wave after wave of satyagrahis in their hundreds each day marched to court arrest, the Government got frighten-

ed. There were already about seven thousand in jail by the first week of March. So the police were instructed to change their tactics. Now only leaders were arrested and the rest were beaten up, forced into trucks and taken to distant places to be let off there in the dark of cold nights, hungry, and shelterless. Defeated in the game of arresting the surging mass of satyagrahis, the police, under direct instructions from the Chief Minister, adopted new and brutal terroristic methods to suppress the movement.

Brutal Terror

A reign of unprecedented brutal terror was let loose against the peaceful struggle of the masses. The hideous face of the bourgeois-landlord Government stood forth in naked brutality in suppressing the movement with blood and iron. Thousands of special Provincial Armed Police hordes were detailed to support the district police to raid and pillage villages. The district officials trampled the law un-

derfoot, committed all sorts of illegalities and excesses against the innocent people.

The police in hundreds were sent out to attach properties of satyagrahis while they were still in jail. Never in the days of British rule even did the bureaucracy make such indecent haste bypassing normal processes of law in order to attach properties in lieu of fines. This technique was adopted at the specific instructions of the Chief Minister to harass and terrorise the peasantry, especially their womenfolk and to demoralise them.

Unprovoked and indiscriminate firing, tear-gas, lathi-charge, and looting of peasant property in the name of realisation of fines became the order of the day. Aitiana, Narur, Dhaliwal, Upl, Kohala, Chamiara and dozens of other villages and their walls ridden with bullets, bones of men and women fractured, houses bereft of all their goods—stand testimony to the heinous police brutalities and vandalism.

In utter isolation from the peasantry and panicky at the tremendous upsurge of the mass movement, the Congress rulers launched what might be termed "Operation Pacification" against the people. As if brutal killings and pillage of property were not enough, hundreds of persons, men and women have been arrested and are still being prosecuted for alleged violence against the police.

Entire properties of Communist and Kisan Sabha leaders have been attached without declaring them absconders. Warrants were issued for the arrest of almost all workers of the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha. The functioning of provincial and district offices of the Party and the Kisan Sabha was rendered almost impossible by arrests and issuance of warrants against all functionaries. The entire editorial and managerial staff of the NAWAN ZAMANA, organ of the State Council of the Communist Party, which alone carried up-to-date and correct news of the movement was arrested under the Security Act.

Malicious Propaganda

To justify this dire repression against the thoroughly peaceful and disciplined mass movement, a malicious lying propaganda offensive was launched by Government spokesmen, the Congress and pro-Congress and reactionary Press. C.I.D.-manufactured stories were put across by certain Correspondents and on the basis of those fabrications, certain newspapers, especially the Tribune, wrote editorials supporting "firm action" against the peasants.

One day it was propagated that Communists were trying to turn Jullundur into another Telengana and on a following day, the bloodbath was enacted in Narur. Then on another day, it was given out that preparations were being made to "intensify" the struggle in erstwhile PEPSU areas around

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CALL CHIEF MINISTER KAIRON TO ACCOUNT

Incitement Against Communists For Narrow Partisan Ends

The following is the text of the memorandum submitted by Comrade Harkishen Singh Surjeet, Secretary of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of the Government of India and the Governor of Punjab.

SRI MANJI,

Sri Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, has been recently making the most violent and irresponsible speeches at public meetings in the district of Jullundur. If another man had made speeches in that strain, he would have been immediately hauled up under Section 302/151 or similar sections of the Indian Penal Code. But there appears to be none here to pull him up and call him to account. If he is allowed to continue along this dangerous course, things might take a turn for the worse in the State.

Speaking at village Bilga on April 9 he is reported to have said: "I would have been very glad if one or two Communist leaders had been killed by bullets. I shall see that no Communist is seen anywhere here."

Now these remarks of Sri Kairon are bound to serve as a direct incitement to the agents of the dominant clique in the ruling party and irresponsible police officials to make murderous attacks against Communists. To cover up this incitement to violence against Communists, he made a defamatory and totally unfounded charge against the Communists that they were collecting arms for armed struggle in the country.

The inflammatory speeches of Sri Kairon had their immediate repercus-

sion in the villages of Jullundur district. Communist-minded kisans have been attacked and beaten up by agents of the Kairon-Darbara Singh group in the Congress. The aggrieved peasants get no justice. The police refuse to register their complaints. On the other hand, they are implicated in false cases and otherwise harassed and terrorised such as in the villages of Bundala, Sang Dhesian, Dhesian Kahnian and elsewhere. Village life is being disrupted and poisoned and peaceful harvesting labour of the peasantry is being interfered with. More serious consequences might flow unless Sri Kairon's vendetta against kisans who refuse to follow him is called off and efforts are made in cooperation with Communists and other elements to normalise the situation.

The Communist Party had advised the State Kisan Sabha to call off the anti-betterment levy satyagraha in which eighteen thousand peasants had participated and ten of them had fallen martyrs as a result of police firing and maltreatment in jail. Not only Communist-minded but also peasants of other political affiliations including Congress supporters had joined the movement. Never in the history of our country was such a mighty mass struggle so peaceful and disciplined as this one. In advising the Kisan Sabha to withdraw the satyagraha it had responded to the appeal of Sri N. V. Gadgil, Punjab Governor, of Sri Gurdial Singh Dhillon, Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha, and declaration of Sri Kairon himself on the floor of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on March 20, 1959, that the quantum of the levy had been reduced to Rs. 33 crores and would be further reduced. Definite assuran-

ces held out in private talks by Sri Kairon to all-India Communist and Kisan Sabha leaders were also taken into consideration. The struggle was withdrawn for creation of a suitable atmosphere for negotiations. It was expected by all well-wishers of the State that conditions would soon be normalised.

But Sri Pratap Singh Kairon has not seen it fit, for reasons best known to himself, to normalise the situation and call Kisan Sabha leaders for discussion. Hundreds are still being kept in jail. Large police forces are being sent for forcible collection of levy from the peasants while they are still busy in harvesting the rabi crop. Scores of them have been arrested. And to cap it all, he is making violently provocative speeches as pointed out above. This is adding to bitterness and tension.

He is worsening the situation for narrow political considerations. It is clear from his other remarks in his speech at the Bilga meeting. He is reported to have said: "You should promise to support and elect to the Vidhan Sabha Sardar Darbara Singh (State Congress President) in the next elections. I shall not allow him to be defeated. The Communists wanted to deprive me also of my gaddi, but I have roots deep down in the earth." A Congress worker of Bilga, Ch. Santa Singh is reported to have promised that Darbara Singh will be elected, provided the Chief Minister puts all the Communists inside jail.

So all this Communist-baiting carried on by Sri Pratap Singh Kairon and his group in the Congress is with an eye on the next general elections. Sri Kairon is at liberty to carry on from now on propaganda in connection with

the general elections if he so desires. We can have no quarrel with him on that score. But he should not be allowed to transgress the limits of law and decency in his utterances. He should not be permitted to encourage lawlessness in the State.

The Communist Party is the second largest political party in the country. It is leading a Ministry in one State. It has substantial representation in Parliament and the State legislatures. It is coming to enjoy the confidence of ever-increasing numbers of people. The Punjab Chief Minister cannot be allowed to treat it as an outlaw and to instigate murderous attacks against its members.

Will you please call for his explanation, investigate and take necessary steps to prevent his violent provocations pregnant with dangerous repercussions for our democracy and decent public life.

We consider it our duty to bring to your notice certain other remarks of the State Chief Minister which violate our foreign policy of peace and relations of PANCH SHILA and friendship with China. While addressing a Congress workers meeting at Phagwara on April 11, 1959, he is reported by the entire Press to have said: "If China were ever to attack India through Tibet, the Communists would be the first to stab the country in the back."

We do not expect any friendly feelings from Sri Kairon for ourselves. But when he tries to malign China and impugn to it intentions of aggressiveness against India, he violates PANCH SHILA and arouses hatred and enmity against our friend among the people. Will the Government of India allow the Chief Minister of one of its States to speak in contravention of its established foreign policy?

The satyagraha so that the dispute could be settled in a calm atmosphere.

Withdrawal Of Struggle

It was on the basis of these public appeals and assurances, leave aside assurances given to the all-India Communist and Kisan Sabha leaders in private, that the Kisan Sabha called off the satyagraha on March 22—two days later—with a view to create the necessary atmosphere for settlement through negotiations. The days following the withdrawal of the agitation have exposed the perfidious charac-

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AJOY GHOSH ON ASSURANCES KAIRON GAVE...AND BROKE

COMRADE AJOY GHOSH, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement to the Press:

Since the withdrawal of the satyagraha against the betterment levy, the Punjab Government, contrary to all expectations, has intensified repression against the kisans and the Communist Party. Many hundreds of satyagrahis are still in prison, fresh cases are being launched, attempts are being made to terrorise the peasantry and force them to pay the betterment levy.

All this is being justified by the Chief Minister of Punjab in the name of law and order.

With the grave situation that has arisen as the result of these measures of the Government, I do not want to deal in this statement. What I am concerned with here are the assertions that are being made by Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon that at no stage were there any negotiations and that no assurances of any kind were given by him to the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party.

These assertions have come to me as a shock and since I was one of those primarily responsible for the advice that the movement should be withdrawn, I feel it necessary to take the public into confidence. In the beginning of

March, I was approached by Sri Mehar Chand Ahuja, General Secretary of the Punjab Congress Committee, with the request that negotiations should be started for settling the dispute between the Government and the Kisan Sabha. He tried to convince me that the Punjab Government was prepared for negotiations. He suggested as basis for negotiations the following points:

- 1) Substantial reduction in the quantum of the betterment levy.
 - 2) Spreading the realisation of the levy over a longer number of years.
 - 3) Exemption of certain categories of peasants from the levy.
- Subsequently, Sri Darbara Singh, President of the Punjab Congress Committee, met me at Chandigarh on March 12 and repeated the request. Sri Darbara Singh met me again on March 18 at Delhi and said that the quantum of the levy could be reduced to below Rs. 20 crores including interest. He requested me to ask the Kisan Sabha to call off the agitation so that negotiations could start.

The events that led to the withdrawal of the struggle are well-known and need no narration here.

On March 21, a day after the withdrawal of the satyagraha, Sri Prasad Rao, General Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha, Sri Ram Kishan Bhanrolan, member,

Punjab Vidhan Sabha, and myself met the Punjab Chief Minister at his residence at 10-00 p.m. He gave the following assurances to us:

- 1) The quantum of the betterment levy would be "very substantially reduced." The exact figure would be worked out by a committee of which a Kisan Sabha representative would be a member.
- 2) The realisation of the levy would be, if we wanted, spread over many more years than originally contemplated.
- 3) Satyagrahis and persons arrested in connection with the anti-betterment levy agitation would be released forthwith. Only the case of those guilty of violence would be scrutinised and those were "very few" in number.
- 4) Orders had been already passed withdrawing police chowkies from villages.
- 5) Fines realised would be refunded.
- 6) Confiscation of property would be stopped.
- 7) All warrants will be withdrawn.

How the Punjab Government has violated these assurances is well-known. Sri Kairon in his speech at Phagwara, a few days ago, had the audacity to say that "the Communists had

proved that they cannot be trusted." The people of Punjab can now judge who can and who cannot be trusted.

I must confess that I am shocked at the way in which Government spokesmen and Ministers in the Punjab give public assurances to be repudiated the next day in practice. When the anti-betterment levy movement was in full swing no less a person than the Governor of Punjab Sri N. V. Gadgil made a statement to the effect that once the movement was suspended it would not take more than a week to settle the dispute by negotiations. Similar hopes were held out by official spokesmen in private and public and in course of discussions in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha. Public life would be impossible if the Punjab Government does not change its code of conduct. In my entire political life, I have never come across another instance of solid assurances being so grossly violated.

The Punjab Kisan Sabha took a bold step to restore normal and cordial atmosphere when it withdrew the movement. But the Government has again vitiated it by flouting the assurances given and by launching repression. I would still urge the State Government to honour the assurances, withdraw all repressive measures, stop forcible collections and negotiate with the Kisan Sabha for a final settlement.

BIHAR : GENERAL HARTAL AGAINST NEW TAXES

★ FROM ALI ASHRAF

When I reached Arrah in the afternoon on April 15 to address the anti-tax rally there, the hartal was so complete that not even a pan or tea shop was open and no vehicular traffic could be seen on the streets. Pandit Muktinath Mishra, the respected Communist leader—and one of the earliest among Congressmen in the district—told the rally in his presidential remarks that never since the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi had Arrah seen such a complete hartal.

AND it was not Arrah alone. The whole of Bihar moved into action. On April 15, complete hartal was observed in the towns and bazars (rural marketing areas) throughout the State as a mark of protest against the imposition of more than Rs. six crores of additional taxes in the new budgetary year.

The call had come from the Communist Party. But the decision had been taken by the forty thousand-strong provincial rally in Patna on March 18, to which had come demonstrators from every part of the State. Yyapar Sanghas and various traders' organisations on the local plane cooperated with the Communist Party to make the protest hartal a success. Towns which had already observed hartal once in the period of one month were exempt from the hartal on the 15th. In this category came Patna. For the rest, reports received up-to-date show that in April hartals followed by largely attended meetings were held in about one hundred places spread over all the districts of the State and including district and sub-divisional towns and rural bazars.

In the two districts of Darbhanga and Monghyr, every town, townlet and bazar was on hartal.

This Statewide hartal has proved—if proof were need-

tax. There are cases, say, for example, in Gaya where a poor man who paid a house tax of Rs. three per quarter will now have to pay Rs. 16 instead.

The Communist Party and the other mass organisations in their memorandum submitted on March 18 had demanded immediate postponement of these taxes. They had offered to discuss alternative sources of income where it was required for nation-building work. Incomes of the municipalities could be augmented by the municipalisation of the electric supply companies and the Government could allot a part of the proceeds from the existing entertainment tax, motor vehicles tax, etc.

But the Bihar Government was little interested in finding alternative sources for

nation-building or welfare work. Communist MLAs in the Bihar Assembly had pointed out that while these new taxes will yield a little more than Rs. six crores, the year's budget made a provision of Rs. eight crores to be paid as compensation to the zamindars.

It is a measure of the people's spontaneous opposition to the taxation and other policies of the Government that such broad all-in unity was built at the call of the Communist Party which is yet but a small force in the State—and despite passive and sometimes active opposition of the political parties including some Left parties.

The Congress, of course, was opposed to the hartal. In some places its leaders did not hesitate to make shameless use of Government cadres and resources to make the opposition to the hartal effective. Thus in Darbhanga, for example, the DCC president, Sri Harish Chandra Jha, accompanied by the District Magistrate

moved about in a Government staff car, exhorting people not to join the hartal. In Begusarai, a Congress MLA and his son who had gained enough notoriety as a police sub-inspector during the Patna firing in August 1955 and was later removed from his post used all methods including threats to prevent the shop-keepers from joining the hartal but all to no avail.

While the rank-and-file of the PSP in many places joined the hartal, its leaders were busy whipping up the Tibetan agitation and at some places some of them actively opposed the hartal. The Darbhanga Correspondent of the Patna Hindi daily, Navrasra, wrote: "It is learnt that special efforts were made by the Jan Sangh and the PSP in the town to make the hartal a failure. Shop-keepers were dissuaded from joining it. But their efforts bore no fruit." (April 19).

The success of April 15 hartal marks a new stage in the unfolding of the anti-tax movement in Bihar.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

BOUNDLESS DEMANDS

THE Government of India's decision to join the International Wheat Agreement, because of certain concessions incorporated in it, has been followed by new moves on the part of the USA to thwart whatever gains these concessions promised.

The most important of these gains, apart from the prices which have been lowered now, concerned the recognition under the new agreement of special transactions like those under PL 480. We, no doubt, have never been enboured of the virtues of these transactions, and yet, the fact that they at times made essential foodstuffs available to us on terms more favourable than the Agreement's, was undeniably a point in their favour.

Now, however, a certain leader of the USA, Senator Hubert Humphrey, has thought it necessary to introduce a Bill in the Senate, ostensibly to "use food for peace," which robs future transactions of even the few advantages the aforesaid Public Law had offered.

Unlike PL 480, the new Bill will not leave it to the President of the United States to utilise the rupee funds, accumulated in the recipient country, to make long-term low interest loans for development. Under it these funds can be used only for projects like research, health, education and public welfare. In other words, no longer will it be open to the American Administration to release a part of these funds, as it did a month ago, for procuring equipment for river valley projects. Now it can do so only for exchange of

professors, spraying of DDT or opening of certain welfare centres.

The Bill, however, does not stop here. It also aims at empowering the Administration, of course in "consultation" with the recipient country, to use the funds to "buttress the U.N. agencies like the International Finance Corporation and the FAO."

The functioning and the nature of operations of the first of these bodies is not foreign to our readers. They know very well that though nominally "international" it caters mainly to the interests of American capitalists. To them, it provides yet another outlet for the investment of their surplus capital. India, too, has received a couple of loans through it for two of her private sector projects, the latest being the credit of \$850,000 granted to the Poona firm of Kirloskars Ltd.

Thus, in dangling the carrot of a plentiful supply of foodgrains to countries like ours, it is only the interests of American monopolists that Senator Humphrey and his ilk seek to serve.

In this game of make-believe, however, it is not for long that their true intents and purposes can remain concealed. For, not only in India, which has not been quite unaware of their sinister designs, even in a SEATO country like Thailand, the rumblings have begun to be heard. There, according to a Hsinhua dispatch, an "International Capital Group," comprising capitalists from the USA, Spain, France and Italy, which recently visited the country, put forth such iniquitous pre-conditions of investments that even a puppet like Thana-

rat was compelled to protest.

Not only Thailand, even such a stalwart among capitalist nations as the United Kingdom has begun to feel the pinch of too much subservience to the United States in this respect. According to a TASS report, emanating from London, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, an organ of Big Business, was compelled to editorially protest last week against the "intensification of American capitalist penetration in the British economy by buying up the controlling shares of British companies."

In the context of these reactions in the U.K. and Thailand, and these are by no means an exception, and the manifest hostility of the common people in our country towards any further penetration of foreign, especially U.S. capital, into our economy, the Government's continued frenzied efforts to solicit it, are really amazing. And yet the demands of these monopolists seem to have no bounds. The latest of these, presented by one George A. Rubissow, a leading American industrialist, include granting of a tax holiday to foreign enterprises for five years as well as full facilities to repatriate entire invested capital. His other demands include facilities for yearly re-export of an interest calculated at six per cent on capital invested as loan and a ceiling on tax on royalties, over-rights, consulting fees, etc.

Mr. Rubissow has only concretised what others—from the World Bank President Eugene Black to the leader of the U.S. Small Industries Mission, Nathaniel Knowles—had so far been suggesting in general terms. Even without the acceptance of these terms, however, the U.S. was the first among the foreign participants in joint ventures last year. Out of an aggregate sum of Rs. 562.28 lakhs, sanctioned by the Controller of Capital Accounts in relation to twenty of such issues, it bagged as much as Rs. 199.01 lakhs.

—ESSEN

TIBET : A REBELLION PLANNED LONG AGO

Local Govt.'s Criminal Collaboration

The criminal activities of the former Tibet Local Government and upper strata reactionary clique, betraying the country and sabotaging the unification of the country and the national unity, were not accidental but had been plotted long in advance, said Chang Kuo-hua, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, in the course of a report he made to the plenary meeting of the Committee in Lhasa on April 8.

IN 1952, the Vice-Chairman said, "a group of reactionaries, assembled together by Situb Lokangya Tsewong-routen and Lozong Draer of the former Tibet Local Government, organised a puppet people's conference, scheming to start a counter-revolutionary riot. They openly opposed the 17-article Agreement (of 1951 between the Chinese Central People's Government and the Tibet Local Government) and put forward such reactionary slogans as 'the People's Liberation Army must withdraw from Tibet' and so on.

Collaboration With Rebels

"The former Tibet Local Government not only failed to deal with these matters seriously but, as indicated by many facts, actually collaborated with and gave all kinds of support to these puppet 'people's conference' elements.

Chang Kuo-hua said, "the large quantity of materials acquired during the course of putting down the rebellion prove that the upper strata reactionaries in Tibet are closely linked with the rebels in the area of the former Sikkang Province. The armed rebellion was entirely schemed by the upper reactionaries in Tibet.

"That is why the former Tibet Local Government not only did not take any effective measures against the rebels, but came out more and more blatantly to support, supply and arm the rebels when part

the plotting of their traitorous activities."

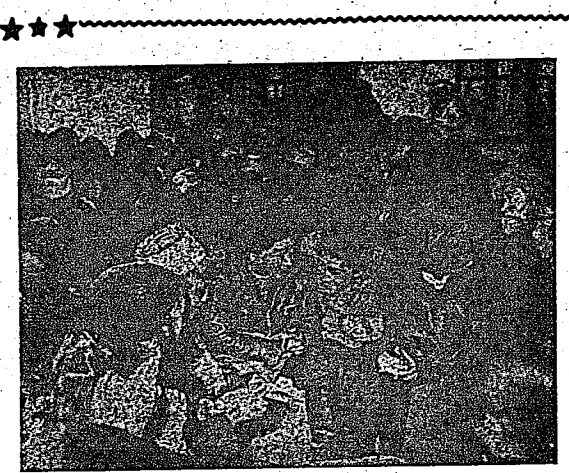
Incidents Created

"During the moilan (summons ceremony) in 1959, a series of rebellious incidents occurred," continued the Vice-Chairman. "For example, the Tibetan army which was under the leadership of the former Tibet Government deliberately arrested and illegally tried functionaries of the Central People's Government working in Tibet; more than once, weapons in hand, they encircled the offices of the working committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the Lhasa institutions of the Central People's Government, and distributed reactionary leaflets, spread rumours and instigated the masses, and carried out activities against the Central authorities.

"For the sake of national unity and in order to wait for the Tibet Local Government to wake up, the Central People's Government time and again adopted a patient, conciliatory attitude.

"The events of March 10, 1959, had been plotted and prepared long in advance and were entirely engineered by the former Tibet Local Government and the reactionary elements of the upper strata. Their traitorous activities came to a head with open clamours for the independence of Tibet."

"In these circumstances," Chang Kuo-hua said, "the Central People's Government repeatedly and patiently educated the former Tibet Local Government in the hope that they would draw a demarcation line between themselves and the traitors. But in reality, the former Tibet Local Government all along supported and connived with them and took part in



Young people of Tibetan and Hui nationalities in Lhasa at a forum express their support to the quelling of the rebellion.

Tibetans Against Reaction's Plot

Twenty thousand people turned out on the streets of Lhasa on April 15 in the biggest demonstration in the history of Tibet. Their demand: thorough quelling of the rebellion.

THE demonstrators, two out of three of the city's population, among them many cloaked lamas, welcomed the crushing of the rebellion. They shouted, "Long Live the Chinese Communist Party!" and "Long Live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

The morning mist still hung over the Lhasa Valley as people began coming out on the streets. The Chinese national flag fluttered from rooftops in all parts of the city and the city centre, the Pachaochieh, was decorated with big posters inscribed with the words: "People of all nationalities and all sections unite and firmly put down the rebellion!"

Patriotic Tibetans of the middle and upper strata, traders and people's militiamen were distinguishable among the demonstrators.

Contingents of peasants from

the outskirts of the city joined the demonstration. They have recently received non-interest bearing loans of seed and grain for the spring-sowing.

More than 2,000 lamas of the famous Daipung, Sera and Jokhan monasteries marched together in compact ranks. They were determined, as one of them remarked, "to refute the lies spread by imperialism and foreign reactionaries that the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army trample on religion. In reality it is precisely those vampires, the rebels, that trample on religion."

Meetings, small and big, are being held all over Tibet denouncing the rebellion engineered by upper strata reactionaries.

A 2,000-strong meeting in Gyantse was unanimous in its support of the State Council's order and condemnation of the many outrages committed by the traitorous clique. A Tibetan worker, Pinba Chunta, recalled the solicitude shown by the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army towards the people. When Gyantse was visited by floods in the autumn of 1954, he said, the people were given immediate relief. They also received loans to rebuild their houses. Now everybody was enjoying free medical treatment and every child could have free education.

The people of Takun hailed the State Council's order as a blessing. Vice-Director Pachia of the Takung Chichiaochie office exposed the ravages perpetrated by members of the rebellious bandits along the Yalutsangpo River. They forcibly seized grain and cattle, took boots from the feet of the people, raped women and forced people to join them in the rebellion. "I am one of those whose homes have been ruined by these bandits," he said.

Tibetans in Gyantse pledged to transport material to help the People's Liberation Army to put the rebellion down. Tibetan and Han road-builders in the Yatung District in the foothills of the Himalayas, have pledged that they would build roads wherever needed.

BRIGHT FUTURE FOR TIBETANS

CHOU EN-LAI ON QUELLING OF THE REBELLION

"WE believe that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and with the help of the Military Control Committees in various places in Tibet, the Preparatory Committee for the autonomous region of Tibet will certainly fulfil its glorious tasks excellently and quickly bring about national autonomous Tibet," said China's Premier Chou En-lai in Peking on April 14 at a banquet to welcome the Panchen Lama who arrived in Peking earlier in the day to attend the National People's Congress.

The Premier in the course of his speech pointed out that a handful of Tibetan rebels who betrayed the motherland had attempted to split the motherland, but the result was the further consolidation of the unification of the motherland, the promotion of unity between the

Han and Tibetan nationalities and the promotion of the rebirth of the people in Tibet.

Premier Chou En-lai said the Tibetan reactionary clique had completely violated the interests of the 1,200,000 people of Tibet and also the common interests of the people of the various nationalities of the country. With the active assistance of the patriotic people of all sections, both ecclesiastic and temporal, the People's Liberation Army had, in fact, already basically put down the rebellion, he said.

"The overwhelming majority of the people of Tibet want to free themselves from the cruelty of darkness and serfdom," the Premier said. "Many just-minded patriotic members of the upper and middle strata in Tibet also stand for the step by step reform of the unreasonable social system. In the interests of national solidarity

and taking the specific conditions in Tibet into consideration, the Central People's Government has been following a policy of slowing down the pace and patient waiting as regards reform in Tibet.

"However, the obstinate reactionaries in Tibet courting self-destruction, chose the path of betrayal of the people of Tibet and the motherland. In so destroying themselves they have in fact created extremely favourable conditions for the democratisation of Tibet.

"We believe that from now on, the people of Tibet will gradually free themselves from poverty and backwardness and advance to the bright road of prosperity and happiness," Chou En-lai concluded.

The Panchen Lama speaking at the banquet said, "A new page has now been turned in the history of Tibet. The people of Tibet

will hail the great victory of the Communist Party's policy towards the nationalities."

"Under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party and with the strong support of the 650 million people of all the various nationalities of the country, the people of Tibet will definitely eradicate backwardness and poverty, and together with the rest of the people of the country advance towards a prosperous and happy Socialist society."

The Panchen Lama condemned the Kaloons concerned in the former Local Government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper strata for their treason. "These rebels are really the dregs of the nation and of religion and the enemy of the people of Tibet and the whole country. Their grave crimes of betraying the motherland and the people have been severely punished by the people."

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A section of the 50,000-strong mass rally which concluded the West Bengal conference of the Communist Party.—Photo: SAMBHU BANERJEE

West Bengal Communists In Conference

★ From JVAN BIKASH HOITRA

CALCUTTA, April 20

The Eighth West Bengal State Conference of the Communist Party, held in Calcutta from April 8 to 12, has taken a number of decisions of far-reaching importance for the Party and the people of this State.

COMRADE AJOY GHOSH, General Secretary of the Communist Party, who attended the Conference, performed the flag-hoisting ceremony and addressed the delegates. The main agenda before the Conference was the Political-Organisational Report of the outgoing State Committee of the Party.

After four days' discussions, in which 112 delegates took part, the report and a resolution which incorporates the main directives of the Report and details concrete tasks for each front, was unanimously approved by the Conference.

Out of 330 delegates elected from all the districts of the State, 313 attended the Conference. Thirty-five out of forty-eight delegates without right of vote also participated. Among the delegates were nine women, two tribals, 23 workers, 14 kisans and one agricultural labourer. One hundred and seven delegates came from the kisan front and 104 from the trade union front and 214 were whole-timers of the Party.

The resolution on the Political-Organisational Report says that the crisis of our economy is getting intensified as a result of the policies of the ruling classes. The resentment of the masses is mounting and class struggles against these policies are becoming sharper. At the same time, reactionary forces are stepping up their offensive. "The entire Party," the resolution emphasises, "must take note of the maturing of a situation of emergency in the national-political arena and the unfolding of the perspective of sharp class battles and big mass movements."

As regards West Bengal, the resolution points out that the economic and social life of this problem-ridden State is disintegrating at such a rapid pace that the replacement of the Congress

overcome the weaknesses there."

Work among the kisan masses has been pinpointed as the central political task before the Party in the immediate future.

The resolution further calls upon the Party to remove spontaneity in mass movement and mass organisations and to give an organised shape to the widespread resentment of the people against the Congress Government's policies by unleashing and leading mass struggles of workers, kisans and other sections by strengthening mass organisations and building up the broadest unity of the people.

In this connection the resolution stresses the supreme importance of widening and strengthening the mass base of the Party and of rapidly increasing its independent mobilising power.

The fulfilment of these tasks, the resolution points out, will create the necessary conditions for still further politically isolating the Congress and wresting power from it.

CALL FOR

★ **Mass Struggle To Fight Back Deepening Crisis**

★ **Alternative Democratic Government**

★ **Left Unity And Fight Against Disruptive Policies Of Left Parties**

★ **Strong Mass Base For The Party**

ses the urgency of launching mass campaigns on the following issues:

- Against the U.S.-Pak Pact and for friendship between the peoples of India and Pakistan;
- For Afro-Asian Solidarity with India-China friendship as its cornerstone;
- For support to the freedom struggles of subject nations;
- Against Nasser's disruptive campaign and in support of the democratic Government of Iraq.

The Conference unanimously adopted a number of important resolutions, including those on the U.S.-Pak Pact, supreme importance of India-China friendship, Afro-Asian solidarity, banning of nuclear weapons, release of political prisoners, greetings to the Government and the people of Kerala, the kisan struggle now going on in this State, adoption of Bengali as the official language of the State and as the medium of instruction up to the University stage, speedy implementation of the Farakka Barrage Project and against the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan.

Several resolutions on various problems facing West Bengal were submitted by the delegates. Some of them were accepted by the Steering Committee; the rest were either withdrawn or rejected by the Conference.

The resolution further emphasises the urgent need on the one hand, for the Party to widen and strengthen its independent mass base and continue unremittingly its efforts for building up Left unity, on various issues and in different movements, even if it be temporary and partial, and, on the other hand, to conduct a determined ideological campaign against the anti-Soviet, anti-Chinese and anti-Communist policies of the Left parties, especially the PSP leadership.

The resolution directs the entire Party to play an active role in strengthening the peace movement. It also underlines the great importance of launching a Statewide campaign to defend India's foreign policy against attacks from the PSP leadership and reactionary circles on the one hand, and to overcome the weaknesses in this policy on the other. The vacillations that the Government has been showing of late under pressure from imperialism and reactionary elements must be fought through the widest mass mobilisation.

The resolution further stresses

Reorganisation Of "Swadhinata"

The Conference discussed a special resolution on Swadhinata, the Party's Bengal daily and directed the new State Council to draw up a concrete plan for transforming the paper into an eight-pager. It also called upon all Party members to collect, by next May Day, the remaining Rs. 64,000 for the Swadhinata Rotary Fund of Rs. 2.85 lakhs.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh addressed the Conference for two hours on the concluding day. In a very important speech, he gave a penetrating analysis of the international and national situation, answered a number of theoretical and tactical questions raised at the Conference and explained the perspective and the main tasks before the Party in this State.

The Conference elected a State Council of 101 members.

★ SEE PAGE 14

APRIL 26, 1959

PAGE SIX

NEW AGE

Shooting Down Of Indian Canberra

Military Dictators Are Gloating Over It While In The USA Indian Protests Are Ignored

A new feeling of confidence and jubilation, developing into a new and higher sort of aggressiveness, now characterises the rulers of Pakistan. Following the stepped-up border raids from East Pakistan, the shooting down of the unarmed Indian Air Force Canberra over Rawalpindi, is the most ominous manifestation of this aggressiveness.

THE incident has been described by India's Prime Minister as most serious and distressing. It is the first of its type. For the first time in the entire twelve-year long history of Indo-Pak acrimony and bitterness, wrangles and disputes, it happens that a plane from one side is actually shot down and destroyed by the other side, the crew managing to survive by sheer luck.

Ever since partition, as alleged by both Governments, such incidents of mutual violations of each other's air space have been plenty, for in this sub-continent which is now divided into two countries there are as yet no sharp and clear demarcating boundaries and the margin of error is still quite big.

Now one of the two countries—and it is Pakistan—decides that such errors by the other side can no longer be considered errors; they should be treated as deliberately undertaken missions to probe the military strength and preparations on its side—there must be plenty of skeletons in the cupboard to hide—and must be met with extreme punishment. The Indian plane is not left with a mere warning and a chase; it is not just compelled to land; it is made a target for testing the efficiency of U.S. supplied Pakistani sabre-jets and the skill of the U.S.-trained Pakistani pilots. The Indian plane is simply shot down.

Having done that, there is no question of having any qualms or regrets. A highly self-righteous attitude is adopted before the world and protests are launched with India, while at home, before their own people, there is jubilation and gloating. The 26-year-old Pakistani pilot who brought down the Indian plane and another who covered him are lionised and made into national heroes, "who did a fine job" (Dawn).

The policy of entering into military alliance with the USA and of handing over Pakistan's armed forces and the flower of her youth to them for training in barbarism stands vindicated. It has already helped to teach a lesson to the Bharatis and will help to give a thorough licking to them when the day comes—this is what Pakistan's ruling circles seem to be telling the people.

From stepped-up border raids and fantastic new claims to Indian territory to bringing down of Indian planes—this no doubt is a big step forward in the pose of aggression.

What is the American reaction to this "most serious and distressing" incident. Hindu's U.N. Correspondent K. Balaraman has described the attitude "both of the official circles and the Press" in America as one of "looking the other way as if the incident had never occurred."

Writes Balaraman from New

York on April 17:

"If India or any other uncommitted country—or of course, one of the Communist bloc—had been guilty of such an act, there would have been ponderous pronouncements by the State Department spokesman and thunderous denunciations in the Press. Both have so far studiously withheld comment in the present case."

He goes on to tell us that even the presentation of the news in the U.S. Press has been such that it is Pakistan's allegations of Indian spying and her justification for shooting which have been generally featured. "India's protests and the Prime Minister's and Defence Minister's statements are treated as of minor consequence."

From the abettor and partner in the crime to whom inevitably this aggressiveness on the part of our neighbour has to be traced we could not expect a different attitude.

Base-Building In Full Swing

ANOTHER exhibition of this new aggressive, threatening pose being taken up by the military rulers of Pakistan is given in the deliberate leakage of the news of the progress of work at what is claimed as the biggest military base being built in that country by an international team of engineers "in collaboration with the U.S. Army Engineering Corps."

All such news has naturally been kept a closely guarded secret till now. This is perhaps for the first time that report of such a base being under construction has openly appeared in the officially favoured Press. The Press was also briefed, it seems, to the effect that the Indian plane shot down on the 10th was guilty of circling over this precious base.

Situated at a place called Kharlan, lying on the Lahore-Rawalpindi road, this giant base, reported to cover 4,000 acres, will cost about Rs. 25 crores and will be completed early next year. It will have 489 buildings including modern barracks and an extensive parade ground. Thousands of Pakistani workers are employed in laying out the 30 miles of asphalt roads, 18 miles of water mains and a 750,000 gallon storage tank.

Besides these published details it is also known that huge underground constructions are also going on at this base.

It is relevant in this connection to recall the words of the last Soviet Government statement on the U.S.-Pakistan bilateral pact made a month ago which stated:

"Besides a large number

of American military advisers and a special United States Military Mission, an American Corps of Military Engineers numbering more than 1,000 men is stationed in the country especially engaged in the construction of military bases and missile launching ramps. The arrival

in Pakistan of more American military units is expected and so is the transfer to the direct control of the U.S. military command of some major strategic bases on Pakistani territory which but recently were still under the control of the Pakistani Army."

Seato Commitments Portend Serious Trouble For India

FROM Press reports it would appear that Pakistan played a considerable role in the recent SEATO Council meeting held in New Zealand. The military regime's Foreign Minister, Mr. Manzur Qadir, led a big team of military and civilian officers.

On the eve of the opening of the Council Session the controlled Pakistani Press carried on a terrific campaign against China and "international Communism" on the issue of Tibet reproducing all the fabrications of the Western propaganda machine. Its official spokesmen in international forums, meanwhile declared Tibet to be an independent country. This was perhaps to impress the American masters with their loyalty.

Addressed to the Pakistani people was more the talk of raising Kashmir and other questions of Indo-Pak dispute at the SEATO meeting, as well as appeals to the U.S. and other Western Powers to give more economic aid to the Asian members of the bloc. What finally emerged from the meeting is a still greater emphasis on "anti-subversion" and "military deterrence."

There is hardly any result so far as the much advertised though really hypocritical pleas asking for SEATO to be given more the character of an economic aid organisation are concerned unless it be the ridiculous allocation of four lakh dollars for cholera control research.

It is the diagnosis of the SEATO Council that the SEATO areas, which according to their decision includes the non-member countries also, faces a much greater danger than ever before of "internal subversion," and that SEATO is resolved to combat it, not only in the territories of its member countries but also in other countries of the region as well, like India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Nepal.

A Reuter-AFP report on the SEATO Council meeting appearing in the Pakistani Press, while it was still on, stated: "The problems of subversion and how to deal with them were taking most of the time

INSIDE PAKISTAN

exercise offered special prayers for Tibet on their warships, reports the Pakistan Press.)

Of greater immediate importance to Southeast Asia's peace is the SEATO Council's decision announced in its communique "to initiate planning of an emergency military force to counter any attack on Laos", which in plain language means preparations to launch military intervention by combined forces of SEATO countries in Laos on the pattern of Korea, the only difference being that the U.S., feeling diffident of being able to use the U.N., will now be using SEATO.

What is relevant here is that in all these first rate adventurist plans—in the plan of organising subversion and espionage against all anti-imperialist, democratic elements and Governments in all countries of Southeast Asia including India as well, in the plan of organising the permanent mobile military group as also of the interventionist force for Laos—Pakistan has associated herself far more fully and actively than ever before.

Her fighting forces and human material is evaluated very highly by the Americans and they plan to start making actual use of it as soon as they can. Pakistan, it seems, is being prepared

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PAGE SEVEN

NEW AGE

APRIL 26, 1959

The international Communist movement has resolutely and unanimously condemned the Yugoslav revisionists' disruptive policy, their subversive activities against the Socialist countries. The criticism, levelled by the Communist and Workers' Parties against Yugoslav revisionism from the platform of true proletarian internationalism, has thoroughly unmasked the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist essence of the so-called Yugoslav road to Socialism.

It was only at the cost of heavy sacrifice and with Soviet help that the Yugoslav people liberated themselves from the fascist invaders, overthrew the bourgeoisie and stepped out on to the high road to Socialism. But now, as Comrade Khrushchov pointed out at the Twenty-first Congress of the CPSU, the policy of the Yugoslav leaders, aimed at opposing Yugoslavia to the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement, may lead to the loss of the Socialist gains won by the Yugoslav peoples.

Yugoslavia, instead of marching, is zigzagging along the Socialist path. And the res-

NON-SOCIALIST TRENDS IN INDUSTRY & TRADE

The revisionist theory of the withering away of the Socialist State, first and foremost of its economic and organisational functions during the transition from capitalism to Socialism, forms the basis of Yugoslavia's economic policy. The withering away of the State, the LCY Programme states, is the basic and decisive problem confronting the Socialist social system. Viewing the Socialist State as an intermediary between the producers and the means of production, the LCY considers that central State and planned industrial management should be replaced by the "management of the producers." The latter should ensure "a free hand for the producers," "economic democracy," under which planned guidance is replaced by the spontaneous development of market relationships.

In view of the introduction in 1950-1952 of ownership of group property by collectives of workers in factories, mines, etc., State management of industry and trade has been almost entirely liquidated. Enterprises headed by workers' councils have been granted a large measure of production and financial independence. They determine at their own discretion and depending on supply and demand on the market, the extent and range of production and the prices for their goods, the distribution of profit, the way in which wages should be distributed among the workers in the enterprises, cooperation with other enterprises, etc. The State's functions are restricted to establishing certain general principles concerning the functioning of the enterprises, to receiving a portion of their incomes and to financing particular branches of production.

Under this system the main factor determining the development of production is the interest of the enterprise in obtaining the maximum financial means. The workers' councils carry out their activities first and foremost in line with the requirements of the enterprises, proceeding from their own, local interests. And

inasmuch as the economy of the enterprises is regulated by the market the factories compete in the drive for profits. By virtue of the production and market monopoly held by some enterprises they raise prices speculatively.

Relations between enterprises rest on an unsound basis. Competition leads to enterprises having production and trade secrets, a situation typical of capitalist concerns. The LCY's central organ, Communist (No. 22, 1957), stated that "production and trade secrets should be recognised and legally safeguarded. In a market economy, labour and the achievements of separate enterprises should be remunerated." If a production secret is handed over to another enterprise, then "full compensation must be made for the loss sustained by the giver."

And so, inter-factory rivalry takes the place of Socialist planned cooperation and emulation. Instead of an exchange of production experience, trade and production secrets are fostered. Instead of the mutual aid of Socialist collectives, we get an unhealthy struggle.

Even the LCY leaders have been obliged to admit the manifestations of speculation and rivalry. At the Congress of the League of Communists Tito stated that "some trading enterprises frequently display a greater willingness to purchase small quantities of goods and raise their prices instead of purchasing bigger quantities and lowering prices. This method is characteristic not of the Socialist but of the capitalist system. . . . Non-Socialist competition and an artificial price-raising, which injure the consumer, are still a daily occurrence." A letter of the Executive Committee, dated February 6, 1958 addressed to the LCY organisations, said that "strong local patriotic trends, which are primarily evident in the economy in the allocation of funds, capital investments (and so on) often acquire nationalist and chauvinistic features."

The journal Ekonomski pregled had this to say about

trade practices: "The concepts: market factors, psychosis, risk, speculation and so forth are inherent in all branches of trade. They are particularly characteristic of trade in agricultural produce. The situation here is extremely difficult as this is the most unstable market." (Nos. 8-9, page 744, 1956)

It would appear that this criticism of non-Socialist tendencies in production and trade is a positive factor. Yet it does not go beyond a forced statement of the glaring facts. There is no Marxist analysis of the reasons for these phenomena, nor are measures being taken to end this abnormal situation, with the result that prices continue to soar, as the following table shows:

Average annual index of industrial (wholesale) prices of manufactured goods (1957=100)						
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Nov. 1958
93	92	94	99	101	100	103

Average yearly index of retail prices for manufactured goods						
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Nov. 1958
97	93	91	97	100	100	102

(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

A computation based on the 1952 level will show that the wholesale prices of industry were 11 per cent higher in November 1958 than in 1952, while retail prices were 11.2 per cent above the 1954 prices. Payments for services in 1957 were 15 per cent above the 1955 figure, and in October 1958 were seven per cent higher than in 1957. (Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

At times crisis symptoms accompany the price increases. As a result of the artificially inflated price level, which bears no relation to the purchasing power of the population, there is no ready market and stocks are piling up. In July 1958, as against December 1957, for example, stocks of metal products rose 62 per cent, electrical goods 180 per cent, textiles 80 per cent, footwear 94 per cent, rubber industry goods 120 per cent and so on. (Ekonomika Politika, September 27, 1958). Stocks of some goods accumulated with exceptional rapidity. Compared with July 1957, the number of unsold wireless sets rose 74-fold, domestic electrical appliances 13-fold. (Ekonomika Politika, September 6, 1958)

People are buying many manufactured goods on credit. A reduction in prices would send up sales and help clear stocks. But the enterprises are not interested in bringing down prices. As Yugoslavia's Industrial Development (Belgrade, 1957, page 80) points out, "the enterprises are not orientated towards lowering prices." Thus the economic policy of the Yugoslav leaders is creating sharp contradictions between the interests of each enterprise and those of the working people in general. Is there any need to mention that this kind of policy runs counter to Socialism? Yugoslav practice itself refutes the theoretical "discoveries" of the Yugoslav revisionists.

But it may be that this system of leadership is conducive to a better solution of the main tasks of Socialist production—the rapid and constant growth of labour productivity?

Compared with the prewar level industrial output has risen considerably. Production in 1957 increased 211 per cent as compared with 1939. Yet labour productivity is rising

extremely slowly. The rise in output is the result in the main of building new enterprises and employing more workers. The average annual rate of growth of labour productivity between 1947-56, according to Ekonomika Politika of March 15, 1958 was only 0.7 per cent.

The following changes in productivity of labour have taken place in recent years:

(1953=100)					
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1958 (estimated)
99	100	98	101	105	115

(Borba, December 26, 1958)

By way of comparison we cite figures showing the growth of labour productivity in the countries of the Socialist

of distributing profits have, in some respect, anything but a stimulating effect on the growth of labour productivity. It is not fortuitous that this year we have had no big results in raising labour productivity." (Vukmanovic, "The Role of Trade Unions in The Distribution of Profits", Borba, October 26, 1958)

The system of distributing profits has been altered several times in the past few years, but the problem of incentives to increase labour productivity has not been solved, for the measures that have been taken are based on the principle of stimulating the group interests of the enterprises, and not those of the working class as a whole. This, naturally, retards the growth of labour productivity.

Despite the fact that more

camp. In the German Democratic Republic labour productivity rose 74 per cent between 1950 and 57, in Rumania 75 per cent over the same period, in Bulgaria 88 per cent between 1948 and 56, in Czechoslovakia 116 per cent between 1948 and 57. These figures are striking testimony to the extent to which the growth of labour productivity in Yugo-

The whole system of industrial organisation in Yugoslavia has had the effect of making the enterprises materially interested in the market, prices, speculation and competition, instead of raising the interest of the enterprise in improving production conditions for the benefit of society in general.

... The present methods

of distributing profits have, in some respect, anything but a stimulating effect on the growth of labour productivity. It is not fortuitous that this year we have had no big results in raising labour productivity." (Vukmanovic, "The Role of Trade Unions in The Distribution of Profits", Borba, October 26, 1958)

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Despite the fact that more

people are entering industry, unemployment has risen of late:

Average Yearly Unemployment					
1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958 (Jan-Sept.)
81,610	76,215	67,233	59,338	115,904	127,920

(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

slavia lags behind that of the Socialist camp countries and to the lost opportunities as a result of an unsound economic policy.

Labour Productivity

The slow growth of labour productivity is one of Yugoslavia's major unsolved problems. Radkovic, Director of the Institute of Economics of the FPRY, was obliged to admit that labour productivity was becoming a grave problem to which insufficient attention was as yet being given under the present economic and planning system, despite the fact that the question had long since matured.

As experience has shown, with the economic policy now being pursued by the LCY, there is no real prospect of solving this acute problem. Another phenomenon alien to Socialist economy can be observed in Yugoslavia: funds are not allocated equally among individual enterprises, the allocations do not correspond to the contribution made by the enterprises to society. The result is that "... some economic enterprises and branches do not even have sufficient means to pay the average earnings envisaged by the plans, despite the fact that labour productivity has risen in these enterprises. At the same time other enterprises and branches were allocated much greater funds compared with the planned wages of the workers, although labour productivity has hardly increased at all" (Vukmanovic, Borba, October 26, 1958)

Dangerous Tendency

Some enterprises lack the funds with which to pay minimum wages or to pay for im-

provements while others (chiefly those engaged in trade) pay out monthly earnings fifteen, twenty and more times a year. Vjesnik u srijedu reports, for example, that the "General Export" organisation in Belgrade paid wages an average of twenty-four times to each worker during the nine months of 1957, while 55 per cent of the factories in the fruit and vegetable canning industry were not in a position to pay minimum wages (Ekonomika Politika, November 3, 1958).

Furthermore, as the letter of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists dated February 6, 1958, states, at some enterprises "groups of executives received bonuses equal to the wage fund of the whole collective of workers. . . . Certain categories of office workers have supplementary, unearned incomes of various kinds." This is a dangerous tendency and one that cannot be eliminated by mere philippics against bureaucratism.

Non-Socialist Phenomena

A spontaneous differentiation in allocating funds among enterprises leads to non-Socialist phenomena. Some enterprises become unprofitable as they cannot get over production difficulties on their own. Those unable to fulfil their financial obligations to

the State, to their creditors and workers, are earmarked for liquidation. Their equipment is sold and the proceeds are used to pay off debts. In the three-and-a-half years since the promulgation of the law on liquidation of enterprises, reports Ekonomika Politika of August 17, 1957, the Economic Court has received 1874 proposals to liquidate various enterprises (trade, industrial, cooperative, etc.).

The property of the wound-up enterprises is not always purchased by factories that are paying their way. Occasionally it finds its way into private hands. Under the Yugoslav system new enterprises can be founded not only by State bodies and organisations but also by "groups of citizens" who have amassed sufficient funds. According to the regulations, these people do not become the owners of the enterprise but "merely" have the right to recover the invested funds. To all intents and purposes, however, they are the masters of the enterprise.

All Gains Lost

The Socialist sector in the Yugoslav countryside has lost nearly all its gains. Matters have been brought to this pass by revisionist practices in agriculture—and this in a country with a predominantly peasant population.

Under a decision made public in 1954 the producer cooperatives were called upon to prove—by their efforts and without State aid—their viability in the competition with individual peasants. This was virtually rejection of the leading role of the working class in the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. This attitude, it goes without saying, contributed to the disintegration of the cooperatives.

Later the idea of cooperation in the form of collectivisation was rejected altogether. At a meeting of the Federal People's Assembly in April, 1957, S. Komar, Secretary of the Federal Executive Council of the Agricultural Department, declared: "Let none of us hope for collectivisation,

consolidation, of non-Socialist tendencies and elements of a private capitalist nature. These phenomena and their

effects run counter to the development of Socialist economy, to the interests of the working people of Yugoslavia.

One of the main tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism is to reconstruct agriculture along Socialist lines. Socialism is impossible unless Socialist production relations are established in the countryside. How is the task being solved in Yugoslavia?

Immediately after the working class came to power agricultural producer cooperatives began to be organised. In 1952, there were 6,888 of these cooperatives cultivating 20.4 per cent of the crop area. After 1952, however, their number gradually fell and in 1956 there were but 575 cooperatives cultivating 1.5 per cent of the arable land (Mezhdunarodna Politika, No. 193, 1958). In 1956 the Socialist sector (State farms and cooperatives of all kinds) accounted for only 7.7 per cent of the crop area. (State of Agriculture and Cooperation and the Prospects for their Development, "Kultura" Publishing House, Belgrade, 1957, page 14)

Cooperation in the Yugoslav countryside is on a lower level than in any of the Socialist camp countries. In Rumania, for example, the Socialist sector now embraces over 55 per cent of the land; in the German Democratic Republic, 45 per cent; in Czechoslovakia, 77 per cent; in Bulgaria, over 95 per cent; in Albania, 76.2 per cent.

How do the Yugoslav leaders see the way out? In the recent period, instead of collectivisation, they have advanced their own "specific" way—the so-called "cooperation of individual peasants with the Socialist factors of agriculture." This, in the main, is supply and marketing co-operation of the capitalist type. The so-called general cooperatives engage mostly in trade. They supply the peasant with fertilisers, seeds, pedigree cattle, etc., and buy agricultural products, and handicraft articles.

The cooperatives own the machinery and render services to the individual peasants (transportation, sowing, harvesting, and so forth) for which the peasants pay by arrangement. Where the cooperative gives help in farming it and the peasant in accordance with the money expended. These cooperatives are a long way from Socialism. And it goes without saying that kulak elements use them to enrich themselves.

Kulaks Gain Ground

This is confirmed by the figures for the composition of the leading cooperative bodies: in 1946 peasants owning up to two hectares comprised 21.5 per cent of the members of the cooperative manage-

ment, those owning over ten hectares—12.1 per cent. By 1956, the situation had changed radically. There were but 15.3 per cent of peasants with small plots—up to two hectares—in the cooperative managements, and 25 per cent owning more than eight hectares.

Restri-

Capitalist Sector In Agriculture Strengthened

either now or in the future. We have entirely outlived the tendency to 'solve' the problem of agricultural production by collectivisation which was a peculiar form of expropriation of the peasants." (State of Agriculture and Cooperation and the Prospects for their Development, p. 122).

Trotskyite Allegation

Thus Komar repeats the notorious Trotskyite allegation that collectivisation is a form of expropriation of the peasants. And so, blackening Lenin's cooperative plan and ignoring all the experience and achievements of the cooperative movement in the Socialist countries, the Yugoslav leaders reject the Socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

And yet agricultural production is the most important problem confronting the Yugoslav economy. It has suffered from long periods of depression, low productivity, dispersal (there are more than 30 million plots in the country), and backward methods (nearly 50 per cent of the farms have no transport of their own). Agriculture cannot by its own efforts, supply the urban population with the foodstuffs and industry with the raw materials they require. According to Politika (January 7, 1959) the volume of agricultural output in 1958 fell by 15-20 per cent as compared with 1957. Wheat and rye yields dropped by about 70,000 wagon-loads, maize by nearly 200,000 wagon-loads.

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If we take the money income of management members as a basis, we shall see that 8.2 per cent of the peasants in the leading cooperative bodies had yearly incomes of up to 20,000 dinars in 1956, while the

	Number of Peasant Households				
	Total number of householders	Households of up to 2 hectares	from 2-5 hectares	from 5-8 hectares	more than 8 hectares
1952	1,962,589	595,231	768,655	318,238	280,465
1957	2,331,840	697,220	932,736	384,754	317,130

Statistical Godimjak, FNRJ, 1958)

rich peasants with incomes of more than 100,000 dinars, comprised nearly 40 per cent of the total management membership (Ekonomika Politika, FNRJ, R.A.D. Publishing House, 1957, pp. 220-221). Only one conclusion can be drawn from these facts: the rich sections in the countryside are acquiring increasing and decisive influence in the general cooperatives.

The agricultural cooperatives testify quite clearly to the general trend of Yugoslav agriculture, namely, the strengthening of the private owners, particularly the kulaks. Borba of December 17, 1958 states that "... there is a flow of public funds (granted to the general cooperatives by the State—V. S.) into private ownership." The explanation offered by Yugoslav economists is that the cooperatives use the fund unprofitably. The real reason is that the interlocking in the cooperatives of

Average yearly index of retail prices for agricultural products (1957=100)						
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	November 1958
62	79	76	94	98	100	115

(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

If 1952 is taken as 100, prices for farm products were, on the average, 85 per cent higher in November 1958 than in 1952.

Who gains from this spontaneous rise in prices? The burden falls heavily on the working class and working people generally in the towns. But the kulaks become richer. Thus there is an obvious tendency in Yugoslavia for capitalist elements in agriculture to increase.

Tendency For Workers' Living Standard To Fall

Socialist production relations ensure a steady improvement in the living standards of the working people. This is evident from the experience of the Socialist countries. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the conditions of the working people, and especially of the working class, have been subject to sharp changes

ing their land with other people's means of production or they are leasing it. Almost half the peasant farms have no draught animals. On this basis the most varied relationships arise in production within the private sector" (ibid, p. 122). Komar bypasses the fact that the "varied relationships" are, in fact, a form of the exploitation of the small peasants by the kulaks.

The following table testifies to the strengthening of the private sector:

	Number of Peasant Households				
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Statistical Godimjak, FNRJ, 1958)

This table shows an increase in the number of private households of all categories. There has been a substantial growth in the number of peasants owning small plots (an increase of 101,989). This means that the small and medium plots are still being parcelled up, while the bigger farms are being stabilised. The number of rich peasant and kulak households rose by 35,655, over a period of five years. The land held by them increased from 3,874,000 hectares to 4,254,000 (i.e. nearly 35 per cent of the arable land).

Privately-owned production, then, predominates in agriculture. The rising demand for agriculture produce, of which there is a shortage, has contributed to this. The peasants, mainly the kulak elements, are taking full advantage of the favourable market factors with the result that prices for farm produce are rising steadily.

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FOR UNITED WORKING CLASS ACTION

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,

On the occasion of May Day, 1959, the World Federation of Trade Unions sends you fraternal greetings and its message of peace and international solidarity.

In a few days' time you will assemble in your millions in all countries under the banner of the working class, in a powerful international demonstration of class solidarity. You will bring forward your common problems, unite in your struggles, your victories and your hopes, and firmly express your will for peace, for social progress, and for unity.

Together we shall welcome the peaceful victories gained this year by workers

in the Socialist countries, and the great perspectives opened up for all mankind by the implementation of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan for happiness, freedom and world peace.

We shall all celebrate once again the recent successes of the liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. We shall rejoice together at the progress achieved this year on the road to unity and fraternal cooperation between unions of different countries and affiliations.

Against the coalition of the monopolies which wish to bear the burden of the capitalist economic crisis and military expenditure, we shall raise the economic and social demands of the

workers of the capitalist countries in their struggle against unemployment and misery, for decent wages and trade union rights which are threatened on all sides.

Together we shall demand an end to nuclear experiments and the cold war which foster international tension and benefit only the armament monopolies.

Together we shall demand that all the questions under dispute, and above all the problem of a peace treaty with Germany and the Berlin question, be solved by negotiation and not by force, and that the fantastic amounts devoted to the atomic armaments race be used in the interests of the peoples, for action against unemploy-

ment, for higher wages and pensions.

WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,

Your unanimous determination to ensure peace and a relaxation of international tension, your common interests and demands in the face of the economic crisis of capitalism and the coalition of the monopolies render united action and international trade union cooperation of foremost importance.

Increase delegation exchanges, multiply agreements between organisations of all tendencies.

See that the First of May, 1959, marks a new stage on the road to united action by the workers and the trade unions of the world.

FOR wage increases, for the protection of the unemployed and the defence of trade union rights in the capitalist countries;

FOR peace and an end to nuclear tests and the cold war;

FOR a summit meeting and settlement by negotiation of the questions under dispute;

FOR the development of trade and cultural relations between all countries without distinction; FOR the recognition and the respect of the national independence of all peoples and an end to the colonialist war in Algeria.

LONG LIVE PEACE!

LONG LIVE UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!

LONG LIVE MAY DAY!

MAY DAY this year finds the working class in the advanced capitalist countries putting up a tough fight against the monopolies who are seeking to make serious inroads into their living standards, social gains and rights, into their trade union and democratic freedom.

"The scourge of mass unemployment short-time work, accompanied by hardships and sufferings for millions of workers and their families, is biting deeper in the capitalist world," pointed out the resolution "On the workers' growing struggles for economic and social demands," adopted at the recently held 19th Session of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The resolution continued:

"By speeding up industrial concentration, taking new measures to rationalise work and introducing greater mechanisation and automation, they are compelling wage-earners to work faster, are subjecting them to heavier exploitation and are effecting mass dismissals. As a result, the permanent army of jobless workers is growing, and, in the United States in particular, the relative resumption of production in recent months is incapable of raising the level of employment."

To take a few recent reports from some of the most advanced capitalist countries in this connection:

UNITED STATES

Seven thousand and five hundred-trade unionists converged on Washington in response to the AFL-CIO call, and in no uncertain terms demanded from Congress "Put America Back to Work."

President George Meany, who never wanted a Jobs March and when it was forced on him tried to sabotage and limit it, insisted that only delegates with national union credentials would be admitted to the large Auditorium where they gathered.

One thousand delegates with

Workers Are Resisting Monopoly Attacks In Capitalist World

Branch credentials were at the first excluded, but such protest developed that before long the doors were open to all. Typical of the additional thousands prevented from participation was the cancellation of four special trains from St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Chicago, because Meany wired them they were exceeding their quota.

Three trains, 14 coaches to a train, carried 1800 unemployed workers from Michigan. This was double the number "allowed" by the national leaders, and some 2200 others were turned away. From Chicago a 16-car special train jammed in 700, one third of whom were Negro workers and nearly 100 women. In foot-high letters the outside of the train carried slogans, among them "Eisenhower: You Act or We'll Be Back" and "Labour Wants the Shorter Work Week."

Walter Reuther, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, told the Conference of unemployment that it was America's great tragedy that at a time when tremendous requirements in the country remained unsatisfied, "the American economy limps along in low gear with millions of workers unemployed, with a sizeable percentage of our productive capacity standing idle."

Reuther's question was: "We as Americans ask a simple question, and we demand an answer. If we can have full employment and full production making weapons of war and destruction, then, pray tell us, why cannot we have full employment and full production making the good things of life for the people in peace time?"

Senator Douglas said: "Today we point out to the administration that there are still 4.4

million completely unemployed, plus the equivalent of another 1.1 million of these on involuntary part time." He added, "Investigations in West Virginia and Kentucky have shown that there are actually men, women and children who are slowly starving to death. This is not all confined to the hill and mining countries nor to those States alone.

"But all these facts have been met with indifference and disbelief by those who sit in the big offices of industry, finance and Government."

And why should they not "disbelieve" all these facts when, to quote Senator Douglas again: "Indeed, the doctrine is being quietly advanced that it is a good thing for business to keep large number of workers unemployed so that wages and prices can be kept down."

The U.S. working class, however, cannot live only for "a good thing for business."

Even Meany, Chairman of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee, said at a Press Conference (February 18) that if higher labour productivity, and technical improvements made it possible to produce more with less employment, the alternative was either to increase the purchasing power of all people or shoot ten per cent of the population.

STRIKES

An unemployment march on Washington was suggested by W. Reuther, AFL-CIO's Vice-President.

Last month saw a number of strike actions of the American workers.

Coal-miners numbering 3,100, members of the independent United Mine Work-

ers' Union, were on strike in Harlan county, Kentucky, for a wage increase.

Another 1,500 members of AFL-CIO struck work at the Bell Aircraft Corporation's eight plants at Buffalo (N.Y.), despite the objections of national officers of the union. The strikers were opposing the company's demand for temporary lay-offs without severance pay and reduction in the number of union shop stewards.

Strikes of Pressmen had suspended publication of four newspapers for nearly two weeks in Columbus (Ohio State), of one newspaper for three weeks in Saint Louis. The Pressmen were demanding a 12 per cent increase in wages, a collective bargaining agreement, a pension plan. They were opposing the company's proposal to dismiss any worker without advance notice for alleged reasons of economy.

BRITAIN

Britain's economy remains in doldrums. With the closing down of pits that started in February, the coal industry continues to deteriorate, while the workers are thrown on the streets.

The chemical industry, too, is now reported as running far below capacity, particularly so in some sections of heavy chemicals and plastics.

Other heavy industries, like ship-building, heavy engineering and steel, continue to be in difficulties, and, with all its optimism, the Financial Times could give no better hopes than to say: "They do not expect any improvement until the end of the year or later."

The first obvious result of this crisis is the growing unemployment.

Even according to the figures issued by the British Ministry of Labour in February, 666,700 employed were registered in Great Britain and Northern Ireland by January 12 this year—the highest unemployment figure since the end of the Second World War, and 95,000 more than the preceding month.

Besides the jobless, 122,000 people were working part-time in the manufacturing industry alone.

British trade union representatives and a number of experts believe that the official statistics did not give a full picture. They consider that unemployment is in fact about twice as much as stated by the Ministry of Labour.

Reports of strike actions of the British workers are pouring in.

According to British statistics, half a million people were on strike in Britain this year.

FRANCE

A new high tide in the struggle of the French working people was marked by the nationwide "Week of Struggle for Rights", which was observed throughout France, last month.

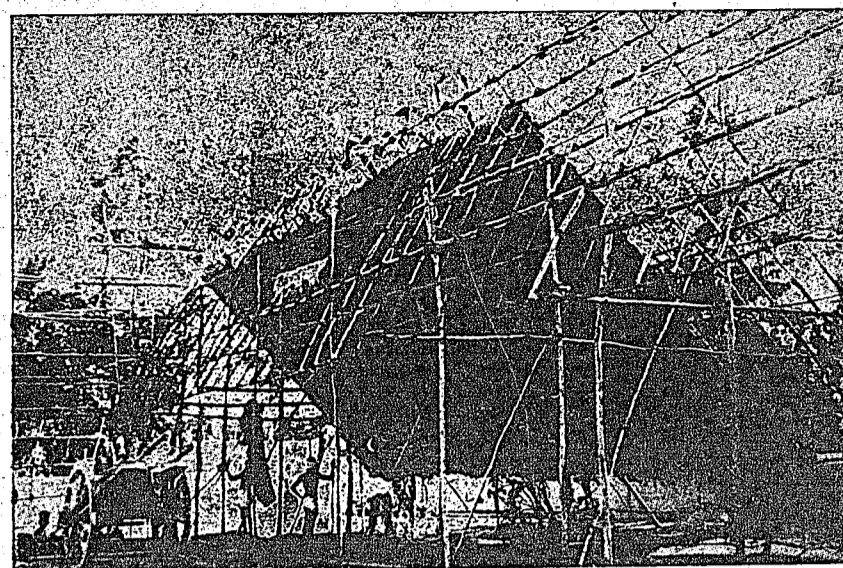
This massive struggle by the French workers came as a resolute protest against the financial and economic policies of the French Government, under which wages were frozen at a time when the prices of commodities continued to rise, thereby widening even further the already existing gap between the two.

Furthermore, the French Government had promulgated a new series of bills attacking workers' social benefits.

These measures, coupled with increasing unemployment due to the economic recession in France and the short-time operation of industry, have posed a grave threat to the livelihood and rights of the workers.

The French working class moved into action. And despite the fact that the leading groups of the Confederation of Catholic Workers and trade unions led by the Socialist Party have not given up their policy of splitting the working class, trade union-

* SEE FACING PAGE



Preparations are going on in a big way for the All-India Kisan Sabha Session in Mayuram. Picture above is of the pandal under construction to house the exhibition. Below is a picture of the 300 agricultural workers who have arrived in Mayuram to level the ground for the mass rally, etc.



Working Class Action In Capitalist Countries

* FROM FACING PAGE

ons of different trends went into action in 55 of France's 80 departments including Paris and 18 other big cities, because of the workers' support to the policy of concerted action advocated by the General Confederation of Labour and its initiative in this struggle.

Taking part in the struggle were: workers from the motor car, chemical, ship-building, electrical, aviation, metal, glass, paper-making, rubber tyre and goods processing industries; workers in arsenals and munition plants, railways, postal and telegraphic services, broadcasting and television stations, public utilities, hospitals and insurance agencies; public functionaries, workers in tailoring establishments and taxi drivers.

POLITICAL DEMANDS

In some regions, the economic struggle was combined with political demands, participants pointing to the deterioration in workers' living conditions as due to the continuation of the Algerian war, and raising the slogan that peace be restored in Algeria through negotiations. They

also demanded guarantees for freedom of trade union activity, for freedom of the Press.

The great significance of the French workers' "Week of Struggle for Rights" lies in the fact that increasingly concerted action by the working class is of decisive importance in promoting unity among the democratic forces in France in the political struggle to restore democracy.

WEST EUROPE

Powerful strike movements are developing in other West European countries, as well.

The recent heroic strike actions of the mine workers of Belgium have become known the world over. These strike actions of the Belgian workers, which began on January 28, are still continuing and their significance goes beyond the borders of Belgium. For, Belgium workers, through these actions are fighting against the disastrous consequences of the "Coal and Steel Community."

Workers have struck recently in the Ruhr (West Germany), Florence (Italy) and Fives-Lille (France). About seven million workers, office employees, farm labourers, share-

croppers were on strike in Italy. More than 200,000 strikers were registered in West Germany.

In France, Italy, Belgium, the strike movement has drawn together Communist, Socialist and Catholic workers; various trade union organisations are reaching agreement on the aims and tasks of their joint struggle.

With the increasing threat to their independence and economy, presented by imperialist schemes—above all by the U.S.—such as the "Common Market" and by the militarisation of West Germany, the working class in the West European countries is organising itself to fight it back, jointly.

Recently the French General Confederation of Labour and the Italian Confederation of Labour—the most representative trade union organisations of the two most important countries of the Common Market—called upon all central trade unions of the six Common Market countries, for a joint meeting with a view to examining the problems of employment and European enterprises.

The working class in the capitalist countries celebrates May Day this year with increasing signs of organisation, cohesion and militancy.

ALL SET FOR SESSION OF KISAN SABHA

FROM KRISHNAN DUBEY ★ ★ ★

MAYURAM: This is the town where the All-India Kisan Sabha Session opens next week and it presents a scene of hectic activities getting everything ready for a successful conference.

This town is in the Tanjore District of Tamilnad—the district which rightly deserves to hold the AIKS Session. It was in the Thenparai village in Manargud; taluk of this district that the kisan movement of Tamilnad was born. This village will have the honour of bringing the Kisan Sabha flag to be hoisted at the session. Five hundred peasants will bring the six feet by four flag in a procession covering a distance of nearly 60 miles.

It was in this district that the famous Thenparai struggle of 1942-44 was fought for increased wages for agricultural workers and a bigger share of the produce to the sharecroppers. About half a dozen firings and scores of lathi-charges and teargassing took place. Four people were killed by these police actions, and a peasant leader, Comrade Kunpu, was poisoned and killed inside Trichy jail. Again in 1947-50, this was the District which saw big kisan struggles. As a result of all these struggles, the Madras Government was forced to enact the Tenants' and Pannayals' Act guaranteeing the sharecroppers' share in the produce and increasing agricultural workers' wages.

The Kisan Sabha has a real mass base in Tanjore District—it has a membership of 11,000 here and Agricultural Workers' Union a membership of 20,000.

Right from the Deepavali festival in November, the District Kisan Sabha has been making preparations for the AIKS Session. Everywhere in the streets of Mayuram one can find posters, banners, etc., announcing it.

By April 10, collections for the Conference had reached the figure of Rs. 32,000. Tanjore alone contributing Rs. 27,500. Every village and most of the agricultural workers and sharecroppers have contributed towards the fund. Innumerable meetings have been held and are still being held to explain the importance of the session and make collections. Generally agricultural workers have contributed a day's harvest wage while sharecroppers have donated about 15 seers of paddy each.

Besides the cash collections, the Reception Committee has collected rice, vegetables, firewood, etc., worth about Rs. 8,000. The most significant aspect of the collection in Tanjore District is that they have come in small sums from agricultural workers and sharecroppers.

Three hundred agricultural workers and sharecroppers have arrived here from two neighbouring villages. They have come in their bullock carts with their spades and other implements to level the

ground for the mass rally and the pandal where the delegates' sessions will be held.

Two thousand volunteers are being trained throughout Tanjore District for the Conference. The villages where this training is going on have also provided the cash for the volunteers' uniforms—red shorts, white shirts and red scarfs.

The Convener of the Food Committee amazed me when he gave me details of the food arrangements that have been made. North Indian and South Indian food will be served to about 700 delegates, visitors and invitees. Special arrangements have been made for the fraternal delegates who are expected.

Visitors from Tamilnad and the large number of kisans who are expected for the final rally will not find it difficult to get their food—the Reception Committee is making provisions for food packets at very cheap rates.

A big school building and a hostel have been taken over by the Reception Committee which will comfortably lodge the 700 delegates and invitees.

An exhibition is also getting ready. Nearly 60 per cent of the stalls have already been booked. The Government of India and the Government of Madras have agreed to participate in the Exhibition. There will be exhibits on the agricultural practices in the USSR, Hungary, Netherlands, France, etc., as also photo-exhibits depicting the life and struggle of the Indian peasants.

The cultural programme has many popular attractions. Among those who will give performances are the well-known film artiste Sivaji Ganesan and the popular singer Vasantha Kumari. Also forty Russian, Polish, Rumanian, Czech and Dutch films dealing with agriculture, animal husbandry, etc., will be shown during the days of the session.



EDITOR: P. C. JOSHI
Printed by D. P. Shaha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Road, Delhi.

Phone: 25794
Telegraphic Address: MARKBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATE
INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.

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

THE PLOT IN TIBET

into dragging his corpse in a parade, and the shouting of reactionary slogans such as 'independence for Tibet' and 'withdraw the People's Liberation Army from Tibet.'

Even under these circumstances, the Central People's Government still adhered to a lenient attitude and made last-minute efforts. The former Tibet Local Government was requested to take upon itself the responsibility of stopping the rebellion.

"But the traitorous activities carried out by the former Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique increased. In every way they threatened Tibetan functionaries, teachers, students and officials working in the organisations of the Preparatory Committee to disavow it by a given

date to the so-called independent State of Tibet.

"They forced and tricked women to go in demonstrations, forced the Tibetan people, ecclesiastical and secular, to join the rebellion and coerced men between the ages of 18 and 60 to register. They sent weapons to certain temples and armed the lamas in them.

"Everywhere they plundered the people. They destroyed highways of importance to national defence, bridges, dams, pulled down poles and cut electric wires and set fire to the premises of the organisations of the Central People's Government in Tibet.

"They openly posted reactionary bulletins in the name of the 'enlarged people's conference of the independent State of Tibet', organised a 'headquar-

ters of volunteers for defending lamasism,' appointed a traitor military chief, and ordered the assembly of armed rebels in various parts of Tibet, surrounded the People's Liberation Army units and the organisation of the Central People's Government in Lhasa."

They mistook the Central People's Government's tolerance and patience as weakness, they stupidly thought that the rebellion of a handful of serf-owners had the chance of winning. On March 17, they "launched an all-out armed attack on the People's Liberation Army units in Lhasa and the organisations of the Central People's Government in Tibet.

"Hopes for a peaceful settlement were utterly shattered by the traitorous elements in Tibet." On March 20, "the Cen-

tral People's Government ordered the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet to chastise the traitorous clique in Tibet, to consolidate the unification of the motherland, safeguard national unity and thoroughly liberate the working people in Tibet."

"Considering that many people were forced, bullied or deceived in taking part in the rebellion," Chang Kuo-hua said, "in the course of putting down the rebellion, the Central People's Government is carrying out the policy of punishing without fail those guilty of major crimes, not punishing intimidated followers and rewarding those who perform meritorious services, and the policy of treating prisoners well."

"However," he stressed in conclusion, "the protection of the freedom of religious belief must not be confused with the safeguarding of the freedom of counter-revolutionary activities. The protection of the

freedom of religious belief absolutely must not be understood as enabling reactionaries to carry out armed rebellion and betray the motherland, plunder, maltreat and ravage the Tibetan people at will, and claim the privilege of violating laws and committing crimes under the guise of religion."

"Contrary to their desire, the armed rebellion carried out by the former Tibetan Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique in collusion with the imperialists, the Chiang Kuo-shih bands and the foreign reactionaries, did not result in splitting the motherland and putting Tibet back, but leads to the further consolidation of the unification of the motherland, to the extinction of the reactionary forces in Tibet and to the re-birth of the people of Tibet," Chang Kuo-hua added.

YUGOSLAVIA

In the last few years. The cost of living is going up steadily as a result of the rise in retail prices.

Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	April 1958
Index	69	78	78	91	97	100	133

(Indeks, No. 12, 1958)

Taking 1952 as 100, we observe that the cost of living in April 1958 rose by 63.7 per cent. The growth of nominal wages does not keep pace with the rise in the cost of living and this leads to a fall in real wages. The December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Trade Unions stated: "There has been no improvement in living standards in the past few years, and conditions have partially deteriorated..." (Jugoslovenski pregled, 1957, p. 23). Real wages rose in 1957, but in the first six months of 1958 "...the real incomes of wages and salary workers were again unfavourably affected by the higher cost of living which set in towards the end of 1957" (Press Service Telegraph Agency Bulletin, August 15, 1958). As Yugoslav statistics show, less basic foodstuffs (meat, flour, fats, milk and potatoes) are being consumed in workers' families. "...There is much talk of late about the real incomes of the workers lagging behind the plans for the contemplated growth... We, evidently, must expect a fall in the standard of living in the large towns..." (Ekonomiska Politika, September 27, 1958).

The chronic inflation has had a detrimental effect on the conditions of the urban population. The purchasing power of the dinar is falling steadily. The goods which cost the Yugoslav consumer 1,000 dinars in 1954 cost 1,222 dinars in 1957. (Statisticki kalendar, FNRJ, 1958).

An article by S. Kavcic, published in Borba on November 29, 1958 showed that economic and political difficulties are on the increase. "A detailed study of the various misunderstandings, disputes and conflicts at separate enterprises show that they stem from the following causes: FIRST, the impact of the general conditions, difficulties and

material position of the workers; SECONDLY, the influence of bureaucratic elements and bureaucratic

activity; THIRDLY, the influence of anarcho-syndicalist and petty-bourgeois parasitic and profiteering elements."

The latter is of particular importance. Inasmuch as market prices are built up spontaneously and depend on supply and demand, and in view of the fact that agriculture, owing to its low level, cannot satisfy the urban needs for foodstuffs, profiteering tendencies are growing among the kulaks and the rich sections in the countryside. This is the picture of Yugoslav life.

Every country, especially a country as economically backward as Yugoslavia, meets with obstacles on its road to Socialism, obstacles which must be overcome on the basis of Socialist forms of economy — by a policy of industrialisation and Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. This is the only policy that can ensure better conditions for the people.

Dependence On Capitalist Countries

The economy of the Socialist countries develops by utilising internal resources and through economic cooperation in the Socialist world system. This cooperation embodies the principles of proletarian internationalism, it creates possibilities for solving the economic problems of the separate countries, for eliminating the economic disparities.

Yugoslavia, however, has taken another road. She has rejected fraternal cooperation with the Socialist countries and is becoming increasingly dependent upon the capitalist countries. The development of her industry, trade and agriculture depends to an ever-increasing degree upon credits from

capitalist States, chiefly the USA. Yugoslavia's foreign debt is piling up from year to year.

According to a United Press International report from Washington on January 8, 1958, U.S. military and economic aid to Yugoslavia over the past eight years has amounted to about \$1,800 million. Of this sum a little over \$900 million was economic aid; military aid is estimated at about \$700 million. Yugoslavia owes 77 per cent of her total debt to capitalist countries.

"The question arises: why is it that the U.S. Government, which so persistently places obstacles in the way of developing normal trade with the USSR and other Socialist countries, not only trades with Yugoslavia but readily grants her credits and so-called 'free aid'?" Is it not obvious that international capital is vitally interested in Yugoslavia continuing her disruptive policy in relation to the Socialist countries and the international working class movement? It is only because the Yugoslav leaders have assumed this shameful role that the dollars, pounds and marks are pouring into the country. The American monopolies are feeding "Yugoslav Socialism."

The dependence of the Yugoslav industry on the capitalist countries is strikingly borne out by the following facts. A series of factories in Yugoslavia is producing goods under licences granted by capitalist firms. Many industries import most of the parts they need. In the production of motor cycles, for example, only 17 per cent to 20 per cent of the parts are manufactured in the country, and only 22 per cent of the parts needed for the manufacture of the "Flat 600" motor car are home-produced (Ekonomiska Politika, January 1, 1958).

As the Yugoslav Press ironically notes, these goods have been nicknamed the three "Fs"—"farben" (varnishing), factory trade mark and "faktura" in other words, all that is done in the Yugoslav factories is to varnish them, brand them with the trade mark and make out the invoice. If the goods are subject to any constructional change in the capitalist plant, production in Yugoslavia has to be reor-

ganised. As Ekonomiska politika of March 1, 1958 noted, "the currency allocated often cannot be used as the foreign suppliers do not wish to sell us the parts we need.... They sell what they find most profitable."

The orientation of Yugoslav economy on the capitalist countries causes other difficulties. The symptoms of the economic crisis in the West are beginning to make themselves felt in Yugoslav foreign

Year	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Deficit	62,797	29,706	55,312	45,207	79,861

(Statisticki kalendar FNRJ, 1958)

* Including deliveries of agricultural products from the USA.

trade. Owing to the unsatisfactory structure of her exports, Yugoslavia is obliged to sell her goods on capitalist markets at reduced prices and this makes matters still worse for her.

The abolition of State monopoly of foreign trade has resulted in a substantial increase since 1950 in the number of enterprises independently engaged in foreign trade; there are now over 300

WHITHER YUGOSLAV ECONOMY ?

A study of the present situation and the trends in Yugoslav economy shows clearly that Yugoslav theory and practice add up to revision of the Marxist-Leninist principles of Socialist construction. And this revision is yielding bitter fruits. The economy is experiencing hard times. And yet the LCY leadership, having no desire to abandon their revisionist concepts, are unable to take effective measures to put the economy on a sound footing.

The accumulation of economic difficulties has upset their revisionist concepts. The key positions held by the State in the economy are being strengthened although this runs counter to the revisionist theory of abolishing centralised management of industry. These, however, are but one-sided half-measures, because in tackling the economic problems they take as their starting point the need

FROM CENTRE PAGES

of these organisations. In 1957, some 58 per cent of the exports and 67 per cent of the imports fell to the share of twenty-five foreign trade enterprises. Ekonomiska politika (April 5, 1958) reported that some Yugoslav enterprises compete on the world market. The large number of foreign trade organisations and their rivalry is injuring the national economy. The end result is a constant adverse trade balance, with the deficit showing a tendency to increase.

Year	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Deficit	62,797	29,706	55,312	45,207	79,861

(Statisticki kalendar FNRJ, 1958)

* Including deliveries of agricultural products from the USA.

On December 31, 1958, Borba commented that the country had not succeeded in reducing this deficit in 1958, although this was one of the major aims of the year. The deficit for nine months of 1958 amounted to 71,000 million dinars. During this period goods to the value of 35,049 million dinars were imported from the United States, while exports to the USA amounted to a mere 6,934 million dinars.

to preserve the system of group ownership in industry and to safeguard the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. A pronounced strengthening of State centralised management and control has been observed of late. Under stress of the economic difficulties the State has been obliged to abandon the principle of free-price formation in accordance with supply and demand, a principle lauded as one of the major advantages of the Yugoslav economy. We now see the Yugoslav leaders having recourse of State "administrative" intervention—methods which they formally eschewed and condemned. Last year, for example, State price control was introduced. If an enterprise wishes to raise prices, it must submit reasoned proposals to the administrative bodies, whose decision is binding. Even this measure, how-

* SEE FACING PAGE

SCRAP-BOOK

PLENTY OF DOLLARS

I AM opening my Scrap-Book after a very long time, because it is now bulging with a very heavy load. For, you will surely concede that with the Dalai Lama's arrival, my collection of scraps has to be impressive. But I dare not show all that to you, lest Pandit Nehru rebuke me for having "ceased to be Indian." I wish he could have relaxed a little and that the cares of office had not barred him from enjoying some of the oddities accompanying the Lama caravan.

But perhaps more fascinating than the Dalai Lama's party is the troupe of Yankee newsmen that has flown out here to cover it. Can you guess how much they must be spending on the assignment? Even your wildest guess, I am sure, will be far below the mark.

For instance, two from one office have already spent over Rs. 40 thousand—and this does not include their passage from America. In one case, Rs. 13 thousand was spent on a chartered-plane trip to Tezpur. I think the Finance Ministry is pleased, for these sensation-mongers do earn for us a lot of much-needed dollars.

COOKED-UP

YOU must be thinking that these news-hawks must be sending terrific stories, missing not even the minutest details in the Dalai Lama's menu. But while the Dalai Lama trudged all

the way to the Foothills, and then jeoped down to Tezpur to take the train to Dehra Dun and then again motored up to Mussorie, TIME newsmagazine wrote in its issue of April 20: "When the Dalai Lama this week finally made his way through the jungles of Assam to the airfield at Bomdila, he was welcomed by officials of the Indian Government before being flown to a mountain resort at a safe distance from the Tibetan border—so as not give offence to Red China."

But don't blame the TIME man in India. He just relied too much on the spate of speculations on the Dalai Lama's movements, and could not afford to wait for the thing to happen before writing on it. A much bigger howler was served by an American news-agency which released a radio-photo of the Dalai Lama arriving at Tezpur. You may not believe me, thinking it to be a Red slander of the Free-World's Free-Press, but surely you can't question the Statesman on the point:

"From the print, a half-tone was made and all was ready for Page One. Then came the doubts. Was the young man in glasses the Dalai Lama? A few minutes before going to press, it was decided he was not. So out came the picture, leaving a sad gap in the page. Not all newspapers, we noted with regret, were so scrupulous."

So, next time, you see a picture of the venerable Lama make sure it is not manufactured at an Ame-

rican news-bureau. It is better to be forewarned, because at Siliguri, a colleague of mine found Yankee correspondents trying to arrange for getting photos of Red atrocities inside Tibet, and, I hear, my old friend George Patterson helping them in this mission.

HIMALAYAN CANDOUR

YOU must have read with absorbing interest the well-drafted statement made at Tezpur on behalf of the Dalai Lama. And who are the blessed ones who read out the statement? Mr. Rimshi Surkhang Lhawang Tobgey read it out in Tibetan, and Mr. Jigme Pandatsang did the English translation.

Mr. Rimshi is described as "a junior officer in the Dalai Lama's party." A friend of mine was impolite enough to ask him about his antecedents, and with Him-alayan candour, Mr. Rimshi disclosed that he had come out to India with the Dalai Lama in 1956 and had not since returned to Tibet. Like Pandatsang, he seems to

have been living at Kalimpong. My friend who has a flair for unusual research, asked a high-up in the GOI who was looking after Pressmen, and he, too, said that these two chaps had not come with the Dalai Lama—"perhaps they have come from Kalimpong."

Now, I can appreciate better the Prime Minister's remarks in Rajya Sabha on April 20: "The Dalai Lama is a responsible person acting in a responsible way. But there are so many others. We do not know how they might function."

Perhaps, we shall hear more about these "so many others" in the weeks to come.

NOTEWORTHY INITIATIVE

BUT if the Dalai Lama's party from Lhasa did not provide anybody to do these petty jobs of addressing the public, surely, our hospitality enjoins such tasks on us. In this respect, the Chief Secretary of the U.P. Government, Sri Govind Narayan, showed noteworthy initiative, no matter whether it conforms to protocol. So emotionally overwhelmed he must have been in the presence of the God-King at Charbagh station at Lucknow, that he himself volunteered to render the Dalai Lama's speech in Hindi.

He warned Mao Tse-tung who is "very fond of saying that East wind will prevail over West wind. We, however, want him to know that the Wind of South Asia shall not be put out by the Wind of East Asia!" Very good. But what about the Windbags?!!

Govindji was not the only one to have been emotionally upset by the Dalai Lama's halt at Lucknow. This is what the Times of India reported:

"The Citizens' Reception Committee which had appealed to the people to muster strong at Charbagh to pay homage to the Dalai Lama was not represented at the station. The Committee, it seemed, could not decide till the Dalai Lama's arrival here as to who out of its sponsors should receive the distinguished guest on behalf of the Committee."

I am sure if Asoka Mehta had been at Lucknow, he would not have allowed such a thing to happen, weakening the solidarity on Tibet. If you had heard him speaking at Sapru House in New Delhi last week, you would have been overpowered by his thunder against China rather than compassion for Tibet: "China talks of paper tigers. America may be a paper tiger, but we are, no paper tigers!"

Very good. But what about the Windbags?!!

April 22

—DIARIST

YUGOSLAVIA

* FROM FACING PAGE

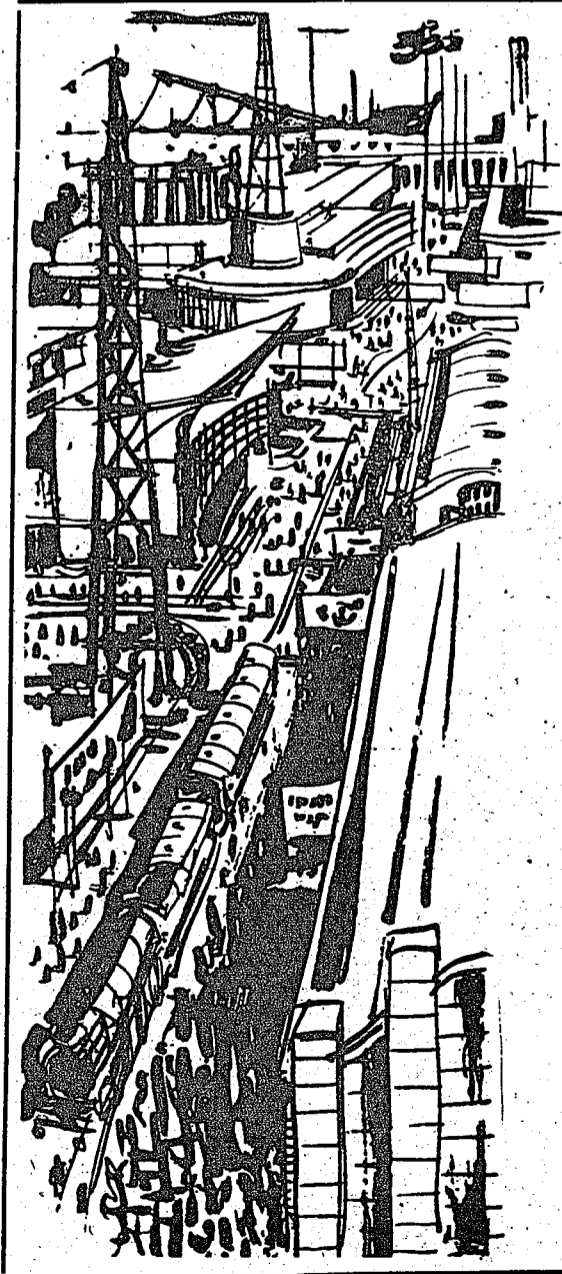
ever failed to halt the further price advance inasmuch as other conditions remained the same. In November 1958, prices for agricultural products were on the average 15 per cent higher than in 1957). Prices for manufactured goods too, are rising. To put a stop to this, fines (of up to three million dinars) were introduced in Belgrade, for instance, and six-month prison sentences imposed for illegal price raising. But these administrative and bureaucratic measures failed to have the desired effect for the entire system of economic organisation is in contradiction to planned State management and, to a considerable degree, is subordinated to spontaneous market regulation.

Consequently, the steps taken by the Yugoslav Government have not removed the causes of the economic difficulties, nor have they prevented the emergence of non-Socialist tendencies in the economy. Quite the reverse, these tendencies are growing.

The basic question of the transition from capitalism to Socialism—"who will win?"—is being tackled in Yugoslavia

from a revisionist standpoint and this standpoint, as the irrefutable facts attest, contributes to strengthening the private-capitalist sector, to the detriment, naturally, of the Socialist sector. We should not forget the Leninist thesis that during the transition there exist both the possibility for building Socialism and the danger of capitalist restoration. Capitalist tendencies are growing in Yugoslavia; they are expressed in the growth of profiteering and rivalry, in anarchy in allocating public funds, in the growth of unearned income among some groups of the population, and in the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside. These factors help to strengthen the private sector, help the growth of the kulaks, lower the living standards of the working class, and lead to increased dependence on the capitalist world.

The views and policies of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia jeopardise the gains won by the people's revolution and Socialism in Yugoslavia. Unless Yugoslavia takes the genuinely Socialist way of development, the restoration of capitalist relationship will not only be a real threat, they will become the reality.



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Spotlight On Economic Policies

THEY RUN COUNTER TO CLAIMS OF BUILDING A SOCIALIST PATTERN

THE Lok Sabha last week (ending April 18) discussed the demands for grants for two important Ministries—Commerce and Industry and Finance—apart from focusing attention on cooperative farming in the debate on the demands for grants for the Ministry of Community Development.

Once again Sri Masani returned to his attack on cooperative farming and once again he was completely isolated. A powerful plea in favour of cooperative farming was made by Deputy Minister for Planning L. N. Misra and some Congress M.P.s. Communist member P. K. Vasudevan Nair supporting it made it clear that cooperative farming could not succeed without effective land reforms.

The debate on the Commerce and Industry Ministry was useful in highlighting many features of Government's economic policy which run counter to all claims of building a Socialist pattern of society. Sri Rajeshwar Patel for instance brought out the folly of depending on the Birlas' Hindustan Motors which after 17 years of existence has as yet not been able to produce a real and completely Indian automobile.

Communist member S. V. Parulekar speaking on the demands for grants for the Commerce and Industry Ministry confined himself to the Government's deal with the

U.S. firm of Merckes for the manufacture of streptomycin and made a thorough exposure of the deal. Minister Manubhai Shah had hardly any case to make out. It was reflective of the Minister's helplessness that he could ask the House for nothing better than to wait till streptomycin was produced both at Pimpri and under the Soviet drug project and then make a comparison.

Concern was voiced by many members over the persistent fall in the country's exports but it was obvious that the Government had no particular remedy to offer.

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri appeared to be responsive to widespread public criticism regarding the working of the Managing Agency system—a point which many of its critics raised at the time of the enactment of the Companies Act in the last Parliament and announced reduction in the Managing Agencies' commission.

The debate on the Finance

Ministry grants brought out quite a few important points.

Communist M.P. Prabhakar effectively focused attention on the lack of planning in the budgeting for different Ministries—a complaint which touches the very structure of the present administrative apparatus. He was sharp in condemning the tax-dodgers, among whom are quite a few of the pillars of present-day society. He charged income-tax officials of accepting assesses' hospitality and worse. Despite the Finance Minister's interruptions he made a convincing case.

He further demanded nationalisation of general insurance saying it will be a source of foreign exchange. "It is high time that it is done... Unless they are allowed to continue their malpractices they will close down."

The Socialist Party member, Sri Brijraj Singh, too, made a powerful case for the nationalisation of banks, though it seemed to make little impression on the Finance Minister.

The question hour during the week did not raise any important issue. But over the question of high-ups in the LIC drawing high salary, Sri Feroze Gandhi, with his care for details, brought out that the first seven officers had managed to get their salaries doubled after nationalisation—not a very commendable move when one takes into account the hardships of the lower-income group employees in the same enterprise.

The Government's determination to collect betterment levy with all its exacting conditions was stressed in answer to a question during the week. It was revealed that the Punjab Government after all the popular unrest over the issue, had not made any move to get the Centre to modify the terms of the levy.

Two important reports were released during the week. The Transport Reorganisation Committee has made a thorough job of unravelling all the intricacies of the problem. Its suggestion for a Transport Ministry in every State seemed to get a lot of support. The Estimates Committee Report on the National Savings Organisation brought out once again the recurring shortfall in small savings collections. This is one of the headaches which the planners of the Third Plan will have to take into account.

W. BENGAL COMMUNISTS CONFERENCE

* FROM PAGE 6

The new Council brings together old and new cadres and leading comrades from all Districts as well as from different fronts.

The Conference also elected a State Control Commission of five members.

50,000-Strong Rally

The fifty-thousand strong mass rally at the Maidan on April 13 was an unmistakable demonstration of the people's eagerness to know about the decisions of the Party Conference.

Comrade Jyoti Basu presided over the rally and explained at length the decisions taken by the Conference. He also announced the names of the comrades elected to the State Council.

In a lengthy speech, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta analysed the implications of the U.S.-Pak Pact. He sharply exposed the disruptive policies of some of the Left parties, especially of the PSP leadership, and explained how Left unity had to be built up.

Comrade Mohmed Ismail also addressed the gathering. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh could not speak due to sudden indisposition.

The newly-constituted State Council met on April 14 and elected an Executive of 25 with the following comrades: Jyoti Basu, Muzaffar Ahmed, Ranen Sen, Niranjan Sen Gupta, Promode Das Gupta, Harekrishna Konar, Saroj Mukherjee, Indrajit Gupta, Samar Mukherjee, Jolly Kaul, Manikuntala Sen, Khagen Roy Chowdhury, Niren Ghosh, Monoranjan Roy, Sitaram Singh, Anantendu Mukherjee, Benoy Chowdhury, Ratanlal Brahma, Bejoy Modak, Mohmed Ismail, Abdullah Rasool, Kanai Bhowmic, Sushil Roy Chowdhury, Abul Hussain and Biren Roy.

Comrade Jyoti Basu was unanimously elected Secretary of the State Council.

A Secretariat of nine was elected with the following comrades as members: Jyoti Basu, Muzaffar Ahmed, Ranen Sen, Niranjan Sen Gupta, Promode Das Gupta, Harekrishna Konar, Saroj Mukherjee, Indrajit Gupta and Samar Mukherjee.

Inside Pakistan

* FROM PAGE 7

for the role of the spearhead in the revived American plan of making Asians fight Asians. Thus the latest commitments undertaken by Pakistan in the SEATO set-up, besides promising disaster for itself portend serious trouble for India.

Their Effrontery

AFTER all the increase in border raids and the shooting down of the unarmed Indian plane and the ever-rising claims to Indian territory, Pakistan's military rulers have found the moment opportune to advance their particular type of olive branch to India. Both the President of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister have called for India and Pakistan settling their differences and coming together—under the American umbrella.

The Pakistani Foreign Minister does not find it necessary to hide or camouflage in the least his great satisfaction and jubilation over reactions in India to the Tibetan developments. These, he thinks, provide common ground. The President of Pakistan is careful not to mention such things so crudely. In an exclusive interview to a notoriously pro-American weekly of Bombay, he calls for "joint defence." ("Why couldn't we have some sort of agreement to defend this continent (sic) jointly?")

Talking to Pressmen in

Hyderabad (Sind) on April 16 he asks India to lean neither on the West nor the East but to lean on Pakistan.

The sheer effrontery of these gentlemen who have been emboldened to talk like this should alarm all honest and patriotic people. Those who suppressed their own people and imposed a military dictatorship on them for the crime of demanding withdrawal from military pacts and adoption of an independent foreign policy today have the cheek to suggest to India that it surrender its independent policy and join with them in another American-sponsored military pact!

Gag On The Press

A DIRECT outcome of the SEATO meeting and its decision to intensify the fight against "subversion" is the taking over by the Pakistan Government of the popular and progressive daily Pakistan Times and allied papers. Manzur Qadir had said that the greatest threat to Pakistan was internal subversion. By attacking Pakistan Times he has shown that this threat to his regime came first of all from an honest and independent Press which although compelled to observe all the regulations imposed by Martial Law never sold itself to the hangmen of democracy.

Only a few days ago the International Press Institute of Zurich had published a report declaring the Press of the

Socialist countries to be chained and supervised. Let us hope those gentlemen and their like elsewhere will now do something about the complete gagging of the Press in this part of their own Free World.

Champions Of Algeria Or Friends Of France?

PAKISTAN'S most rabid reactionaries and the official Press had gone all-out to put a show of great welcome for the Algerian Prime Minister. His visit gave them an opportunity to come out as champions of the anti-colonial struggle and of Islamic brotherhood. There was no question of any concrete results from the visit and Ferhat Abbas after a two-day halt in Karachi proceeded to Cairo.

The only fly in the ointment which in that country of total black-out nobody could, however, mention was the fact that even as Abbas was coming to Karachi, Manzur Qadir was sitting in Wellington in the same conference hall as French imperialism's representatives on the SEATO Council planning together with them the fight against the "internal subversion" which covers the Algerian struggle.

With all their pretended love for Algeria the Pakistani ruling circles never for a moment suggested that along with the questions of Kashmir and Tibet they would also like to raise the question of Algeria at the SEATO Council.

FROM PAGE 3

ter of leading figures in the Congress and its Government. The period immediately following the withdrawal of the satyagraha is characterised by a display of deceitful, perfidious and provocative conduct on the part of Chief Minister Kairon and his right-hand man Darbara Singh, State Congress President.

Forgetting his public announcement on the floor of the Assembly on March 20, Pratap Singh Kairon brazenly goes on declaring that he gave no assurances. He refuses to call the Kisan Sabha leaders for discussion and consultation on the issue. He poses himself as a "victor" who would have no truck with the "vanquished." Through a majority of the satyagrahis have been released, about 500 of them are still in jail or are being prosecuted. Many kisans have been arrested after the withdrawal of the satyagraha.

Villages which have been victims of police firing and excesses are being constantly harassed by the police. Congress hirelings in the villages are being instigated to attack Kisan Sabha workers and to implicate them in false cases. Fines imposed on satyagrahis have not yet been remitted and assets realised and properties attached have not yet been returned.

Both Kairon and Darbara Singh appear to have lost their balance of mind, the fate of proud men when utterly isolated from the masses. They accuse the Communists of political motive, but in reality they themselves are approaching the economic issue from a narrow selfish, parochial political angle. They are making blindly anti-Communist provocative speeches. For instance, said Pratap Singh Kairon at a meeting in village Bilga, Jullundur district, in the constituency of Darbara Singh on April 9: "The Communists started the movement as a political stunt to bring about the political death of Darbara Singh. But he should not lose heart. I shall not let him be defeated. You should put courage in him by promising to vote for him at the next elections. They wanted to deprive me also of

Forcible Realisation

But the most heinous part of the sordid story of Government conduct is that district officials have been instructed to make forcible realisation of advance payment of levy, especially in Kisan Sabha strongholds. Revenue authorities, aided by hundreds of armed police, have raided villages, beaten up kisan men and women, driven off their cattle and forcibly realised advance payment.

Ghal Kalan, Jhandiana and Dune Kot in Ferozpur district;

AFTERMATH OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF PUNJAB SATYAGRAHA

my gaddi but I have roots deep down in the earth."

Provocative Remarks

One might have laughed off this puerile fulmination of a Chief Minister, but for the fact that he made highly provocative and criminally dangerous remarks. "If Communist leaders had been killed by bullets, I would have been very glad. After some days, I shall not let a single Communist be seen here."

But these perfidious, provocative and repressive measures of the State Government are only adding to the further isolation of the ruling clique, making the peasants still more indignant and determined to defend the gains of their movement, to fight back repression and provocations and consolidate their unity and organisation to achieve further gains.

The satyagrahis released from jail have been enthusiastically received and honoured by peasants and have been awarded MAN PATRAS at public rallies. Numerous public meetings and rallies have been held all over the State despite the onset of the harvesting season. Big demonstrations reminiscent of scenes of February last, have been held at Sangrur, Barnala, Ferozpur and Moga.

Big Shahidi Conferences have been held at Narur, Aitiana and Kandala in commemoration of the glorious sacrifices of martyrs. Thousands of rupees have already been raised to erect suitable memorials.

Defence committees have been set up and funds are being collected for defence of peasants involved in cases of alleged violence.

Peasant squads have been organised to aid the families of those in jail in harvesting the rabi crop.

The peasants are peacefully resisting forcible realisation of advance payment of levy. Let Kairon and Darbara Singh take off their blinkers and see the concrete reality of the situation—the temper and mood of the masses. They shall not permit them to go back on their word.

The movement of the wide peasant mass continues, though its satyagraha form has been suspended. The demands of the movement are—Release all prisoners and withdraw all cases.

Cancel fines and restore fines realised and properties attached.

Hold judicial enquiries through a High Court Judge into Aitiana, Narur and Dhaliwal firings and other police excesses. Punish the guilty officials.

Immediately call Kisan Sabha leaders for negotiations for substantial reduction in the levy and examine the case as to whether the project is productive.

Postpone realisation of advance payment till final settlement.

While pressing for immediate substantial reduction in the quantum of levy below Rs. 33 crores, the kisan movement will continue to fight for its goal of declaring the Bhakra Project productive and end to the betterment levy.

Notable Gains

The kisan movement has achieved notable gains already. These gains should not be forgotten in the heat and fury of Government provocation. Else we shall not be able to consolidate and advance the movement. These gains are:

The levy quantum has been reduced from Rs. 82 crores to Rs. 33 crores without interest.

The Government stands publicly committed on the floor of the Assembly to further reduction.

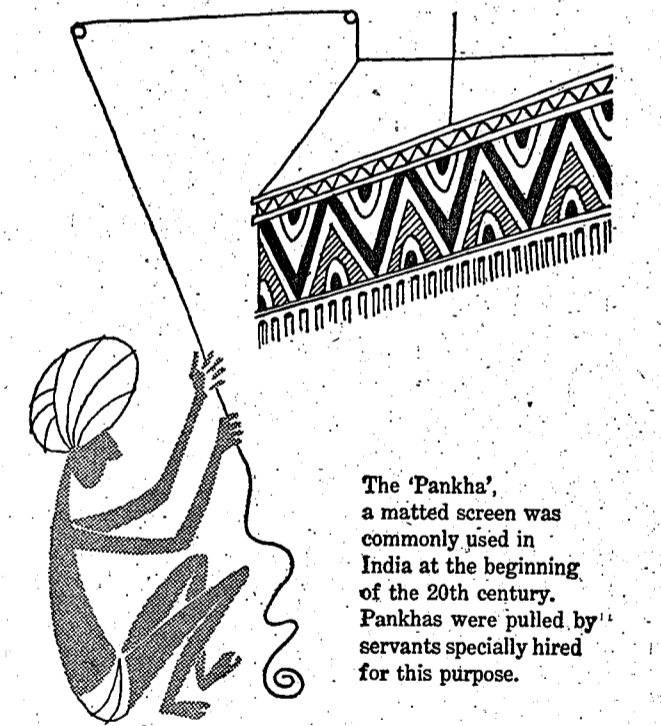
The levy will be assessed only on matured areas and not on cultured commanded area as originally proposed in the Act.

Fodder crops, that is one-tenth of the area irrigated, will be exempted from the levy.

Now the question is asked: Will the satyagraha be revived after the harvest season?

The answer to this question depends on the attitude of the Government. Will Kairon live up to his promises and peacefully settle the question to the satisfaction of the peasants? The Kisan Sabha leaders have made it clear that if the kisans are not satisfied with the solution of the problem by the Government by June next, they will stand by their side in their trials and tribulations.

FACTS ABOUT FANS



The 'Pankha', a matted screen was commonly used in India at the beginning of the 20th century. Pankhas were pulled by servants specially hired for this purpose.

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ON MAY DAY THIS YEAR

★ by **RAJ BAHADUR GOUB**

On the occasion of the May Day millions of the workers in all countries will once again rally to powerfully demonstrate their international class solidarity, they will together welcome their achievements and demonstrate their will to further extend their united action for further victories.

THE achievements of the Socialist world—the Soviet Seven-Year Plan making a giant stride in the Soviet people's advance to Communism, China's leap forward, the miracles of peaceful construction in all the Socialist countries—these are achievements of a working class emancipated from capitalism, achievements dreadful for world capitalism because in them it sees its own inevitable doom.

Fresh successes have been registered by the national liberation struggles of the heroic peoples of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, new independent States have emerged in Africa, Iraq has thrown off the chains of the Baghdad Pact. The colonial reserves of imperialism in the Afro-Asian and Latin American world are crumbling.

Imperialism is on the rout under the blows of national liberation. Capitalism is losing the race against Socialism.

Nevertheless, world capitalism in crisis is desperately trying to hold on through military pacts and preparations for war, through bolstering up military dictatorships and propping up quisling regimes.

At home, the imperialist monopolies are attacking the wage-earners and inflicting unemployment and misery on them, abroad they are frantically trying to make inroads into the economies of other countries and keep the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries within their economic orbit in order to exploit their resources for super profits.

On this May Day, the working people all over the world will pledge greater united action to win wage increases, to protect the unemployed and defend trade union rights in the capitalist countries; for peace and an end to nuclear tests and the cold war; for national independence of all peoples and an end to the colonial wars now raging.

Big Struggles Fought

In our own country, millions of our working people will celebrate great achievements of united action since the last May Day and pledge determined action to solve the problems facing the working class and the country.

● Last year saw the great struggle of the steel workers of Jamshedpur against the mighty Tatas for wage demands and trade union rights.

● The heroic workers of Bombay have gone into magnificent united action against closures and unemployment and have consolidated this unity in the powerful United Textile Union in this industrial capital of our country.

● The tramway workers of Calcutta and the jute and cotton textile workers of that city have achieved new records of resolute united action against foreign bosses and Indian Big Business houses.

● The plantation workers of Assam and Terai in West Bengal and of the high ranges of Kerala have put up stout united resistance against the foreign planters and their refusal to grant wage rise and bonus.

● The sugar workers and sugar-cane growers, specially of U.P., have fought big united battles for better living and wage standards against the loot of the sugar bosses.

● The port and dock workers have fought a magnificent strike battle under the banner of their united trade federation against the Union Government's refusal to implement its own promises and the recommendations of its own committees.

● During this same period the workers in the mica and manganese mines defended themselves against closures and retrenchment and for social security and for proper wage standards.

Huge united mobilisations of working people have been recorded against high food prices and food scarcity, specially in U.P. and West Ben-

armed forces were moved into Jamshedpur in the name of protecting Tata's plants and paraded the streets as if normal forces of law and order had exhausted their might. The army was again used during the dock strike. Police have been used to protect blacklegs and break strikes and workers' heads.

The workers have mobilised in their thousands to fight the disruptive, discriminatory and openly pro-employer policies of Bombay's Labour Minister. The Labour Minister of Madhya Pradesh wants to closely follow his notorious Bombay brother. And the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh openly denounces the idea of one union in one industry and personally guides disruption. And we know how India's Deputy Labour Minister, Sri Abid Ali, viciously utilises his official position to disrupt unity.

Contrast - In Kerala

India's working class sees the contrast to this in the situation obtaining in Kerala, even though all the Governments act within the limitations of the same social order and the framework of the same constitution.

In Kerala, a Government

for the suspension period.

And the Kerala Government has done yeoman service to the entire working people and democratic masses of our country by appointing a commission to suggest revision of the Police Code itself and lay down the norms of behaviour for the police in a democratic set-up.

AITUC—Premier Organisation

India's working class has discharged itself with credit in consolidating its gains and in fighting back the offensive of the capitalists and the class policies of the Government. It has registered new advances in united action. The growth of the All-India Trade Union Congress into the premier national trade union organisation of our country is an expression of this growth of unity, militancy and social consciousness of the working masses.

However, we find that while there is growing unity and desire for united action among the ranks of the workers, there is an intensified splitting offensive from the top from the leadership of the INTUC and a section of the dominant leadership of the HMS.

The leadership of the INTUC

and against even the existing social rights and security won by the workers in our country.

Big business houses in our own country, who are grabbing and who desire to more increasingly grab the fruits of India's construction efforts at the cost of people's money and people's labour, have shamelessly lined up behind them.

In contrast to these attempts to weaken our economy, we have been receiving aid from the Socialist countries—the Bhilai steel plant, the electric power plant for Neivelli, the mining machine manufacturing plant, the forge and foundry, electrical goods manufacturing plant and, above all, oil-drilling and refining equipment—all this is meant precisely to help us build our public sector our heavy industry. The Indian people see who their friends are, who their foes.

On this historical occasion India's workers, along with our great democratic people, will note with anxiety the serious threats that have arisen to the very security of our country and the peaceful growth of our democracy from the U.S.-Pak Pact, the further intensification of the despicable role of SEATO, etc.

These very imperialists and certain elements in our own country are trying to utilise the

India's Working Class Will Pledge To Intensify United Action In Defence Of Class And Country

gal. The great peasantry of the Punjab moved into a magnificent action in this period against the Punjab Government's efforts to rob them in the name of betterment levy, they braved brute repression reminiscent of the worst days of British rule.

In these heroic united struggles many worker martyrs have laid down their lives. India's working class paying homage to their memory will pledge on this May Day to carry forward their work in defence of working class interests.

Through these united actions, the working class in many sectors of our industry has secured wage increases overcoming the resistance of the employers. The wage-increase in Jamshedpur, the engineering award in Calcutta, the electricity workers' gains in Madras, the appointment of the Sugar Wage Board and the award of interim relief are some instances of the achievements of the workers.

Policies Of Congress Govts.

However, the employers as a class are developing increasing resistance to wage demands, are attacking the quantum of bonus and have unleashed a propaganda offensive against wage-increase and progressive social and labour legislation.

The various Congress Governments have done all they could to defend the interests of the employers. We have seen to our bitter experience how in an unprecedented manner, India's

belonging to the workers refuses to throw the weight of the State machinery in favour of the employers, but brings about amicable settlements on the basis of conceding the just demands of the workers.

While bonus is being attacked everywhere, Kerala has to its credit the largest number of tripartite industrial agreements on bonus laying down that part of bonus is deferred wage and should accrue to the workers under all conditions and the rest is share in profit and should relate to the quantum of profit earned or business done.

New Police Code

Kerala's workers have won a wage-rise and enhancement of dearness allowance. Minimum wages have been fixed for sweated labour and those fixed earlier have been revised. As against this, we notice that in many places minimum wages have not yet been fixed, where they have been fixed there is no machinery to effectively implement them and those fixed as long ago as in 1950 have not been revised so far.

Kerala's workers are now studying an Industrial Relations Bill that would guarantee the recognition of unions and the recognition of a negotiating agent among multiple-unions if necessary by a ballot, the establishment of a machinery for speedy settlements to avoid litigation, and so on.

It is in Kerala alone that if a worker is suspended, the State pays him half the monthly wage

has thrown overboard all trade union pretensions and has resorted to preaching hatred against Communists and cold war against Communism and dividing the workers on political-ideological grounds. Likewise, a section of the dominant leadership of the HMS, instead of drawing inspiration from the great united demonstrations of March 17 last year and carrying that united action further, has actually got panicky since then and is steadily going back from united action.

It will be the task of India's workers, therefore, to patiently but firmly build unity and understanding and tirelessly work to defeat all splitting activities.

Threat To Our Economy

On the occasion of this May Day, India's working class will take serious note of the threats that have developed for our economy particularly during the last year, in the middle of the Second Five-Year Plan. Imperialist monopolies have intensified their efforts to make serious inroads into our economy and further strengthen their positions. They seek to invest dollars in our country on their terms and mop up the fruits of our labour in the shape of super profits. They thus want to solve their crisis at our expense.

They and their financing institutions have, therefore, launched an offensive against the public sector and heavy industry, against nationalisation

recent events in Tibet to drive a wedge between India and China.

India's working people will naturally sympathise with their class brethren of Tibet—the serfs and the down-trodden, who want an end to their misery, desire democracy and peace and seek to step by step build a happy Socialist future as part of the great Chinese Republic.

On the occasion of this May Day, India's working class will resolve to strengthen united action—

● For India-China friendship as the strong basis for Afro-Asian solidarity, peace and security;

● For the defence of all the good features of the development plans, for heavy industry and public sector against all the foreign imperialist and Indian Big Business attacks against it;

● For wage increase, against high prices;

● For social security, better ESI and benefits to families;

● For trade union rights and For employment, against retrenchment, rationalisation and unemployment; recognition of unions on the basis of ballot;

● For democratisation of industrial administration, more powers to democratically elected works committees and against bureaucratic waste and mismanagement.

May Day 1959 will see a demonstration of the Indian workers' will to defend unitedly the interests of "our class and our country".