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# NEST OF SPIES AND SMUGGLERS

## NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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The airlines to begin with were private enterprise. After their merger and the formation of the Indian Airlines Corporation, Indian public at large believes that our airlines are now in the nationalised sector. This, however, is not true.

Soon after the formation of the I.A.C., a whole lot of seemingly small but otherwise very busy private air companies grew up, especially, in the eastern region. They have been playing with Indian economy, Indian security and our country's fair name. They operate on the basis of annual "special" permits. These permits are due for renewal this month end.

The Industrial Policy Resolution places air communications exclusively in the public sector and it is the obvious commonsense in terms of the nation's safety. The very existence of these private air operators is a gross violation of declared official national policy and to let them operate on the basis of yearly permits a tricky and unworthy device to get around the basic law of the land.

The foul game has gone on too long. The permits of these private air companies must not be renewed this year and the problem of their nationalisation urgently taken in hand.

Most of the pilots and the operational managers of these private air companies are notorious foreigners who have been caught breaking the laws of the country more than once but the matter has always been hushed up by the powers-that-be.

Most of them are ace-pilots from the American and the British Air Force who became familiar with our country during the war days and stayed behind to make big money for themselves and do espionage work for the imperialist rulers of their own countries.

They have been named times without number and detailed documented complaints against them have been sent to the Ministry and the Director-General of Civil Aviation (D.G.C.A.) by the workers' trade unions but nothing happens. Questions are asked in Parliament, part of the truth is admitted but nothing is done.

### Traitor's Record

The record of their anti-Indian activities cries aloud. They were responsible for whisking away Phlzo from an air-strip of a tea plantation on Assam border. They have been dropping arms over the Naga area. They took foreign journalists, without Government permission, to meet the underground Naga leaders. They have leaked secret strategic information to the Pakistan and American spies.

The latest example is Capt. Long who, after due prodding, was caught by the Government of India for passing on photographs of Bhutan's border area to foreign agencies.

They fly very often to Manila and Hongkong in the East to contact their masters and also to Baghdad and Beirut, and the African airports. Their operational bases in the strategic North-East is generally some British tea planter's airstrip.

All this is known to the Government. The necessary evidence has been duly filed but for obvious reasons the matter has not been brought

contracts for supply-dropping to Indian Armed Forces in the NEFA area, from the corrupt Defence Officials. This means that the IAC not only loses its due revenues but Indian security is also toyed with.

### Win Good Revenues

To nationalise these air-companies is to win for the IAC its due and good revenues, help to undercut its losses and deny illegal profits to these foreign operated private companies.

There is not a violation of the Indian Aircrafts Rules

by P. C. JOSHI

out in a big way before the public and in the press. It is now high time to ask the Government to act or face public exposure for hiding and sheltering real anti-national elements.

### Fantastic Profits

They make fantastic profits, and illegally. Their balance-sheets, however, always show a deficit and yet they want their permits to be renewed every year! If their balance-sheets were correct they should have quitted their business long ago. In the Lok Sabha, Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation admitted that they carry 30 to 40 per cent of the total freight in the Assam area.

The trade unions, however, think it cannot be less than 60 per cent for no correct statistics are maintained and the workers know more about what really goes on than the burceaurats sitting in New Delhi.

They undercut the IAC rates because they can make an immense lot more by smuggling gold, opium, ganja, mercury, and the like. That they carry contraband, the necessary evidence has been filed with the ministry.

The wonder of wonders is that they also manage to get

that these operators have not committed.

There is mountain of evidence to prove that they resort to false engine-change, false log-book entries, underlogging of flying hours and all that. They overwork their aircrafts and do not maintain them properly, according to the rules laid down for the air companies by the Government. Accidents take place everyday and sometimes crashes as well.

In August 1957, VT-ARH of INDAMER Company crashed. Its crew of three was killed. Again on August 3, 1949, Aircraft VT-DGP crashed. Its crew and three passengers were killed. Kalinga's aircrafts VT-DGR and VT-CRA were involved in a series of accidents. Such instances can be multiplied. The punishment given is nominal which makes no difference to the guilty men's rampage.

How does this scandalous state of affairs go on, year in and year out, despite serious crimes having been committed right before the public eye?

The secret lies in the fact that a good number of officials of the IAC and Civil Aviation Ministry are from the old private companies and were inherited by the Government along with

## CAPT. LONG AT LARGE

The New Age, December 4, gave the story of Captain Long and his Dakota aircraft and how he handed over the border survey photographs of Bhutan to some foreign agencies.

Some more astounding revelations are to hand. Caught red-handed, engaged in illegal and anti-Indian activities, he was not tried in a court of law but merely interrogated in the British Deputy High Commissioner's Office in Calcutta and then released.

More, he again went flying to the Gujarat-Saurashtra side and also Hyderabad-wards. The aircraft-workers of Calcutta made a big protest and he was summoned back to Calcutta. He is however yet roaming about free.

The aircraft VT-AUI, which after its illegal

forays in Bhutan was sealed at Bagdogra, was, however, released from Calcutta.

The latest is that it has gone over to Burma on commercial flight. Its proprietors instead of paying the penalty under the law are merrily reaping big profits.

How is all this enforcing the law of the land instead of making a mockery of it?

How is this ensuring the safety and security of India instead of playing with it? Is the security of India only a false talking point against the Indian Communists or is it taken seriously at all by the Indian authorities?

We call the Government to account. Let it answer and act!

their nationalisation. The owners and officials of the new upstart air companies are their old friends and close contacts. They naturally oblige each other and hide what needs being hidden.

### Trade-Union Complaints

If the Government screened the DGCA officials against whom complaints have been filed by the trade unions or who have been sitting upon the complaints filed against the private air operators with one-tenth of the care they bestow upon the Indian Communists, the guilty ones can be found to the satisfaction of any honest official or before any impartial court of law.

The workers and employees of these private air companies as also of the IAC, through their trade union conferences, and memos to the ministry, have repeatedly demanded the nationalisation of these private air companies.

It is well-known that honest top officials of the IAC favour total nationalisation of Indian Airlines for they very well

know what these private air companies cost the IAC revenues themselves!

### Parliamentary Delegation

As we go to the press news has come that the Parliamentary delegation consisting of Tridib Chowdhury (RSP), Arobindo Ghosal (F.B.), Sampath (DMK), Thangamani (C.P.) and Indrajit Gupta (C.P.) met Dr. Subbarayan, Minister of Transport and Communications, and it is reported he has agreed to consider the demand sympathetically. The matter, however, cannot be left here.

The Ministry must be given no rest till it announces before the close of this Parliamentary Session that from this year the permits of the private air-companies will not be renewed and that they will be nationalised before the Budget Session of Parliament begins.

The Government must urgently act and clean up the nest of spies, smugglers and racketeers who operate in the name of private air operators from Indian soil and over India skies.

# Nationalise Private Air Companies!



# THE VERY HELMSMEN ROCK

**P**RESIDENT Rajendra Prasad's Law Institute speech on the powers of the President has stirred very wide though not loud discussions. Both the press and publicmen have been singularly considerate because of his past national record and the high office he now holds.

But it was no academic issue which he opened up for debate by the jurists. It is a very live political controversy that has been raised and it concerns every Indian democrat, irrespective of party differences.

Despite all that the President stated in his speech the Indian Constitution gives him no more powers than that of a Constitutional Head and this is how he himself has been functioning in practice all these years.

Therefore, when he now wants a "scientific" investigation by the top jurists of the land whether this is the correct Constitutional position, he is only challenging the very foundations of the Indian Constitutional system.

The President of the Indian Union on assuming office takes the oath "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and the law" to the best of his ability. It is scarcely proper then for President Rajendra Prasad to challenge the hitherto accepted interpretation of our Constitution on the status and functions of the President.

What makes matters worse is that President Rajendra Prasad is going back on his own past words. When the Indian Constitution was being framed he himself was the President of the Constituent Assembly.

He then himself answered the very question to which he seeks a different answer now.

Speaking as the President of the Constituent Assembly, summing up the main features of the Constitution, just on the eve of the final adoption of the draft, of November 26, 1949 he said:

"Although there are no specific provisions, so far as I know, in the Constitution itself making it binding on the President to accept the advice of the Ministers, it is hoped that the convention, under which in England the king acts always on the advice of his Ministers will be established in this country also and the President, not so much on account of the written word in the Constitution but as the result of this very healthy convention, will become a Constitutional President in all matters".

Again when the Constituent Assembly was debating the position of the President the then Law Minister, and the main draftsman of the Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar asserted that if the President did not act except on the advice of his Council of Ministers it would be tantamount to violation of the Constitution and would make the President liable to impeachment.

The Prime Minister justifying the Clause providing for indirect election of the President by Parliament, stated that if we had a President elected by adult franchise and did not give him any power it

might become anomalous. The Constitutional position according to the intentions of the framers of the Constitution itself and the then expressed serious understanding of Dr. Rajendra Prasad as well, is completely at variance with what he suggests and, wants the President to become now. This only make matters worse.

## Not From The Blue

All the insiders in New Delhi know that the President and the Prime Minister have been pulling in different directions and neither is happy with the position, as it is. The differences are political and concerns basic national issues. Below are some fairly well-known facts.

As early as 1951 when the Hindu Code Bill was due to come before the Parliament the President, voicing the sentiments of the orthodox Hindus, pressed the point that it should be referred to the electorate first, for it introduced serious changes in traditional Hindu social norms. The Bill had to be held back and came before the Parliament much later in the form of piecemeal legislation for specific issues.

Newspaper readers would recall the Presidential note to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet advising them not to rush through land ceiling legislation, cooperative farming and state trading and was duly taken to wider publicity.

His role in the Kerala crisis is revealed by the Statesman columnist Mahesh Chandra (December 2) "As is well-known he has pressed before his Council of Ministers other views and sometime prevailed, for example over the promulgation of Presidential rule in Kerala last year when the Prime Minister was known to be vacillating".

The President has always been wanting an opening for himself, to act on his own, however small to begin with. He, therefore, asked whether as Visitor of Universities the President could act on his own. The expert legal view given by the Attorney-General was that even in these matters he would have to act on the advice of a Minister or Ministers.

Mahesh Chandra adds "Since then the President has mentioned his dissatisfaction to senior Ministers on at least three occasions". The same issue was again raised during the last Governors' conference under the cover that the Chief Ministers were ignoring the State Governors and they were thus unable to discharge their functions under the Constitution.

The President not only lent his sympathetic ears but demanded that they should directly send him special reports on the situation in the

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

States. In return the President was duly given a note by one of the obliging Governors stressing the point that the position of the British Crown and the Indian President should not be equated.

The latest and, perhaps, the most serious reference to the President to the Attorney-General came when he enquired whether as Supreme Commander of the Indian armed forces it was obligatory on him to appoint the nominees of the Cabinet. The issue was the appointment of the new Chief of the Staff. The President's favourite was Thimayya's Deputy in Korea and well-known as the "brain behind".

This chronic Presidential malady led the Prime Minister two years ago to refer publicly to the President's powers and to equate them to those of the British Crown. The President was naturally upset and got a special study made by legal experts, one of them being a judge of the Supreme Court.

According to the well-informed Mahesh Chandra, who claims to be both in the confidence of the Presidential and the Prime Minister's entourage, one of the studies supported the Prime Minister's stand while another coincided with the President's. The President, however, is tenacious and raised the issue once again.

## Reaction Vocal

A glance at the editorial comments and columns of the Rightwing press will show why democratic public opinion must immediately assert itself and shut up all reactionary champions of greater powers for the President, which is alien to our parliamentary set-up.

The Hindustan Times is certainly aware of the provisions of the Indian Constitution, of the past debate on the subject, and the real meaning of the present controversy. It comes out on the Presidential side, but obliquely and cunningly.

In its editorial, December 2, it states: "The duty of the latter (the Council of Ministers) is stated to be to 'aid and advise' the President in the exercise of his functions. The practice of course is almost exactly the reverse. Whether these powers (Presidential) should be more precisely defined for further study".

It reads so innocent and straightforward, but it is a device to keep the pot boiling and let the poisoned fumes sap the foundations of Indian democracy, before the claws are dug in.

The columnist of the Indian Express, December 8, bemoans that the Presidential plea has "lamentably failed to induce a spirit of enquiry". He gives a big build up to Dr. Rajendra Prasad as "an elder statesman", "one of the chief architects of the Constitution", a selfless President who has disowned all intention of seeking another term of office, who has raised this important issue at the "fag end of his career" and hence has no "axe to grind".

The Goenka columnist broadcasts the view that "The Supreme Court and the President of the Indian Union are the two umpires with supreme authority to decide 'fair or foul'".

"The Constitution clearly accords the President a pedestal wholly unrelated to the Central Cabinet".

Argus, the Delhi dairst of the Eastern Economist, December 2, with hardly concealed glee writes "The theory evolved by the Prime Minister that the President is a Constitutional head of the State is now fairly and squarely in the melting-pot".

Argus is kept duly supplied with inside dope not only by reactionary Rightwing politicians outside the Congress but also by the anti-Nehru Rightists inside the Congress top as well.

With confidence, obviously not his own, he states "The President of the Indian Union is likely, in the near future and for some time thereafter, to raise a convention of a somewhat different character than that which has hitherto existed."

"With the strong support Dr. Rajendra Prasad has in the House, this is a factor, they tell me, which will necessarily circumscribe the excessive powers exercised by the Council of Ministers. I await developments with not a little (Constitutional) excitement".

The danger signals are clear enough. The President might publicly raise an issue against the Cabinet if he is sure of public support. His reference to excessive post-independence police firings during the Governors' Conference is a pointer.

After his term is over he is likely to campaign for this slogan openly and his political base is very clearly indicated, as the huge Rightwing majority inside the Congress Parliamentary Party itself. Thus, it is the beginning of a controversy with deep sinister significance.

After the President himself has initiated the Devil's Dance it is the obvious and urgent duty of the Prime Minister to scotch the Devil and state the correct Constitutional position as the spokesman of the Cabinet and the ruling Party to drift to any protest to save the pass.

Indian public opinion cannot afford to wait politely and trust the Prime Minister to do the rest. Every honest, serious and responsible public figure in our country is familiar with the weaknesses of Indian democracy and the numerous dangers to it not only from our own national experience but also from what is happening around our country, in neighbouring Asian, no more remote African and even European countries.

With all firmness that comes from living experience, and with the righteous fire when cherished principles are at stake the voice of Indian democracy must ring out that the Indian President is no more than the Constitutional Head of the Indian Union, and any Constitutional device or convention that enables him to act the dictator in any

crisis is against the spirit and the letter of Indian Constitution, and will be resisted with all the might of the Indian people.

## BASTAR—NO PUZZLE

**B**ASTAR is the most backward part of backward Madhya Pradesh. After the merger the Maharaja was requested to join the Congress for through him all the seats of the area could be won for the Congress. He and his men won the Bastar seats for Congress but he was not made a Minister, even his estate was not released from the Court of Wards and the Privy purse was paid to its Manager and not to him directly.

The young eccentric, but ambitious Maharaja resigned from the Congress, disdained to contest the elections himself, put up his men instead and they again won all the seats but this time against the Congress nominees.

The local Congress were unable to gather any support despite all the official patronage and "aid" to win over the Adivasis. The Congress leaders and workers in Bastar are high caste men from outside the area who are themselves forest-contrators, tradesmen, usurers and land-grabbers shunned as traditional exploiters by the Adivasis.

The general elections are coming again and the Congressmen produce memorandums about the feudal dealings and the corruption of the Maharaja and his men to get the Maharaja removed from the District. The tribals of the area are so backward that for most of them the command of the ruler is the word of God!

The Congress position in Bastar is so shaky and the Maharaja is so confident of his feudal hold over the tribals that he merrily made mince-meat of the State Government summons, which were neither just nor legal whatever the failings of the Maharaja be.

The issue involved in Bastar were stated in a principled manner by the Madhya Pradesh Executive Committee of our Party in the following words:

"We strongly disapprove of any separatist tendencies for a tribal state of Bastar and also any tendency to disaffection and resistance to civil authority."

"The Government's policy of discrimination and of bullying the Raja into joining the Congress is wrong, and amounts to using the Government's power for political ends."

"All this has helped the reactionaries and the Swatantra Party to fish in troubled waters, to raise separatist demands and to create a tense situation."

"We call upon the Government to settle the issue early on the basis of justice and democracy and immediately implement the land reform in the area."

The crisis of Indian democracy, under Congress dispensation, is writ large in Bastar.

—P. C. JOSHI

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# U.S. 'AID' AND CRISIS

**V**ANCE BRAND has come and gone with New Delhi getting richer (though not any the wiser) by some 114.1 million dollars which his Development Loan Fund (DLF) has lent under five different heads. But while the heads are different, the purpose underlying them is one and the same—to bolster up the private sector as a bulwark against India's state enterprises. Here are the figures:

Twenty-five million dollars for import of capital equipment for private industries; 10 million dollars to the Industrial Finance Corporation for relending to private industries; 1.6 million dollars for extension to the Kanpur Thermal Plant; 2.5 million dollars for the Barapani hydroelectric project in Assam; 50 million dollars for railways and 25 million dollars for import of steel.

Thus, with an allocation of 35 million dollars directly to the private sector, and the rest all for "overheads", whose benefits will also at least partly accrue to it, the DLF has made no bones about the end it has in view.

At the same time, through a directive that its aid will no longer be valid for spending in 19 "hard currency" countries, including the United Kingdom and West Germany, it has seen to it that not a cent out of its aid is spent on goods from anywhere other than the US.

The US goods being costlier by 20 to 25 per cent the real worth of the DLF aid will naturally be reduced, but that

is not the worry of the US, nor, it seems, that of Morarji who continues to court this type of aid.

The US, however, needs to give this type of "aid" for she requires markets to arrest the recession in her economy. Already, the President-elect John Kennedy's Commerce Secretary-designate, Luther Hodges, has pronounced his country's economic position as being "worse than the present Administration leads us to believe". (The Statesman, December 5).

According to Dr. Emerson Schmidt, Director of Economic Research for the US Chamber of Commerce, production in the United States "would drop by 5,000,000 dollars to 10,000,000 in 1961 while unemployment would increase over this year's figure of four million". (Ibid, December 6).

The US thus needs customers for its goods, which it plans to get through the grant of loans like the DLF's. Morarji however, publicises only one side of the medal—that these loans help him to secure some relief from the current worries of payment deficits. The same end he expects to serve through courting another emissary from Washington, International Monetary Fund's Director of Operations, Murphy, who is expected in New Delhi this week.

The IMF, however, does not give loans. All it does is to offer advances, the way it did in 1957-58, to tide over temporary deficits, but then these also have to be repaid sometime, and thus are potentially a burden on an already heavy repayments bill.

## Private Sector Wins

**S**ARDAR Swaran Singh presides over the key Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, whose increasing responsibilities in the public sector, and almost a continuous arraigning by the private sector, make it necessary that he takes no false step to mar its onward progress. Lately, however, he has been showing signs of a certain shakiness which ill-behoves his responsible office.

A fortnight back he allowed the private coal mineowners to work areas which had so long been considered the preserve of the public sector. Last week he modified his earlier policy to enable the private sector put up pig iron plants up to 1,00,000 ton capacity.

That steel is a vital industry is a fact which need not be laboured with Sardarji, nor does he require telling that the logic of his allowing the private sector to have a big share in pig iron production now may lead to further and more onerous demands in future. He, however, needs to be told in clear terms that he has already come down two rungs of the ladder. It is high time that he begins re-climbing them now, lest he begin to tumble down to the very bottom, and hands over even the fourth steel plant to the private sector.

Sardarji's, however, was not the only concession to the private sector this week. The Commerce and Industry Minister and his deputy, Manubhai, have also allowed the private sector to run away with two more aluminium projects. These together will add 30,000 tons to their aluminium capacity during the Third Plan period.

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# INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

## W. GERMAN ORACLE

**O**NE such quarter is Adenauer's Germany which has now even gone to the extent of biting the hand that feeds it. It has already "irrevocably refused" to respond to Eisenhower's SOS to help in extricating the Dollar from its current maladies.

Towards us, of the underdeveloped countries, which it has consistently refused to play fair in foreign trade, its attitude is even haughtier. Not only does it not give aid even to the extent and of the type which the US and the UK give, it insolently arrogates to itself the role of an oracle who can condemn our country to perdition.

One of its chief functionaries, Herr Rudolf Vogel, who flaunts the title of the President of the West German Foundation for Developing Countries, and who visited our country last year, has seen in her only a land of two hundred million sacred cows and some thirty million monkeys and numerous millions of rats which will not let her develop at all, however bounteous the Western countries be in giving aid to her.

He has also suggested that because of such gloomy prospects his country should allocate at least one per cent of her aid to underdeveloped countries to propaganda for convincing their masses of her own generosity, and the "niggardliness" of Soviet Russia.

West Germany has been repeatedly accused of niggardliness in giving aid by her own allies. But Herr Vogel has the audacity to hurl the same accusation against the Soviet Union, whose increasing aid efforts are an important factor behind the Western countries' frantic appeals to West Germany to come out of its shell.

The Soviet Union is giving aid to 14 countries of Asia and Africa for setting up 300 industrial and other enterprises, and has advanced loans amounting to 9,000 million roubles at 2½ per cent interest for twelve years. What has Herr Vogel to offer to match it?

He refers to the language difficulty as standing in West Germany's way in sending technicians to countries whose people speak English, French or Spanish, and little German, but the same difficulty has not prevented the Soviet Union from sending some 7,000 technicians to just three countries: India, UAR and Indonesia where speech in Russian is equally rare.

Herr Vogel has suggested spending one per cent of the West German aid on propaganda against the Soviet Union. In face of the hard realities and cold statistics, it seems that even the frittering away of the entire aid will not suffice to convince the Asian and African masses that the USSR and not his country has been niggardly in this respect.

## OIL—NEW FIND

**I**N oil we have had good news this week. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission has struck oil in the very first well it drilled at Rudrasagar in Assam. Preliminary tests conducted in the Well are believed to indicate that the entire area could be a promising field.

Well No. 6 at Ankaleswar has also given signs of oil. The field there has already been pronounced the best among all discovered in the country so far.

While these discoveries by the Commission, which is aided by Soviet technicians and equipment, are the order of the day, New Delhi is preparing itself to conduct its crucial talks with about half a dozen foreign oil companies which have applied for rights to explore oil.

Among these are: Italy's ENI, USA's Stanvac (now ESSO), Continental Oil, American Export and Texfel and UK's Burmah Oil Company. While the ENI, said to be the most liberal in its terms, is interested in the Kutch area, and the Stanvac in Jaisalmer, others are interested in other areas where they smell oil, and profits.

Minister Malaviya is said to be of the view that while the Government may on suitable terms allow the companies to prospect for and explore oil, it will not let them have the right to refine or distribute the oil discovered. While this policy is welcome as far as it goes, it is clear that it does not go far enough.

Surely, with the Soviets pledging to help in making the country self-sufficient in oil by the end of the next plan, and the Government's own Commission showing such good results, there was no need for the Minister to

go through the pother of negotiating with people, most of whom he knows to be unwilling to accept his terms.

## Profits Galore

● The profit earned by Ashoka Cement Ltd. has risen from Rs. 6.30 lakhs to Rs. 8.99 lakhs for the year ended March 31, 1960 (The Times of India: Dec. 8, 1960).

● The net profit of Jaipur Udyog Ltd., (another Cement firm) has increased from Rs. 4.961 to Rs. 20.51 lakhs for the year ended March 31, 1960. (Ibid: Dec. 9, 1960).

● The India Jute Co. Ltd., has earned a profit of Rs. 18.08 lakhs for the year ended March 31, 1960 against Rs. 8.39 lakhs in the preceding year. (Ibid: November 30, 1960).

● The Gillanders Arbuthnot and Co. Ltd., earned a profit of Rs. 26.10 lakhs for the year ended March 31, 1960 against Rs. 23.07 lakhs in the preceding year (Ibid).

● The net profit of the Belapur (Sugar) Co. Ltd., has risen from Rs. 27.48 lakhs to

Rs. 54.58 lakhs for the year ended September 30, 1960. (Ibid: December 1, 1960).

## Brief Notices

—The number of industrial accidents in India in 1958 was 43.51 per 1,000 workers as against 31.06 in 1949 and 20.35 in 1939 (Deputy Minister Abid Ali in Rajya Sabha on December 7).

—According to the "Quick estimates" of India's National Income at 1948-49 prices, prepared by the Central Statistical Organisation, the per capita income in the country declined from Rs. 293.6 in 1958-59 to Rs. 191.3 in 1959-60. The National Income in 1959-60, however, went up by 0.5 per cent. (The Statesman: December 1, 1960).

—There are 28 "crorepatis" in India, said the Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, B. Gopala Reddy in the Lok Sabha on November 29. Out of these, 16 were from the feudal aristocratic class (Maharajas?). He declined to name them.

—ESSEN

December 13

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# week in parliament

The Prime Minister's indictment in Parliament on Monday of United Nations' "shilly-shallying" in the Congo was the strongest so far. It appropriately voiced, in sober and subdued manner, the anger and "suspicions" roused "in the minds of the people in Asia and Africa and no doubt in many in Europe and the Americas about this policy that is being pursued."

He described this 'policy' in the following words: "Sometimes they take up a very strict and narrow legal view that they cannot intervene in anything. Sometimes they have done something which is the clearest intervention."

He referred to the case of Prime Minister Lumumba (or "ex-Prime Minister, if you like") "being captured, beaten and his face being disfigured and all that, and they have not got the authority even to send a doctor to see him!"

"It just seems to me", he said, "a very extraordinary state of affairs for the United Nations Mission. If they cannot function properly, well, they are doing more harm than good." He did not want the Mission to withdraw. That he thought would be 'fatal', "but I do think they should be made to function properly."

## Dayal's Report

Another "curious" aspect of U.N. behaviour to which the Prime Minister drew pointed attention was that "Shri Rajeshwar Dayal's report, the second Report to which I made

# CONGO STATEMENT

a reference, a detailed report bringing out what has been done by the Belgians and others, has never been considered yet.

## Convene Parliament

"It is an extraordinary thing. Here is the United Nations representative's Report supposed to be objective, made public, and apart from the Secretariat, the U.N. General Assembly and, for what I know, the Security Council, do not even consider it, just put it by, because presumably, they did not like the conclusions that had been reached in the Report, that is an extraordinary situation. And the major conclusion was that the Belgians had come back in large numbers...." They were everywhere — some 25,000 of them — and Mobutu and the rest were only a cover for them.

"I do think", Prime Minister Nehru said, "this problem will not be solved except by the Congolese. The Congolese can solve it only through their Parliament", and Lumumba

and other political prisoners had to be released. "It would be a difficult solution", he said, "but anyhow that is the way and they have to come together."

"If the Belgians are there and further continue and rather interfere and if others encourage them to continue, it will not be solved, and it would lead to a major conflagration. I have no doubt about it. And therefore Parliament has to function and the Belgians have to go."

## Belgian Invasion

"And it is no good anyone telling us that there is not the Belgian Government but individual Belgians go there. Surely that is not an adequate or a convincing argument to put forward. Yet, not only has it been put forward but great Powers are prepared to accept it, not realising that thereby they

are preparing for one of the biggest disasters that the world may witness. I use these words deliberately because there is deep anger at the things happening in the Congo in the countries and people of Asia and Africa — It is very extraordinary that people who call themselves democrats and their countries democratic countries make excuses for Parliament there not meeting and encourage this kind of semi-military dictatorships all over in the name of law and order.

## Illegal Acts

"Many worse things have happened recently but the arguments that have been put forward in regard to the Congo have been quite extraordinary, because they have used the stick of law to defend every illegal act that has been happening there."

to our economy."

Demanding abolition of the distinction between private and public limited companies Bhupesh Gupta said that due to the fact that the private limited companies enjoyed certain advantages concentration is taking place there. The monopoly elements were concentrating resources in their hands.

On the audit question the Communist leader referred to the evidence of Easappa, a Congress member, who had told the Select Committee that all balance sheets were false. That was the position and everybody knew it. "Auditing should be absolutely in the hands of people who are independent and who have nothing to do with big business. They can be looked after by the country and Parliament. They must be an independent State institution."

Regarding contribution to political funds he recalled the private member's bill he had moved on the subject. The position was that one party and one party alone, namely the Congress, wanted this arrangement for contribution to political funds. "Why? They are supposed to be the biggest party, they are supposed to have very great following in the country."

"We see connection between the handsome contribution of Rs. 10 lakhs by the Tatas to the Congress election fund before the first General Election and the shooting of the workers in defence of Tatas' interests in Jamshedpur."

Bhupesh Gupta referred to the special commission that had been appointed to investigate where the rise in national income went, and said, "After 13 years of independence, the Rip Van Winkles in Government have woken up and they have to find out where the money goes after crores and crores of rupees have gone, and then ask Mr. Mahalanobis to work out his statistics. What a wonderful fun is going on in this country."

He concluded by saying that as long as the system of private capital remained our company law should be such as to put the maximum curb and restraint on the monopolistic anti-social operations of big business and help the growth of healthy trends even in the private sector. "Sir, the management of the Congress Party and the management of the Government are interlinked. That is why we have this amending piece of legislation...."

December 14.

# CALCUTTA'S DEVELOPMENT

THE Deputy leader of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, raised a discussion on December 7 on PL 480 counterpart funds and Calcutta.

There had been reports he said that the PL 480 counterpart funds might be utilised for the Calcutta region. "I personally have some doubts about the manner of the utilisation of the PL 480 funds as enjoined in the PL Agreements." That, however, was not the point with which he was concerned just then, he said. "The point is the challenge of the mounting problems in Calcutta to which special attention has been drawn by the report of a World Bank Mission, and the imperative urgency of the answer to that challenge."

He was not satisfied with the reply given by the Finance Minister some time ago that no proposal in this regard was under consideration. "If it is not then it is more than time that it should be", he demanded.

"The Centre appears to be peculiarly blind whenever the problems of Calcutta have cropped up in recent times. We all remember the Prime Minister referring to Calcutta as a nightmare city, a derelict place. But, leaving out epithet-mongering the fact remains that there is little interest in high places in regard to placing Calcutta in a proper position to pull her out of the present morass."

## Refugee Problem

"Calcutta has been seared by partition and the refugee problem; it bleeds in a thousand wounds; and the World Bank Mission has pointed out how in Greater Calcutta there is a population of six million or perhaps more in contrast with the population of 3½ million in 1948. And of these at least 8,00,000 or more are refugees."

"The World Bank Mission has referred to the shortage of adequate water supply, the lack of sanitation and other health facilities, to terrible overcrowding and unemployment, to deficiencies of transport and other public facilities. It is also particularly and emphatically asserted how Calcutta port which is the greatest in the country and, from the point of view of exports, the most important, is practically facing a breakdown."

Misfortunes had piled one after the other over Calcutta in the last 15 years and the World Bank Mission now had drawn attention to the fact. "It is easy to blame the Corporation of Calcutta", Hiren Mukerjee said, adding, "There is no doubt that it is a very

shut out. Since then conditions have deteriorated and the figures here show that even ships with a draught below 26 feet find it very difficult to come into the harbour." In view of this the new port at Haldia that had been suggested ought to be constructed as soon as possible because it will not cost an undue sum, about 25 crores or so.

Prof. Mukerjee also referred to a W.H.O. report placed before Parliament in April last which said inter alia, that "it would be delinquent in not recognising the great importance of this dying river (Hooghly) as the life line for the entire area." Concluding he declared:

"I say, therefore, let the money be found from somewhere and let the work start, let the Central Government cooperate with the West Bengal Government and other agencies and let the people be taken into confidence. The Finance Ministry holds the purse strings, I know. Quite frequently we find that the Government here is rather allergic towards Calcutta. But to spite Calcutta would mean hurting the country's own interests."

Deputy Minister of Finance B. R. Bhagat while protesting too much against charges of ignoring the problems of Calcutta made it clear that "for any project or scheme that is at present not included in the Third Plan — no resources for them can be provided". He also indicated that West Bengal's Third Plan "which had been recently considered by the Planning Commission does not contain any separate proposals for solving the special problems of Calcutta and the industrial belt."

## FORWARD CONTRACTS BILL

THE Lok Sabha also passed the Forward Contracts Regulation (Amendment) Bill in course of the week. Two Communist members, V. P. Nayyar and K. E. Warior made significant contribution to the debate. V. P. Nayyar said he was convinced more than ever that the bill (originally enacted in 1952) should be repealed immediately because whatever maybe the amendments moved, the Act as such posed certain dangers to the future of the economy of the country and especially to the Third Plan. The bill, he said, put a stamp of legality and respectability on operations which were thoroughly anti-social and amounted to gambling. The middlemen who operated between the producer and the consumer indulged in all manner of vices.

Unless it was wanted that prices should fluctuate and it was common knowledge that unless prices fluctuated the forward markets or futures trading could not exist — there would be no point in bringing such a bill. While the draft outline of the Third Plan placed so much emphasis on it and everybody talked about it, here was something which

directly hit at the proclaimed objective of holding the price line.

K. K. Warior giving concrete instances said, "I for one can never accept that the market economy will be regulating the price or for that matter even the futures trading. Rather it is the other way round. Futures trading is regulating the market economy of India." He analysed the Report of the Forward Markets Commission which said:

"The utility of regulation of futures trading under the auspices of a recognised association depends upon the prevention of illegal futures trading. The problem of prevention still remains to be tackled effectively." (Emphasis added)

Further the same report said: "Option business is prohibited under the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act. The business has been rampant particularly in the cotton future market at Bombay." (Emphasis added)

At another place the Report said:

"The principal commodity in which futures trading was illegally conducted in the guise of trading in some other free commodity was gram."

Foodgrains being banned from futures market, hence the speculators had taken to gram, Warior explained.

## OFFICIAL SPORT POLICY

A RISING from India's defeat in hockey in the Rome olympics, the Lok Sabha on December 8 discussed on a motion by Hiren Mukerjee the situation in Indian sports. Prof. Mukerjee recalled the glorious days of Indian hockey, "Jai Pal's days" and Dhyan Chand's days; when "double figures were so very common" in goals by which India would win. Contrasting it with the present when "we are hard put to it to win by the narrowest of margins" with extra time

against countries like Australia," he said "there have been many defaults". He detailed the various instances in the selection of the olympic teams for hockey as well as far other events.

"What has appeared in the papers so far, if a summary or inventory is made", he said "would amount to an indictment of the sports organisation". Perhaps one of the reasons why, with the exception of Milkha Singh, almost all our athletes were knocked out in the first round of the olympic competition, Prof. Mukerjee said was that "the records which had been credited to them by the selection trials by the amateur athletic federations were somewhat faked; and they wanted to have a big enough team so that a number of coaches, non-coaching coaches and managers could go along with them." He dwelt on the sorry state of affairs that prevailed in the management of cricket also. As for athletics he said, "There is as yet no serious scheme in regard to catching our people young and training them in time."

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At another place the Report said:

## Associate People

"Some people have suggested", he said, "a ministry of sports, but having seen how ministries function particularly in relation to these matters I would rather not have it. But I would suggest a real national policy for athletic development. I would suggest a greater association of the representatives of the people — Bad enough as they might be, but we cannot do better."

"I would like the association of the representatives of the people in the formulation of a national policy even in regard to athletics because we want our people to have more and more food, to have a better build of their body, to have a better well-being so to speak and that is the essential preliminary to our having athletic success. Therefore the whole thing hangs together and it is necessary to have that kind of a real national policy so that we can mobilise sports and the enthusiasm which it evokes for building our country and our people."

December 10

# COMPANIES' BILL DEBATE

THE battle over the Companies' (Amendment) Bill shifted over to the Rajya Sabha this week and the same sharp exchanges that characterised it in the Lok Sabha were witnessed in the other House. A Congress member's amendment to the political contributions clause was not allowed to be withdrawn by the Opposition and pressed to division.

Bhupesh Gupta speaking in the debate referred to the relatively good provisions which were now sought to be introduced in the legislation. "After four years wisdom is dawning upon the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and on the Company Law Administration". He recalled how even four years ago Government had been assailed, even by Congressmen, on the various connected issues which remained live even today — the questions of managing agents, interlocking, concentration of economic power, and so on.

Government had then promised that the managing agency system would be as nearly as abolished by August 15, 1960. "We clearly said that we did not believe in what the Government were saying — Some people thought we had been cussed about it; they thought we were making political propaganda. Today I ask, as I speak again on the amending Bill but on the same subject, after four years, where are the managing agencies? Do they exist or have they disappeared with Chin-taman Deshmukh?"

"The answer is clear; Finance Ministers may come and go; the managing agency remains in this country so long as the Government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru subserving in so blatant a manner the interests of big monopoly continues."

Referring to the Company Law Administration Bhupesh Gupta said even the Report confessed it was weak. They did take some small measures, "but what can the poor chaps in the Company Law Administration do? Firstly, they have to function under this Companies' Act which does not provide for drastic steps to be taken or for policies to be re-shaped or reformulated. — They cannot do much because the power of money is the biggest power in India today. It can make and unmake Ministers.

## Power of Money

We have seen how things happen in various parts of India; and especially when election time comes, they are even more powerful. An election year is hardly the year for the Government to sponsor a measure of this kind because we know they will be frightened by big money with so much expectation of funds from them for election purposes." Bhupesh Gupta further drew attention to the fact that the Company Law Administration was "an understudy of the Ministry". He said, "The time has come for us to ponder over the need for making it an independent body giving it more or less the same type of power as we have under the Constitution for the Election Commission, for the Auditor-General and so on."

He invited attention to the results of four years of the administration of the company law. "We were opposed to the state of affairs prevailing at that time as we are now, because it leads to the concentration of economic power." What was the trend now: whether interlocking, cornering of shares, malpractices had been done away with or even reduced, he asked. "On all these grounds we have been thoroughly disappointed by

the Government", declared the leader of the Communist Group.

"Why is it that in four years they could not make up their mind even to abolish the managing agency? — All of them practically exist. Some of them have applied for renewal and others will have applied. And they continue in other forms also. — Even before the matter came up here, behind the back of Parliament this Government took a decision that all managing agents who want to be re-appointed for another term should be re-appointed as a general rule. They say one thing in Parliament. They do another thing in the Secretariat."

"As a result what happened to the Company Law? As you know there were 3,944 managing agents in India and 5,055 joint-stock companies and these controlled 48 per cent of the aggregate paid-up capital of the entire corporate sector in 1954-55, before the Companies Act came into being. What is the position today? We are entitled to know it."

"Even in the latest report 250 managing directors are there. — Now the posts of treasurer and Secretary are being utilised by the same set of people to maintain their vested interests and economic position."

"Then, cornering goes on in all kinds and types of different ways. Now, here for instance, who does not know Jessops, which produced the great Mumdhra. Mumdhra produced one lakh for the Congress election fund. — Now who are buying the Jessop shares today. — Rohtas are cornering Jessop shares in the expectation that some day that great company, Jessops, which produces vital things and mints millions in profit would be cornered by, well, Sir, that great game, the Jains."

Giving several instances of such cornering Bhupesh Gupta said, "This is a serious menace

to our economy."

Demanding abolition of the distinction between private and public limited companies Bhupesh Gupta said that due to the fact that the private limited companies enjoyed certain advantages concentration is taking place there. The monopoly elements were concentrating resources in their hands.

On the audit question the Communist leader referred to the evidence of Easappa, a Congress member, who had told the Select Committee that all balance sheets were false. That was the position and everybody knew it. "Auditing should be absolutely in the hands of people who are independent and who have nothing to do with big business. They can be looked after by the country and Parliament. They must be an independent State institution."

Regarding contribution to political funds he recalled the private member's bill he had moved on the subject. The position was that one party and one party alone, namely the Congress, wanted this arrangement for contribution to political funds. "Why? They are supposed to be the biggest party, they are supposed to have very great following in the country."

**KISAN BULLETIN**  
(Organ of the All-India Kisan Sabha)  
Editor: Bhowani Sen

December Issue  
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CIRCULATION MANAGER,  
KISAN BULLETIN  
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NEW DELHI.

December 14.



# NEHRU'S MIND NOW

THE MIND OF MR. NEHRU, An Interview by R. K. Karanjia. George Allen and Unwin. Rs. 4.80.

DESPITE all the fulsome admiration of R. K. Karanjia and all the openings that he gives Nehru to say something original, something with the old poetic fire, the recorded interview gives the reader the impression of a mind at the end of its tether.

The Prime Minister has travelled a long, long way—back. The Autobiography or *Whither India?* fired the blood and cleansed the mind of a whole generation of India's intelligentsia and made them bold, adventurous, questioning and loyal only to their people and reason.

Even the advancing years and the continuous hard work do not explain the verbose platitudes and worse that Pandit Nehru offers now.

## Marxism Rejected

There is a whole section on Marxism, where he develops his favourite theme of Marx as a great but outmoded Victorian thinker.

He says "what is important is that although the logical reasoning of Marx was correct—other factors have intervened. The sum of them—

that is, these new factors and particularly the two features I have mentioned, of political democracy and technological advance—have produced a new set of conditions, and Marxism must be reviewed in this new context".

What the Prime Minister, for all his sense of history, has never bothered to examine or to tell us is what exactly is Marxist philosophy has failed to measure up to the elements of change which he so often mentions. He only mentions the ancient cliché of violence and class struggle being out-of-date.

He has also not cared to understand the relevance of the fact that in this century of ours all the social and radical changes have been associated with Marxism in one form or another. He has failed to assess the fact that the countries of the fastest technological advance and of the most wholehearted spread of science are at the same time the countries where Marxism is the leading ideology.

As for political democracy, there was a time when Nehru understood this social phenomenon in the background of its historical origin and growth. He has also in his own lifetime and in his work seen how the form of political de-

mocracy is soon enough discarded when the needs of the ruling class thus dictate. After Kerala and Central intervention it is rather difficult to play the innocent—people have a memory.

Moreover, there was a time when in the blood shed at the battle fields the Communists demonstrated the value they attached to democracy and when Jawaharlal travelled to Spain to say *Salud!* And even today the first victims of those who undermine democracy are the Communists, the Marxists. Why—has the Prime Minister asked himself this question?

Still it is not the failure to understand Marxism that is the main point of criticism. There is the terrible insensitivity and complacency. During the past 10 years, it would appear, we have advanced industrially and in every direction (with a small lag in agriculture) in so decisive and sound a manner that all is well and we can all rejoice.

## Unreal Outlook

This is so utterly different from the reality that one is alarmed that such should be the assessment of the Prime Minister of the land. There is a benighted refusal to face the most elementary facts of Indian life that, in a lesser

personality, would have been termed intellectual dishonesty.

The searing tragedy, the twisted and stunted growth, the emerging contours of monopoly capital development and the utter rot that has become synonymous with the Congress—none of this exists in the vision of the neo-Vedantist Nehru. It is no surprise then to hear him declare that planning in India has now become a matter of mere mathematics!

## Utter Complacency

Karanjia tries again and again to prompt the Prime Minister to consider the problem of the unity and advance of the democratic forces in face of the increasing Right consolidation within and outside the Congress. Each time he is brushed aside by evasive statements which could hold down to an attitude of—After me, the Deluge!

In the name of modesty the impression is created, that since Nehru has lived and laboured all will be well with India, now and forever. So once again the democratic forces are left without any lead and would be without hope if they looked any more in that quarter for a lead.

Th only time Nehru is concrete is in his answer to what

slav revisionists. He exposes the fallacies in the arguments and drives home mercilessly the point that:

"We shall not err if we say that Kerdel's sophistic 'verbal dialectics' in the present book, too, is nothing but grovelling before the imperialists, and in particular the U. S. imperialists, whom, for understandable reasons, he does not even attempt to expose as aggressors responsible for the tension now gripping the world".

Bias Roca sums up the Cuban situation as analysed by the eighth national congress of the Popular Socialist Party. Not only are current developments summed up but a basic analysis is made of the character of the Cuban Revolution and the problems of its transition to socialism.

Among the other articles, attention needs to be drawn particularly to that on the problems of Party building in North Viet Nam and that on some aspects of the national struggle in Somal.

the sound foundations of proper Indian development should be. He answers: "Well, first of all, the establishment of a democratic apparatus with adult franchise—that is, parliamentary democracy. Secondly, I think the secular foundation of our democracy.

"Then a sound base for economic development with the Five Year Plans, and heavy industries, particularly machine-making plants, a strong public sector commanding the strategic heights of our economy, and the foundation for an independent, self-developing economy. You may say also a Socialistic pattern of Society based on the principles of gradual economic equalization and social justice."

We have in this statement many of the more important elements of the national democratic programme which India needs to draw up and implement. It is, however, more than likely that this will require stern struggle against the very author of the statement. Nehru, unless he reverts to what he terms his outmoded past, can scarce escape the nemesis of his own dualty.

R. K. Karanjia requires to be thanked for this most revealing book, even if we must sharply dissociate ourselves from his effusive compliments.

MOHIT SEN

# World Marxist Review—November Issue

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, November 1960. Price Re. 1.

THE current issue of the premier Marxist monthly of the world contains certain outstanding articles on themes as varied as the problems of the transition to Communism, the tasks of the working class in the struggle for peace and the prospects of the democratic movement in Cuba and the peasant movement in France.

A Sobolev contributes a most reasoned and well-argued article on the main link in the transition to Communism. He states that "the main link in Communist construction, the decisive prerequisite for the transition from Socialism to Communism is the creation of a powerful material and technical base".

In this connection he criticises two erroneous views: One of these is "the equalitarian-ascetic view according to which the main link in the transition to Communism is distribution, the introduction without delay of Communist principles in this sphere, irrespective of the level of production. Those who uphold this view reduce the communist ideal to equalitarian distribution". The other is the approach that sees Communism as the paradise of the laity.

He goes on to develop a truly thrilling perspective of the technical advances being made in the Soviet Union in the fields of automation, atomic electrification and the introduction of chemical processes in the sphere of material production.

Not only these advances represent a decisive stage in the domination of Nature by social Man but they also lay the basis for the elimination

of the differences between mental and manual labour.

R. Palme Dutt contributes an exhaustive article on the history of the working class struggle for peace and why it is that only now has the possibility of extended peaceful coexistence become a real one. Explaining Lenin's formulation on the collisions between socialist and capitalist states he adds:

## New Situation

"The outcome of the second World War and its sequel during the past decade and a half has brought a new balance of the world situation, which has profoundly and favourably affected the conditions for peaceful coexistence. While the general objective of peaceful coexistence remains, so long as the parallel existence of socialism and capitalism in the world continues, the situation is no longer the same as that in which Lenin made his original formulation".

With this as the background Dutt takes up for detailed analysis the factors making for the recent triumph of the Left trend in the British Labour Party at its Scarborough conference.

He concludes that "This victory has opened a profound crisis in the Labour Party leading circles. The rightwing leadership have proclaimed their determination to defy the conference decisions and go forward with their policies of the cold war, nuclear strategy and adherence to the American military alliance. The battle is thus by no means over, but advances to a higher level.

"The mass opposition has still to reach full political

clarity on all the questions of a consistent peace policy. But these victories at the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference have shown that the battle for a basic change of Britain's policy is rising, and that the centre of this battle develops within the Labour movement".

A. Rumyantsev deals crushingly with the "verbal dialectics" of Kerdel, the chief "theoretician" of the Yugo-

# LIFE OF DESHBANDEU DAS

DESHBANDEU CHITTARANJAN DAS by Hemendra Das Gupta. Builders of Modern India Series. The Publication Division, Government of India. Price Rs. 2.

WE are now some thirteen years away from that great day when the national tricolour became the emblem not of resistance but of victory. We are some thirty or forty years away from the times of the first stirrings of the Civil Disobedience and non-cooperation movement, the times when there emerged the national leaders of sacrifice and foresight. We as a nation are now a generation or more removed from the days of our founding fathers. Time enough to forget.

And, indeed we are forgetting, even those of us who should remember. The sycophancy being displayed over the forthcoming visit by Elizabeth II sickens the mind and curdles the blood. Still worse is the vacuum condition of the minds of so many of the forthcoming generation of the intelligentsia. A vacuum is a condition of mind that could produce idiocy or savagery or both.

song and dance was made about this great son of Bengal and of India.

We are given a chronological account of Chittaranjan's activities, with an inordinately detailed account of his legal acumen and stratagems. The transition to a freedom fighter is not properly explained and there is scarcely any attempt to draw attention to the backdrop of social convulsions against which the great man emerged to his greatness.

The fact is mentioned that Chittaranjan was a Bengali writer and poet of distinction but the author does not give us the feel of the passionate sincerity and the robustness of the man which explodes into the poems and the prose.

What saves the book from utter disaster are the appendices of the speeches of Deshbandhu himself. They are a remarkable call to action even today to redeem the promise of this dear, dear land of ours—so poignant and so puissant. We need this call if only to stir the dull roots of our memory with pain and to a pledge.

—R. L. GUPTA

# BOMBAY CONFERENCE GIVES NEW IMPETUS TO AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

by ROHESH CHANDRA

IT was a Conference of great success—this was the unanimous opinion of all those who participated in the Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, held at Bombay from December 2 to 4, 1960.

Of great success, first and foremost, is the large mass participation in each and every one of its numerous functions, conventions and meetings crowded into two and a half days.

There were over five thousand delegates, who enrolled themselves through countless organisations—three thousand of them from the organised trade union movement of Bombay (enrolled by the efficient and active trade union committee), another five hundred and more representing scores of women's organisations, a large number representing all the Goan nationalist forces.

Then there were the youth and students, writers, doctors and scientists, businessmen, film producers and actors, lawyers, priests—with a larger number of delegates from outside States than at any previous conference.

A procession which swelled to nearly three thousand, colourful, joyous and militant, with bands and folk-dancers and the banners of the various organisations they represented, carrying and shouting anti-imperialist and peace slogans, was a highlight of the Conference and a triumph particularly of the work of the trade union committee.

Great prestige was given to the Conference by the presence and participation of fraternal delegates and guests from the Afro-Asian Solidarity movements' Permanent Secretariat at Cairo, from the World Peace Council and from the Afro-Asian Solidarity movements of Japan, Indonesia and the Soviet Union.

A mass rally 20,000-strong came at the end of the Conference. Bombay took the Afro-Asian solidarity movement to its heart and gave it a new impetus and a new programme of action.

The Reception Committee was fortunate in having as its President Dr. V. R. Khanolkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and leaders of various parties as well and prominent personalities as Vice-Chairmen. Among them were B. A. Dalal, Deputy leader of the Congress Party in the Bombay Corporation, Dr. A. V. Baliga, Rev. Father Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas, President of the Goan Political Committee; S. D. Bhandare, leader of the Republican Party; G. D. Lad, General Secretary of the Peasants and Workers Party; film stars Balraj Sahni and Dilip Kumar; ex-Mayor and trade-union leader S.S. Mirajkar; Acharya P. K. Atre, the well-known writer and editor; Datta Deshmukh, leader of the Lal Nishan Party; Rev. Father J. S. Williams, head of the Indian National Church.

Messages came to the Conference from Chairman Khrushchev, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President Nkrumah of Ghana, President Ho Chi-Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Prime Minister Kassim of Iraq, from Earl Bertrand Russell and from the Afro-Asian Solidarity movements of Burma, China, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Vietnam, the Soviet Union and several other countries.

On the same day as the inaugural session, a little earlier, the Governor of Maharashtra presided over the opening of the Exposition of Afro-Asian Arts and Crafts, organised to coincide with the Conference by the Bhulabhai Desai Memorial Institute, the Asian Art and Culture Centre and the United Asia magazine.

From the inaugural session delegates rushed to the open-

ing of the Afro-Asian Film Festival, organised by the Film Committee of the Conference, headed by the celebrated actor Dilip Kumar. S. K. Patil, the Food Minister, inaugurated the Festival with a fighting speech in support of the independence of all peoples.

At the same time, a mass meeting of several thousand was being held at Mastan Talao, addressed by Aruna Asaf Ali and followed by an Urdu Mushaira, in honour of the Conference.

## Sectional Meetings

The second day was even more crowded. Sectional conventions of workers, of women, of youth and students and of writers were held in different parts of the city.

The women's convention, was addressed by Rameshwari Nehru, Kulsum Sayani, Hajrah Begum, Ahliya Rangekar, representatives of several Afro-Asian countries and leaders of Bombay's women's movement.

This was, perhaps, the biggest and widest gathering of women on a political issue held in recent days in Bombay—well over a thousand women representatives had gathered in the large Poddar College Hall, which was packed with several standing in the galleries outside.

The workers' convention filled the Vannal Hall in Dadar and was conducted by a Presidium which included K. N. Joglekar of the AITUC, Kale of the UTUC and P. T. Donde of the Insurance Employees' Federation.

## Trade Union Participation

One of the most welcome features of this Conference was the large number of delegates from trade unions who came from other States, including West Bengal, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. A permanent committee of trade unions for Afro-Asian Solidarity has been formed with P. K. Kurne as Convenor.

The Writers' Convention established a permanent committee of Indian writers for Afro-Asian Solidarity, with Pandit Banarsi Das Chaturvedi as President, Dr. Mulik Raj Anand as General Secretary and several leading figures from all the language groups as active participants.

A symposium of "Trends in Modern Indian Literature with special emphasis on the urge for liberation expressed in it" was a special attraction of the Writers' Convention, which was followed by a Kavi Sammelan in which leading Marathi poets participated. Writers from several States came specially to participate in the Writers' Convention.

The Youth and Students' Convention presided over by Dr. Gyanchand, though small, was an organised and effective gathering.

On the evening of December 3, a plenary session of the Conference devoted to the issue of Goa's independence brought on one platform the main leaders of all the Goan political parties.

## Goa's Liberation

We had representatives of the Goan Liberation Council, the Goan People's Party, the Azad Gomantak Dal and the National Congress (Goa)—as well as independents headed by Rev. Father Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas, President of the Goan Political Convention, the main united front of the Goan nationalist forces.

The Goan Freedom Convention, as this plenary session was called, was presided over by Aruna Asaf Ali and among others who addressed it were Dr. A. V. Baliga, A. S. E. Chari, S. G. Sardesai and B. A. Dalal.

The final day of the Conference saw at the Plenary Session, chaired by Dr. Gyanchand, the adoption of all the resolutions, the election of the new Committee and also heard interesting addresses by the foreign delegates on the current international situation.

The public rally at Shivaji Park was a powerful demonstration of the anti-imperialist consciousness of our people. The solidarity expressed for the delegates from other lands in vigorous cheers and slogans was a vivid manifestation of our support for the common struggle for peace and independence.

The songs by the great musician Pandit Omkarnath Thakur and the cultural programmes by the Bombay Youth Choir of Sri Sallu Choudhury and the Marathi troupe of Anna Bhau Sathé rounded off the public rally and brought the Conference to an end.

The Conference's success can also be gauged by the programme of action which it worked out.

The first resolution adopted by the Conference was a declaration of support to the policy of peace and non-alignment. Moved by Aruna Asaf Ali and supported by Dr. A. V. Baliga and R. K. Karanjia, this Declaration called for a campaign against the detractors of the policy of non-alignment, those who wanted to drag India into military pacts, and who have attacked the proposals for peace, disarmament and the ending of colonialism put forward by the Prime Minister at the General Assembly of the U.N.O. Among the key decisions taken were—

The establishment of a National Committee under the auspices of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, to campaign for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The first meeting of the Committee has already been held. Rameshwari Nehru was elected Patron of the Committee and Aruna Asaf Ali its Chairman. Its work begins in earnest this week, with a delegation of the Committee, headed by leaders of the Goan Political Convention, lobbying all parties in the Parliament and the Government at New Delhi.

An immediate campaign on the Congo—with the release of Prime Minister Lumumba as the central demand on the UNO, together with the disbandment of the Mobutu-gangs and the expulsion of the Belgian aggressors.

A call for the observance of a Disarmament Fortnight starting from January 30 (the day of the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi) around the slogan "Destroy the Bombs and Feed the Hungry".

Other resolutions called for action in support of the African struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism; in support of the Afro-Asian resolution on Algeria in the UNO and for the recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government; against apartheid in South Africa; against the atrocities in the Portuguese colonies; against U. S. interference and threats of aggression in Cuba; in support of the Palestine refugees; for democracy and unity in Kameroun.

## Strengthened Organisation

Resolutions were also adopted endorsing the stand taken by the Afro-Asian solidarity movement in India on India-China relations; and that taken by the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity at its recent meeting at Beirut on Laos, Japan, Vietnam, Korea and Mongolia (a more detailed summary of the resolutions will appear next week).

The Conference also improved its organisational machinery by laying emphasis on the creation of permanent sectional committees (the Maharashtra State Association has already made permanent the various committees which organised the sectional conventions at the Conference) and by expanding the Council and Executive Committee of the Association.

The Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity opens the way for the great broadening of the movement in all the States. Already the holding of the State Conferences, conventions and meetings in several States before the National Conference have led to the setting up of new organisations in many places.

The new committee, headed by Rameshwari Nehru, can and must build on the great success of the Bombay Conference to make the movement stronger and capable of undertaking the many new tasks that have fallen upon it.



## Moscow Meeting Adopts

# APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

WE, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the five continents, gathered in Moscow for the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, filled with a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind, call on you to wage:

### A UNIVERSAL STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE OF PEACE, AGAINST THE THREAT OF A NEW WORLD WAR.

Three years ago, the Communist and Workers' Parties issued a Peace Manifesto to the peoples of all the world. Since then, the peace forces have won notable victories in the struggle against the warmongers.

Today we are able, with still greater confidence in the victory of the cause of peace, to oppose the war danger that menaces millions of men, women and children. Never before in the history of mankind have there been such valid chances to realise the age-old aspirations of the peoples—to live in peace and freedom.

In face of the threat of a military catastrophe which would cause vast sacrifice, the loss of hundreds of millions of lives, and would lay in ruins the key centres of world civilisation, the question of preserving peace troubles all mankind more than ever before.

We Communists are fighting for peace, for universal security, for conditions in which all men and all peoples will enjoy peace and freedom. The goal of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole is to assure lasting peace for all peoples.

Socialism does not need war. The historic debate between the old and the new system, between socialism and capitalism, should be settled, not by a world war, but in peaceful competition, in a competition as to which social system achieves the higher level of economy, technology and culture, and provides the people with the best living conditions.

We Communists consider it our sacred duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war.

Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all the socialist countries have made the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

In our epoch the peoples and states have but one choice: peaceful coexistence and competition of socialism and capitalism, or nuclear war of extermination. There is no other way.

Where does the threat to world peace come from? All governments speak of peace. Yet it is not words that count, but deeds.

Today as in the past, it is the reactionary, monopoly and military groups in the imperialist countries that organise and instigate aggressive wars. Peace is menaced by the policy of the governments of the imperialist powers, which, contrary to the will of their own peoples, impose upon nations a disastrous arms race, fan the cold war

against the socialist and other peace-loving countries, and suppress the peoples' aspiration for freedom.

### LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES!

The peoples welcomed the proposals for universal, complete and controlled disarmament made by the Soviet Union and enthusiastically supported by all the socialist countries. Who opposes the implementation of these proposals?

It is the governments of the imperialist countries headed by the United States of America, which, instead of controlled disarmament, propose control over armaments, and try to turn disarmament negotiations into empty talk.

The peoples rejoice that for two years now three great powers have made no tests of nuclear weapons. Who obstructs a new step forward and a decision to ban the deadly tests for all time?

It is the governments of the imperialist powers, which constantly declare that they intend to resume atomic weapons tests, and continuously threaten to wreck the test-ban negotiations they were compelled to enter into under the pressure of the peoples.

The peoples do not want foreign military bases to remain in their sovereign territories. They oppose aggressive military pacts, which curtail the independence of their countries and endanger them.

Who wants the policy of aggressive pacts and bases? It is the governments of the Atlantic bloc countries, which furnish war bases on foreign soil to the West-German militarists and revenge-seekers, put weapons of mass annihilation in their hands and speed up the atomic arming of NATO troops.

It is the ruling circles of the United States of America which have imposed aggressive military pacts upon Japan, Pakistan and other countries in the Middle and Far East, which incite them against the peace-loving countries, which have occupied South Korea and made it their bridgehead and which are reviving Japanese militarism.

It is they who are interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and South Vietnam, backing the Dutch imperialists in West Irian, the Belgian imperialists in the Congo, the Portuguese in Goa, and other colonialists, preparing an armed intervention against the Cuban revolution, and involving Latin-American countries in military pacts.

It is the United States that has occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan, that keeps on sending military aircraft into the air space of the People's Republic of China, and rejects the latter's legitimate

right to have its representatives in the United Nations.

Combat-ready rocket installations, depots stocked with nuclear weapons, airborne H-bomb patrols, combat-ready warships and submarines cruising the seas and oceans, and a web of military bases on foreign soil—such are the present-day practices of imperialism. In such a situation, any country on earth, big or small, may suddenly be enveloped by the flames of a nuclear war.

Imperialism is pushing the world to the brink of war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of big monopolies and colonialists.

The enemies of peace spread falsehoods about an alleged threat of "Communist aggression". They need these falsehoods to camouflage their true goals, to paralyse the will of the peoples and justify the arms race.

### WORKERS, PEASANTS, INTELLECTUALS! PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL ALL OVER THE WORLD!

There is no task more pressing for mankind today than the struggle against the menace of a nuclear-missile war, for general and complete disarmament, for the maintenance of peace. There is no duty more lofty today than participation in that struggle. Is lasting world peace possible?

We Communists reply: **WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE, WAR CAN BE PREVENTED, PEACE CAN BE PRESERVED AND MADE SECURE.**

This conviction of ours is prompted not only by our will for peace and hatred of the warmongers. The possibility of averting war follows from the actual facts of the new world situation.

The world socialist system is becoming an increasingly decisive factor of our time. Embracing more than one-third of mankind, the socialist system with the Soviet Union as its main force uses its steadily growing economic, scientific and technical might to curb the actions of imperialism and handcuff the advocates of military gambles.

The international working-class movement, which holds high the banner of struggle for peace, heightens the vigilance of the peoples and inspires them actively to combat the aggressive policies of the imperialists.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, many millions strong, who have won their freedom and political independence, and peoples fighting for national emancipation, are becoming increasingly active champions of peace and natural allies of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

The neutral countries, which disagree with the aggressive policy of the imperialists, work for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The World Peace Movement now numbers many millions of people. In every country, the members of that move-

ment strive to safeguard their homeland from a new military conflagration.

By rallying to a resolute struggle, all these forces of peace can foil the criminal plans of war, safeguard peace and reinforce international friendship.

Peace does not come of itself. It can be defended and consolidated only through joint struggle by all the forces of peace.

### WE COMMUNISTS APPEAL TO ALL WORKING PEOPLE, TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF ALL CONTINENTS:

Fight for an easing of international tension and for peaceful coexistence, against cold war, against the arms race! If used for peaceful purposes, the vast resources squandered on armaments would make it possible to improve the condition of the people, to reduce unemployment, to raise wages and living standards, to expand housing construction and to enhance social insurance.

Prevent the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the arming of the German and Japanese militarists with weapons of mass annihilation. Demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised free city!

Combat attempts by the governments of the imperialist powers to involve new countries in the cold war, to draw them into the orbit of war preparations!

Demand the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, and prohibition of the establishment of new bases. Fight for the liberation of your countries from the aggressive military pacts imposed upon them. Work for agreements on nuclear-free zones!

Do not let the U.S. monopolies rob the heroic Cuban people of their freedom by economic blockade or armed intervention!

We Communists, who are fighting for the cause of the working class and the peoples, hold out our hand to the Social-Democrats and members of other parties and organisations fighting for peace, to all members of trade unions, to all patriots. Work in concert with us in defence of peace, for disarmament. Let us achieve concerted action!

Let us build up a joint front to combat imperialist preparations for a new war!

Let us jointly defend democratic rights and freedoms and fight against the sinister forces of reaction and fascism, against racism and chauvinism, against monopoly domination, against the militarisation of economy and political life.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES FOR THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE WEAKENS THE FORCES STRIVING FOR WAR AND MULTIPLIES THE FORCES OF PEACE.

Africa, whose peoples have

suffered most from the scourge of colonial slavery and brutal exploitation, is awakening to a new life. As they establish their independent states, the peoples of Africa emerge in the arena of history as a young, increasingly independent and peace-loving force.

But colonialism, doomed as it is by history, has not yet been completely destroyed. Brute force and terrorism bar the road to freedom for the peoples of East Africa in the British and Portuguese colonies. A cruel racist regime reigns in the Union of South Africa. For more than six years the gallant people of Algeria have been fighting for the right to national independence, shedding their blood in a war forced upon them by the French colonialists, who are supported by their Atlantic accomplices. In the Congo, the imperialists use all kinds of underhand methods and bribery in an effort to overthrow the lawful government and transfer

power to their obedient puppets. The peoples who have won the right to independent statehood continue to wage a strenuous struggle against colonialism in its new forms, against the U.S. and West-German colonialists, and against their old British, French and other oppressors, who seek at all costs to retain control of the national resources, mines and plantations of the newly-free countries, to prevent their industrial development and to saddle them with corrupt and reactionary governments.

**BROTHERS IN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE FREED THEMSELVES FROM COLONIALISM AND IN COUNTRIES WHICH ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR LIBERATION!**

The final hour of colonialism is striking! We Communists are with you! The mighty camp of socialist countries is with you! Together with you, we insist on the immediate and un-

qualified recognition of the right of all peoples to an independent existence. May the riches of your countries and the efforts of the working people serve the good of your peoples alone!

Your struggle for full sovereignty and economic independence, for your freedom, serves the sacred cause of peace!

We, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, call **ON ALL-MEN, WOMEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE; ON PEOPLE OF ALL TRADES AND ALL WALKS OF LIFE; ON ALL PEOPLE, IRRESPECTIVE OF POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS CREED, OF NATIONALITY OR RACE; ON ALL WHO LOVE THEIR COUNTRY AND HATE WAR.**

**DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE PROHIBITION OF THE TESTING, MANUFACTURE AND USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ALL OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS ANNIHILATION.**

**INSIST ON THE IMMEDIATE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY ON GENERAL, COMPLETE AND CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT.**

May modern science and technology no longer serve the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction! May they serve the good of mankind! May friendly co-operation and extensive commercial and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments!

In our epoch: **THE PEACE FORCES ARE SUPERIOR TO THE FORCES OF WAR!**

The peoples will achieve the lofty and cherished goal of safeguarding peace if they pool their efforts and fight resolutely and actively for peace and friendship among nations. Communists will devote all their energies to this cause.

**PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER WAR!**

## SOVIET-CHINESE LEADERS PLEDGE ETERNAL UNITY

**LIU SHAO-CHI**, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic and Head of the Chinese Communist Party and Government Delegation, attended a mass meeting of Soviet and Chinese friendship to welcome the Chinese Party and Government Delegation held here this afternoon at the Sports Palace of the Lenin Central Stadium. More than twelve thousand people from all walks of life attended the meeting.

Attending the meeting were members of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation: Li Ching-chuan, Lu Ting-yl, Yang Shang-kun, Liu Ning-yl and Liu Hsiao.

Present were also diplomatic envoys and Chinese students in Moscow.

The meeting was opened by Pyotr Demichev, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the C.P.S.U. Representatives of workers, intellectuals and youth greeted the distinguished guests at the meeting.

L. I. Brezhnev, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Chairman Liu Shao-chi spoke at the meeting.

Brezhnev said that the visit to the Soviet Union by the Chinese Party and Government Delegation provided another graphic proof of further consolidation and development of Soviet-Chinese friendship.

He pointed out that in these days the attention of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world was riveted to the documents of the Moscow Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties. These documents embodied the collective mind of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, he declared.

At that conference, he con-

tinued, the Communist and Workers Parties outlined the ways for furthering the unity of the socialist camp, indicated new possibilities and tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for social progress, for complete liquidation of the colonial system and for the establishment of durable friendship between all nations.

"The most important guarantee of further consolidation of the socialist system is the steadily growing unity and friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China, of all peoples of the socialist countries", he said. The socialist system was having a powerful influence on the entire course of the developments of the world today, he added.

He pointed out that the Soviet Union was a loyal and reliable friend of the Chinese people. He recalled Khrushchov's words that "the Soviet Union will regard an imperialist attack upon the People's China as an attack on our country".

Noting the great importance of the Soviet-Chinese friendship, he declared: "Linked by unbreakable bonds of friendship, the Soviet Union and China are unconquerable bastions of peace and international security". There was no force which could shake this friendship, he stressed.

Brezhnev expressed the confidence that the day would not be far off when the "stinking

corpse of the Chiang Kai-shek man" would no longer poison the atmosphere of the United Nations and People's China would take its seat in that organisation. He also noted with satisfaction that the Chinese Government supported the Soviet proposals aimed at consolidating peace, and came out together with the Soviet Union against the warmongers.

### China In U.N.

Referring to the unity of the socialist countries, Brezhnev said that it was inconceivable to bourgeois leaders that a whole number of states without a dictatorship or pressure voluntarily and in complete accordance with their interests carried through a single line in international affairs. These leaders estimated the mutual relations between the socialist countries with the yardstick of old bourgeois ideas, the wolfish laws of capitalists.

The socialist community as a whole was looking into the future while the alliances and blocs of imperialist states turned their eyes to the past, he pointed out.

In the struggle for the future of all mankind, the Soviet and Chinese peoples bore special responsibility. "It is precisely on our two countries, on our two Parties that the working people of the whole world pin their hopes", he said. The Soviet and Chinese peoples were doing everything to justify this confidence, he said.

Liu Shao-chi in his speech expressed heartfelt thanks to the Soviet people for their fraternal, sincere friendship for the Chinese people during the visit of the Chinese Party

and Government Delegation to the Soviet Union.

Liu Shao-chi then referred to the great achievements of the Soviet Union in communist construction he has witnessed during the current visit and recalled his personal experiences in 1921 when he came to the Soviet Union for the first time.

Liu Shao-chi said: from the very beginning, the Chinese Communists have regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the October Revolution. The great Soviet Union has always been the good teacher and helpful friend in the eyes of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. For the past fortythree years, he said, the great Soviet people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have exerted strenuous efforts in building and defending the socialist Soviet Union and have won great successes in socialist construction and great victory in the Great Patriotic War.

### Rapid Progress

An impoverished, backward Russia has been built into an advanced socialist power in a short period of time. All these miraculous achievements strengthen the forces of peace and socialism and inspire the confidence of the people of various countries in their striving for a better future.

Now the Soviet people, led by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, are successfully carrying out the magnificent Seven-Year Plan and unfolding all-round communist construction, attracting the broad sections of the

working people of all countries by their new successes. Liu Shao-chi said: The great Soviet Union is a powerful bulwark of world peace. It discharges its obligations of fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation to the fraternal socialist countries, actively supports the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples in the capitalist world for liberation and consistently strives for the realisation of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems.

The Chinese people firmly support these policies pursued by the Soviet Union in international affairs. Not long ago, the Soviet Delegation headed by Khrushchov, together with the delegations of other socialist countries, made new, helpful efforts at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly to lay bare the policies of aggression and war of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and expose the ugly colonialist system.

To ease international tension, the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons have won warm response and support among all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

The Chinese people are grateful to Khrushchov, for at the 15th Session of the U.N. General Assembly he resolutely stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and solemnly refuted the shameful smearing and slander of the United States against China.

China will forever stand together with the entire socialist camp, together with all the peace-loving countries and peoples, and struggle to the

end for the victory of the cause of world peace.

He said: In the struggle of the peoples of the world over for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy, freedom and socialism, the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement are the most important guarantee for winning victory.

"Unity is life, unity is strength and unity is victory. The more closely we unite, the more will be the joy of the people of the world over, the more will they be inspired and the more will they increase the confidence in their own strength", Liu Shao-chi pointed out.

Liu Shao-chi stressed that the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are the two biggest parties in the international communist movement. China and the Soviet Union are the two biggest countries in the socialist camp. The two parties and the two countries have particularly important responsibilities in their common cause.

The unity of the two parties and the two countries is also of particularly great significance. "Our common enemy—the imperialists headed by the U.S.—is trying to undermine the unity between China and the Soviet Union by every conceivable means.

"But, just as one cannot see the sun rising from the west, they will always fail to find separation between the two great parties, great countries, and great peoples of China and the Soviet Union. Our unity is linked by the common ideas and common cause, developed and consolidated in the joint struggle against the common enemy and based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

December 7



# CENTRAL AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES

THE Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland consists of the three territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia is a British Colony and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are British Protectorates. The Federation is surrounded by South Africa on the southern part; the two Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola on both east and west; Tanganyika and Congo on the north, and Bechuanaland on the south-west.

Southern Rhodesia has had self-government since 1923; the British Government handed over the government to the European settlers. They did this by fixing high franchise qualifications. The average wage of an African at the time was £1 a month. The Franchise Law laid it down that the only person who could vote was one whose salary was more than £10 a month.

As the average wage of a European was £25 a month at that time, most of the Europeans qualified as voters, while most of the Africans were excluded. This is why Southern Rhodesia has had an all-white Parliament like the Union of South Africa.

As the wages of the Africans rose with the rising cost of living, so also the franchise qualifications were raised, in order to continue excluding the Africans from the voters' roll; until the present day, when the franchise qualifications are that a person must receive £720 per annum, i.e. £60 per month. The average wage of an African today is £5 a month, whereas that of a European is £100 a month.

Because of this settler-controlled Government in Southern Rhodesia, the colour bar has been as strong as in the Union of South Africa, and the discriminatory laws are almost the same as those prevailing in the Union.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the other hand, are a little different. They are both British Protectorates,

and the British Government has full responsibility there. The British colonial policy towards Protectorates and the colonies is to advance colonial peoples until they are ready to govern themselves—this has been repeated again and again by successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies, both Labour and Conservative.

The people of Northern Rhodesia, therefore, expected to advance in exactly the same way as the people of West Africa, East Africa and the West Indies, i.e. towards democratic self-government with one man, one vote. In 1953, the legislatures of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia had Africans in them, while Southern Rhodesia had none.

But, these Africans were elected in an unusual manner—they were not elected directly by the African population. In the case of the European population, however, they were allowed to elect their representatives directly. It was not specified that the electors had to be Europeans, but, as in Southern Rhodesia the qualifications were so high that they excluded most of the Africans.

Moreover, there was a provision that before a person could vote in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he had to be a British subject. The inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are British-protected persons. In other words, inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had to change their nationality before they could vote.

ration was going to be a democratic one, or whether it would be settler-controlled. Judging from the fact that the initiative for the Federation came from Europeans in Southern Rhodesia and European extremists in Northern Rhodesia, it was quite obvious to the Africans that the Federation would not be democratic.

The Labour Government in 1951 submitted to the pressure from the European settlers, and agreed to hold a Conference which would



● MAINZA CHONA  
(Vice-President United National Independence Party of N. Rhodesia)

consider Federation. The Conference, which was settler-dominated, found that there was a case for Federation, but the Labour Government noted that Africans were bitterly opposed to the Federation.

In 1951, a Conservative Government succeeded the Labour Government, and announced immediately that it was strongly in favour of Federation. Economic benefits were stressed, and it was said that these were far more important than any opposition from the Africans. Africans sent delegations to London to protest against Federation.

There were riots in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the African delegation even refused to attend the Conference on Federation which was held in London. Nevertheless, the British Government went ahead with Federation.

When the Federation Scheme was published, it was quite clear that it was in fact the settlers who were going to control the Federation. The members of the first Federal Parliament from Southern Rhodesia were elected on the high franchise qualifications already described, and they actually turned out to be Europeans only.

## African Representation

In Northern Rhodesia, there were only eleven Africans on the voters' roll, so that the only people who were elected were Europeans. In Nyasaland there were no Africans on the voters' roll, therefore, again only Europeans were elected.

In fact, the Colonial Secretary of the time admitted that it was unlikely that any

African would be elected to the first Federal Parliament. In order to have African representatives in the Federal Parliament, the European settlers in Southern Rhodesia were given a right to choose two Africans; and there were also two Africans from both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland elected by African bodies. There were also three Europeans, one from each territory, to represent African interests.

On top of all this, there was a body called the "African Affairs Board" which was described as an "impregnable safeguard". Its function was to declare any Bill which was discriminatory against Africans as a "differentiating measure" (which the Secretary of State for the Colonies could veto).

It is quite obvious that the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland saw that their constitutional development would be hindered by the imposition of a White-controlled Federal Government, but the British Government pointed out that the constitutional advance of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was going to remain the sole responsibility of the British Government.

## Welensky Appeased

When the Federation was imposed in 1953, the Constitution provided for a Review Conference to be held between 1960 and 1963. The 1957 Declaration by Mr. Lennox Boyd and Sir Roy Welensky, fixed 1960 as the year for the Conference. In 1959, the British Government felt that they needed an Advisory Commission of Enquiry to help them in preparing for 1960.

They conceded to Sir Roy Welensky's demands that half the commissioners should come from the Federation, and that he should appoint some of them.

The agreed wording of the terms of reference was "to advise the five Governments in preparation for the 1960 Review on the Constitutional programme and framework best suited to the achievement of the objects contained in the Constitution of 1953, including the 'preamble'."

The preamble referred (1) to the policy of partnership, and (2) to the fact that before the Federation could achieve Dominion Status the British Government would have to be satisfied that this was the desire of the "inhabitants".

When the Federation was imposed in 1953, the British Colonial Secretary at the time made it clear that the 1960 Conference was not going to decide whether Federation should continue or not; the Review Conference was merely going to make such alterations as would be necessary having regard to the experience of the past.

Sir Roy Welensky, therefore, insisted that the Monckton Commission should have no right to recommend secession. Mr. Macmillan thought that the wording of the terms of reference as it stood, did not allow the Commission to recommend secession.

However, he thought that the Commission had the right to hear all kinds of evidence, including, in other words, the evidence in favour of secession. Lord Monckton gave a Press conference before he

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# JUTE INDUSTRY'S CRISIS

by Bhabani Roy Chowdhury

(General Secretary, Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union)

WITH the announcement of the first meeting of the Central Wage Board for Jute Industry fixed on November 22, 1960 the powerful organisation of the employers, the Indian Jute Mills Employers' Association (IJMA) ordered the further sealing of 10 per cent of the looms to its member mills, in two instalments.

First, on October 17, 1960 the closure would begin, to be followed up a week after, over and above the then existing sealed looms of 9 per cent in the industry. Thus, by this unilateral action about 6,000 looms were sealed rendering about 20,000 workers unemployed (the average complement in the industry being 35 workmen per loom).

Never in the history of this century-old industry, has this much production—the net extent of 19 per cent—been curtailed. The plea of the IJMA was shortage of raw jute. But, subsequently, at three successive joint conferences held under the auspices of the State Labour Commissioner, the IJMA representatives could not prove their case of alleged shortage. On the contrary, it was proved beyond doubt that actually there was not any appreciable shortage which warranted a drastic curtailment of production. On the last day, a representative

from the Central Jute Commission's Office, who was specially invited was also present.

The union representatives, representing all the four central trade unions, unitedly characterised the IJMA's unilateral action as arbitrary, as a violation of the Code of Discipline, and as being motivated by a policy of retrenchment, rationalisation of production to prejudice the case of the workmen before the Wage Board for interim relief.

## RAW JUTE

Considering all aspects of the situation, the State Labour Commissioner suggested that pending the final ascertainment of the raw jute position, 10 per cent of the sealed looms be immediately unsealed. The unions accepted the proposal but the IJMA, possibly because of the backing of New Delhi bosses rejected the proposal outright.

And they have now shifted to a new point, viz., the high prices of raw jute. To check the prices and to cut it down IJMA has issued instructions to its members not to buy raw jute beyond a certain quota fixed by it.

To cover up their misdeeds, the IJMA bosses rushed to New Delhi and the Industries and Commerce Ministry very promp-

tly obliged them by signing an agreement allowing them to curtail production to the extent of eight per cent with the strength of that "agreement" they came to the Chief Minister to "bargain".

In implementing the Delhi agreement, the IJMA proposed 30 per cent of loom-sealing and reduction of working hours from 48 to 45 hours per week. It should be remembered that the workers are in the meantime kept unemployed by all this dilly-dallying.

Unlike other industries, these workers do not get any lay-off compensation as they have been kept as budhis—a peculiar status and quite inconsistent with the norms of civilised industrial relations. An industry which has developed for the last hundred years and which stands second as a foreign-exchange earner (it earned Rs. 115 crores in 1955-60), denies the minimum facilities to the majority of workers.

In the name of introduction of rationalisation more than a lakh of workers have been denied permanency and have been kept as substitutes for years together. Nobody knows whose substitutes they are. A tripartite special committee on jute was appointed to investigate this matter.

It could not come to any unanimous decision but its chairman, M. C. Banerjee, Judge, First Industrial Tribunal submitted his report to

the Government with his recommendations.

The tribunal recommended higher DA in case the CLI goes up over 335—but there was no formal direction. Since 1956 there has been a continuous upward trend in the CLI—in August 1960 it rose to 412.

## LABOUR AGREES

These were discussed later on in a State Labour Advisory Board meeting and generally accepted by the labour representatives. Unfortunately, though more than nine months have passed, they have been kept in cold storage because the IJMA did not agree to them.

Labour in this industry has always been neglected. This is the only major industry where workers are not paid any bonus. Even today the total minimum emolument of a worker is Rs. 67.17 (Rs. 34.87 as basic and Rs. 32.50 as DA) fixed by the Tribunal five years back.

The Tribunal at that time deducted Rs. 4.87 nP from dearness allowance (DA) (Pre-'55 tribunal it was Rs. 37.38 nP) on the plea of the fall in the Cost of Living Index (CLI) to 325.

The industry never implemented an upward revision of DA on the plea that there

was no categorical direction. Neither could the State Government be moved in the matter. As a result, every worker has suffered a loss to the extent of Rs. 297.48 nP and the industry has been "saved" a sum of Rs. 4.75 crores.

In this background, the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union on behalf of the workers has put forward their claim before the Wage Board for interim relief—a case which has been proved beyond doubt.

So, the IJMA has taken recourse to sealing the looms and creating a further reserve of unemployment, weakening the bargaining power of the workers.

Due to organisational weakness and disunity, the workers as yet could not give a fitting reply to the conspiracy of jute bosses, who cheat them as well as the peasants.

For high prices of raw jute (for which, of course, speculation is mainly responsible) 20,000 workers were rendered unemployed. But when in 1958 they purchased raw jute at Rs. 12 per maund, cheating the peasants, they did not give a single naya Paisa to the workers. That is why the workers are preparing for a determined battle, the essential pre-condition for which is unity and strong trade-union organisation.

# CENTRAL AFRICA

\* FROM FACING PAGE

started work, and said that the Commission would interpret the terms of reference according to the kind of evidence they received.

The Commission has now reported, and while they are in favour of Federation, they make it quite clear that the Federation cannot continue unless it can enlist the support of the Africans. The Commission rejected the idea that the reasons why Federation is hated is because of lack of propaganda among the Africans.

It says "the indignities that many of them have suffered on their visits to Southern Rhodesia are very vivid in their minds, and these are felt most acutely by those who are leaders of political thought".

The Commission further rejected the idea that failure on the part of the British officials to recommend Federation to the Africans was the main reason why Africans dislike Federation. The Commission says—"more important was the fact that Federation was imposed against the will of the Africans in the Northern territories."

"This criticism was expressed to us again and again by African witnesses and there is no doubt that it has been one of the greatest obstacles to the Federation's success. No new arrangement can succeed unless it obtains the support of the African people".

The Federation has "failed to give expression to the concept of partnership, not merely in the daily life but in the Constitution itself. Africans were critical of the small

number of African seats in the Federal Legislature".

These together with many other complaints, gave the Africans the "impression that the Federation was for the benefit of Europeans only". The Commission found that in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland the African Nationalist Parties boycotted it.

They pointed out that "the very thoroughness of the boycott, reinforced by widespread intimidation and violence, in itself indicates the degree of influence over the African population which the Nationalist Organisations have obtained".

The Commission pointed out that despite this intimidation of the free expression of opinion by African political parties, "we were left in no doubt that genuine opposition to Federation on the part of Africans in the Northern territories has grown more intense during the last seven years, and that expectations that this opposition would decline as the economic advantages of Federation became apparent, have not been realised...."

## FEDERATION OPPOSED

"Africans feel that Federation has held back political advancement in the Northern territories.... So long as Federation seems to them to block their way to rapid political progress, so long will their hostility to it continue to grow".

The Commission notes the Wind of Change which has taken place in the whole of Africa, notably the increase in the number of independent

African States, and the progressive advancement of other Colonial territories.

And they continue, "it now appears to many Africans that only the presence of the European community, politically entrenched behind the Federal Constitution, stands between them and the form of freedom already granted to their fellow-Africans in most parts of the Continent".

Most of the Commission's findings are accurate, but it was wrong in saying that "there was no organised boycott by African political parties in Southern Rhodesia". In fact, the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia boycotted the Monckton Commission.

Although the Monckton Commission are accurate in their findings, they have erred in their recommendations. They have recommended that there should be a Parliament of thirty Africans and thirty Europeans.

The Commission know that this would not be acceptable to the Africans, and that it can only be implemented as an imposition—something that they are against. Africans of Central Africa want unqualified self-government and equal rights for all people, irrespective of their colour.

The Monckton Commission failed to agree on the franchise qualification—they leave that to a Franchise Committee. However, the Monckton Commission has made it clear that the British Government should declare now that secession will be discussed at the 1960 Review Conference.

The Commission has also recommended that Southern Rhodesia should be allowed to secede now if the "inhabi-

itants" should so desire, and that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be allowed a right to secede after five years from now, if the inhabitants so desire.

This is an unpopular recommendation because Africans want the immediate dissolution of the Federation. We are glad that we never took any part in the Monckton Commission, so that, Monckton or no Monckton, the Federation would not be dissolved, and our way to self-government must be as clear as that of any other British territory.

The Federal Review Conference is starting from December 5, 1960. According to Sir Roy Welensky, the 1960 Conference "must end with the way open to full independence for the Federation". His party advocates a Government "responsible to an electorate restricted by high franchise qualifications, where European influence is predominant".

## BOYCOTT CONFERENCE

This contrasts with the opinion of the Africans who are demanding the replacement of the Colonial Office rule by a Government based on adult suffrage in all three territories. Africans object to a state of affairs where Europeans legislate, and the Africans obey. It is, therefore, quite obvious that the Federal Review Conference will be a failure.

The United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia have already announced that they are going

to boycott the Federal Elections.

Sir Roy Welensky has accused Mr. Macmillan of "letting him down" over the Monckton Commission. He alleges that Mr. Macmillan gave him an assurance that the Commission would not recommend secession. Nothing could be more ridiculous.

Mr. Macmillan, who was not a member of the Commission, had as Sir Roy Welensky well knew, no right to make any assurance on behalf of the Commission. Nearly all Commissions of Enquiry exceed their terms of reference one way or another, and anyway is Sir Roy Welensky the right man to question other peoples' honour?

A man who bans British M.P.s from entering British Protectorates where they have responsibility; a man who refuses to condemn violence and illegal activities of the Rhodesian Republican Army; a man who defined partnership as a policy of "the horse and its rider"; a man who refused to condemn the recent harsh legislation in Southern Rhodesia which compelled the resignation of Chief Justice Sir Robert Treadgold.

This legislation, inter alia, makes it an offence for anybody to be unemployed, when in fact it is the Government's duty to provide full employment.

Sir Roy Welensky sometimes talks of resigning, on the grounds that he has been outmanoeuvred. The African reply is that the sooner he does so the better. After all, he should regard it as a very great honour indeed to have ever been Prime Minister.

PAGE ELEVEN

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# Madhya Pradesh Communist Conference

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

The Madhya Pradesh Party Conference was rightly held under the very nose of Bhilai. It could not be held in Bhilai because the whole area is under the Project Authorities. It was held in the nearest town, Raipur.

The local people spontaneously contrasted our conference with the AICC Session that had recently been held in the same town. The Congress bosses had freely commandeered material from Bhilai for the AICC construction. In our conference, everything was honestly paid for from small but generous donations of the citizens or it was a labour of love by Party members and supporters. The AICC was on a lavish scale. Our conference was simple but striking. Everybody approached, lent a helping hand. They all said that that was a mela, this is a real political conference.

The Conference was held from December 1 to 4. Over 90 delegates attended. Comrade P. C. Joshi attended on behalf of the Secretariat of the National Council.

Madhya Pradesh is the biggest but on the whole a backward State. This backwardness, however, is tending to become a thing of the past, in more ways than one.

This stood out in the political-organisational report of Secretary Khandkar and during the discussions held.

About the time the first Plan ended, the various parts of the older States were merged to form the new Madhya Pradesh. Its sheer backwardness stands out from some basic facts. According to 1951 census, literacy in the State was 9 per cent, the latest figures put it at 12, far below the national average. While the Indian average for electricity is 16.5 kw, in Madhya Pradesh it is only 8.5.

Madhya Pradesh is surplus in food production but it is at the bottom in terms of irrigated fields; only 7.5 per cent of the land is irrigated.

## Dismal Record

Most of the Second Plan targets have not been fulfilled. In food, the target was 14,61,000 tons but in the first three years the production has not gone beyond 4,37,000 tons.

This dismal record, however, is relieved by the amazing progress and heartening production records of the Bhilai plant which has shaken to its very foundations the traditional economic and social stagnation of what was once the most backward part of this backward State, the Chattisgarh Division. Round about Bhilai are the coal and iron ore mines. They are all being rapidly developed. From November, the Bhopal Heavy Electrical Plant has gone into production. These two mighty projects of basic industries were acclaimed as the strong pillars of the future industrialisation of the State.

Increasing tax burdens, rising prices, falling standard of life has inevitably led to developing discontent among the people. And this expressed itself in a series of mass movements.

In January 1959, the price of wheat began increasing from Rs. 20-22 to Rs. 30-32 and in some places to Rs. 36 per maund. This led to mass campaigns and hunger strikes in various cities of the State.

Hundreds joined the strike and after the call for a 24-hour mass hunger strike was given, the State Government woke up and partly met the demands of the people and the cheap-grain shops were increased.

Quite a different type of movement, however, grew up in Chattisgarh, the rice-bowl of the State. The export of the rice by the private traders is not allowed by the State Government. Rice-kings were dead set against State trading. They could not, however, win mass support for their straight-forward demand for greater profits for themselves and elimination of State trading. They, therefore, tried to act cleverly.

## Export Demand

They exploited the position that the price of rice in the State was Rs. 8 per maund while in neighbouring Bengal, and Bombay it was Rs. 15. They therefore, combined the demands for the right of export with increase in prices. The Chattisgarh Mahasabha and the PSP leaders became their spokesmen and campaign organisers. The Party acted firmly but tactfully. It resolutely opposed the rice-kings' demands, but demanded increased prices for the actual producers. The PSP satyagrahis could only send 200-250 tribal peasants to jail. The Congress split over the issue but the Chief Minister, Katju stood firm. Our Party and all the progressive elements campaigned in favour of State trading.

The State Government proposed reactionary labour legislation to stabilise the IN-TUC monopoly and make the very existence of independent trade unions impossible. Except for the IN-TUC, all the trade unions rallied against it and so did the opposition elements. The campaign of mass signatures, meetings and demonstrations culminated on September 24 with a hunger strike and mass demonstration before the State Assembly in the capital.

This anti-Black Bill movement coincided with the State-wide strike of State Government employees. The Government had been turning a deaf ear to their elementary demands. On September 17, they took mass leave and brought the whole administrative machinery to a stand-still. The Government announced a Rs. 5 wage increase but this did not satisfy them. On October 1, they did not accept their wages and from October 1, their State-wide general strike began. The Party with the other opposition elements gave the call for a total general hartal in the State capital, Bhopal, and it was a thundering success.

The INTUC gave the call to its followers throughout the State to assemble and demonstrate in Bhopal in support of labour legislation proposed by the State Government. About six thousand of them came, at somebody else's expense, through special trains and 72 buses but a total citizens' hartal greeted them in the capital city. No cha-walla sold them tea! As against their small though

very expensive affair was the demonstration of 20 thousand Bhopal citizens before the State Assembly against the Black Bill and in solidarity with the State employees. In July this year the Central Government employees strike came and the employees from our State also joined. Functionaries of our Party were arrested everywhere because they worked for the strikers in solidarity.

The border dispute with China was used by every other political party to attack the rising influence of our Party and it would be wrong to say that we did not suffer.

The big test, however, came during the Municipal elections (December 1959) when we won the majority in Bhopal with 16 seats, the Congress coming next. The Hindu Mahasabha got only one seat and the Jan Sangh and the PSP none!

The Congress regime has not only stirred discontent against itself but the influence of the Congress has visibly declined. The Congress is divided into three factions. One is led by the State Congress Chief, Deshlahara, Seth Govind Dass, Takhatmal Jain and it is supported by the rice-kings and other vested interests. Another group is headed by the notorious reactionary D. P. Misra, some of whose men are in the ministry as well. He is the old rival of Deshlahara and because of this supports the ministerial group which is headed by Dr. Katju himself. The ministerialist group is heterogeneous.

The failure of the Congress Government to implement its promises and appease the vested interests instead had led not only to popular struggles but healthy opposition right inside the ruling Party itself.

Some of the sharpest criticisms of the failures in implementing the Plan, against new taxation, police zoolom, corruption and bureaucratic high-handedness have been made by the Congress MLAs themselves, in growing numbers, inside the State Assembly. 80 Congress Harijan MLAs went on record against the high land ceiling originally proposed by the State Government. They even threatened to resign and the Government had to bend to some extent.

## Congress Position

The same phenomenon helped to change the Panchayat, the Revenue Code, Land Reform Bills in the interest of the common people to some extent without however changing the basic policy of compromise with the vested interest. This does not mean that these Congress back-benchers have gone very left but it does mean that they are becoming more assertive.

Despite the decline in its influence, the Congress remains the dominating political Party in the State.

Inside the Assembly after the Congress, comes the PSP. Its influence has been rapidly declining. Its alignment with the rice-kings has gone against it and so has its opportunism on the issue of land ceiling, as also their passivity over the Central Government employees' strike. Their leaders tried to get going in a big way with the anti-China campaign but it did not take them far. Many have resigned from their Party and joined the Congress in-

cluding their Mayor of Jabulpore. Among the politically enlightened, the PSP is considered an unprincipled Party. They have publicly announced that they will contest 151 seats in the coming elections but this is only their manoeuvre to negotiate from on-high with opportunist and reactionary elements.

The Socialist Party has significant influence in some peasant and tribal localities. In their annual satyagrahas they sent 300-400 people to jail this year. Their negative policy and anarchic ways have led to their political discredit among the thinking elements and their anti-communism keeps them stagnant, self-satisfied and isolated. Their dissatisfied elements are joining the Congress and a few our Party.

## Communal Forces

The Jan Sangh has increased its influence through its vigorous campaigns against cooperative farming, State trading and land ceiling among the rich peasants, whole-salers and the old feudal elements. They have sought to exploit national sentiment over the border issue. They are concentrating upon a contiguous belt for the coming general elections.

The Hindu Mahasabha has lost to the Jan Sangh and to keep its existence, it resorts to Hindu-Muslim riots, campaigns against cow-slaughter, etc.

The Muslim League is trying to come out in the open and trying to revive its organisation, especially in the big Muslim areas. A section of the Congress leaders is helping the Leaguers because they think that is the only way they can defeat us in Bhopal and weaken the Communist influence in the other Muslim areas.

Prof. Ranga and V. P. Menon have toured the State to organise the Swatantra Party. They successfully contacted the old feudal and reactionary dissident Congress elements. They have registered no striking success so far. The Swatantra bank a lot upon roping in those Congress leaders who do not get the Congress ticket and thus participate in the next elections in a big way. They are waiting watching, and contacting in the meanwhile.

The Communist Party influence, everybody conceded, has really grown but its unevenness was also emphasised during the discussions. We are a political popular force in all the industrial centres and the big cities but we remain weak in the rural areas. The work of our MLAs has won us increased prestige. It was decided to use it to broaden our contacts with all progressive patriotic elements and especially those in the Congress.

The weakness of our united front work came out sharply during the discussions. The political resolution called upon the Party to unite all possible democratic elements against Right reaction and communalism, for the defeat of the undemocratic and anti-people policies of the Congress Government, and do everything to strengthen fraternal links with all honest Congressmen, and healthy elements inside the PSP and SP, especially those linked with the people and serving them.

The Party had grown by championing the people's demands and organising their struggles. The Conference

mandated the new leadership to take concrete measures to activate and educate its working class supporters so that they play their vanguard role. It also demanded that the chronic weakness among the peasantry be quickly ended and forward moves organised.

The new and the most significant feature of Madhya Pradesh is the growth of giant public sector projects and the new stirring among the tribal peasantry. The Conference decided that the Party concentrate its efforts in strengthening the public sector and organising the tribal peasantry around and thus build worker-peasant alliance in flesh and blood for which the situation is already over-ripe, and ardent militants are coming for leadership to the Party.

The new determination of the comrades was revealed when all the delegates, packed in buses, went to visit Bhilai and were welcomed by high and low alike and saw the magnificent plant with their own eyes. Everybody felt thrilled and strengthened within himself. This was again highlighted when the mass demonstration on the concluding day of the Conference was headed by Maria girl-dancers with young men playing the drums. They came from the neighbouring district of Bastar which was in the news. They were followed by hundreds of scheduled caste bidi working women, workers from every industrial centre and peasants from Chattisgarh. They stirred the whole city and brought every political section to the evening rally.

The role of the Party and its policy was explained by the Indore MLA, Homi Daji, Bhopal MLA, and old national veteran, Shakir. Ali Khan and finally by Comrade Joshi. When Comrade Joshi was talking on the achievements of the world communism and their significance for our country, a few Jansanghis interrupted with questions of China they got the answer that shut them up. The non-communists in the audience including the pressmen readily conceded, whether one agreed with you communists or not you have a policy and you are honest and purposeful.

As the comrades left for their home districts, everybody felt they would work better and harder under the banner of the Party and win it new victories.

**NEW AGE**

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# CONGO FIGHTS! INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

THE dangerous stalemate in the Congo continues. It looks very much as if the whole country—and much else besides—is on the point of explosion. It cannot possibly remain as it is now with opposing forces poised for action.

The first point that needs stressing is the continuing struggle of the patriotic Congolese forces. The arrest of Lumumba was, no doubt, a set-back in view not only of his official post but also because of his outstanding position among the people throughout the country.

But this has not led to that collapse of the resistance to the imperialists that Mobutu's masters had hoped for. The leaders at Stanleyville proclaimed their intention to take the sternest measures should Lumumba be harmed.

Certain quarters raised a howl at the declaration that the Belgians in Orientale and Equateur provinces would be held as hostages. There seems to be little doubt, however, that this threat has till this day stayed the hands of those who would like nothing better than the death of the Congolese Premier.

That such was their intention is clear enough from the following account of the massacre in Kikwit (the town where the Premier was seized) perpetrated by the Mobutu forces: "Here now there stand only hundreds of bullet-riddled empty homes. The entire population of 24,000 Congolese fled in panic to the jungle before the advancing forces of Col. Mobutu, who opened fire on them in the streets and in their homes...."

"About 100 patients (in the only civilian hospital) got up from their sick-beds and fled to the jungle. None of the patients who fled has since been found. Some were expectant mothers.... It is feared that... scores of dead are lying in the thick jungle forests.... It is also estimated that about 100 were drowned when in their panic they attempted to swim across the Kwilu". (Daily Telegraph, London, December 9).

## Counter Attack

The patriotic forces are strongest in their resistance in the provinces of Orientale, Equateur and in Katanga where the struggle of the Baluba tribesmen has continued unabated from the first days of Tshombe's treachery.

It cannot be precluded that, failing other methods to restore the functioning of Parliament and the sovereignty of the Republic, these patriotic leaders will form some sort of Provisional Government as against the Kasavubu-Mobutu gang.

Simultaneously with Congolese resistance has proceeded the strong counter-offensive of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the neutralist bloc of Afro-Asian States.

Despite all the manoeuvres of the U.S. the Security Coun-

clusion that the U.N. Secretary-General is unable to prevent the Congo's simultaneous drift towards the Western camp and chaos".

The UAR Government declared that it looked "as if the United Nations sent its forces to liquidate the independent and national regime and to restore imperialist domination over the Congolese Republic".

On December 10 Indonesia's Foreign Minister Subandrio, announcing the withdrawal of his country's forces, declared: "We should guard that the Indonesian troops are not to be employed as a tool of neo-colonialism in the Congo.... The U.N. had failed in the Congo and it would be better to withdraw all U.N. troops from that country".

The imperialists and their myrmidons have not, of course, been quiet all these days and in the face of this barrage the U.S. delegate at the Security Council openly supported the atrocious arrest of Lumumba: "We fully accept the position of President Kasavubu that Mr. Lumumba was legally removed from his office...."

Kasavubu has quite offensively declared that he not only supports Mobutu's outrageous action to allow nobody to contact the Congolese Premier, but that he will not allow any U.N. Commission to come to the Congo, if States like Ghana and Guinea are represented on it.

Mobutu has had the effrontery to go so far as to attempt to dictate as to where the U.N. forces are to be transported and where not. His ruffians had attempted to have the PTI correspondent thrown out of the country. For the moment these particular moves have been checkmated.

## Mobutu's Ambitions

But this soldier-adventurer has other and bigger ambitions. He had a meeting at Brazzaville with President Youlou of that ex-French colony as well as with Kalonji who had led a separatist movement in the Congolese province of Kasai. He was hailed in the most flattering terms by these two other worthies.

Emboldened by this he declared that from January 1, his College of Commissioners will transform itself into the Provisional Government of the Congo. He followed up this statement with a demonstrative search of the residence of President Kasavubu.

The latter gentleman is now in an obvious panic and announced on December 12 his intention to hold formal talks with Mobutu — his "Prime Minister" Ileo has publicly protested at the "isolation" in which the Congolese army continues to keep him.

Much more serious than these petty bickerings among the puppets is the fact that

right at this critical juncture the U.S. President-elect's brother Edward Kennedy and a group of U.S. Senators landed at Leopoldville.

They are reported to be on an "African study tour." It is far more likely that they are giving on-the-spot instructions to their agents to consummate the U.S. takeover of the Congo.

In this situation India has not done enough. Her representatives have made fine and brave statements. Krishna Menon in New York and Nehru in New Delhi have both correctly nailed down who are the guilty Congolese personalities and even thrown a hint or two about those who are backing them up.

But the Government of India has not decided to do anything at this moment. At a moment of crisis, masterly inactivity, clothed in the finery of polished phrases, is scarcely better than helping the enemy. India must do more.

The Western Powers at the moment seem to have the U.N. executive machinery and the U.N. Congo Command in their grip. This has led Hindu's Balaraman to write from New York (December 6) that "Many observers here fear

that another Korea may be in the making in the Congo.... "Since the Western Powers are of the opinion that the best place for Mr. Lumumba is behind bars, the chances of the U.N. Command's mandate being expanded (to include the release of the Premier and the disbanding of Mobutu's forces—M.S.) should be deemed to be dim".

Yet, if any country can prod the U.N. Command in the Congo to purposive action it is India, with her prestige and the strategically placed Rajeshwar Dayal and Rikhye. Unfortunately, it would appear that India is not doing enough such prodding by far. She could do far more in this direction.

If India finds that the U.N. cannot be moved to go to the aid of Congolese freedom but, on the contrary, helps its destruction then she should at once disengage and join the goodly company of the advanced African and Asian States.

Together with them and with the Socialist countries India could convene a meeting outside the U.N. and draw up joint measures to give moral succour and material help to the hard-pressed forces in the Congo, battling for its very life.

# LAOS IN DANGER

THE current phase of the Laotian crisis has the most dangerous implications for the peace and security of South-east Asia and the world.

First, as the Soviet note of December 13 states: "If two or three months ago the Government of the USA made some effort to camouflage its unlawful actions in Laos, lately the United States has in effect become a party to military operations on the side of the rebels against the lawful Government of Laos and the Laotian people".

Operating from Thailand the U.S. has supplied all manner of weapons to the Phoumi Nosavan clique. It has gone a stage further and seems to be on the point of recognising the rebel group in Savannakhet and Luang Prabang.

## Resistance Continues

Second, the situation in Vientiane became so serious that Premier Souvanna Phouma had to escape to the capital of friendly neutralist Cambodia. But it would be quite wrong to imagine that he did not leave indications as to who his temporary successors are.

On December 5 he openly denounced the U.S. for pouring in arms to the Nosavan rebels. And when he left the capital on December 9 he publicly proclaimed that he had delegated all powers to the

Army led by Kong Lae, who was instrumental in restoring him to the Premiership.

Third, Quinin Pholesena, who represented Premier Souvanna Phouma at the recent negotiations with the Pathet Lao, has gone to Hanoi on December 11. He is accompanied by the Pathet Lao representative Phoumi Vengichit. He has gone to secure the aid of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRVN) and all other powers interested in the maintenance of Laotian freedom.

The Soviet Government has already sent its strong protest to the U.S. Government.

## Appeal To Nehru

The DRVN Premier has sent a message to Premier Nehru appealing for "urgent and effective action to stop foreign intervention in Laos, especially U.S. intervention, to effectively support the legal Government of Souvanna Phouma and to ensure the respect of the Geneva Agreement".

There can be no doubt that moral and political support apart, the socialist camp will render all the necessary material aid to the legitimate Laotian Government. Laos, like Congo, cannot be allowed to be submerged again by the U.S. imperialists.

—MOHIT SEN

December 14



# RALLY FOR CONGO

A MASS rally held in Calcutta on December 10 strongly condemned imperialist intervention in Congo and urged upon the Afro-Asian countries to "play a positive part and take active and adequate steps inside and outside the UN to put a curb on imperialist activities in Congo, get Mr. Lumumba freed and bring about a situation in which the legal Government of Congo, enjoying the confidence and support of the people, could be re-installed to power and allowed to function smoothly."

The resolution adopted at the rally further stated that so far the moves of the Government of India had not been adequate to meet the needs of the situation. India could and must "play an important role in uniting Afro-

Asian countries in defence of the people of Congo, bringing pressure on the UN and thwarting imperialist machinations".

The rally was organised jointly by all the Left Parties except the PSP. Amar Basu, MLA (Marxist F.B.) presided.

After the meeting a demonstration of several thousand people, carrying flags, festoons and posters and shouting "Hands Off Congo", "Down with imperialist intervention", "Release Lumumba", marched to the U.S. Consulate-General. Strong police pickets were posted at both places and the processionists were stopped at some distance from the Consulate, the gates of which were barred.

The Leftist leaders, however, went to the office gates to hand over the memoranda which were signed by them and addressed to the Belgian and the U.S. Gov-

ernments. As the memorandum to the latter was being received by the U.S. Vice-Consul, several thousand people held up by police cordon raised thunderous slogans against U.S. imperialism.

The memorandum to the Belgian Government demanded immediate withdrawal of Belgian forces and personnel from Congo. The one addressed to the U.S. Government condemned its naked interference in the affairs of Congo and demanded that it "must give up obstructionist tactics directed against the working of the U.N. organisation in Congo."

"It must cooperate with other nations in bringing about a situation in which the legal Government of Congo led by Mr. Lumumba could be reinstated to power, Congolese Parliament be opened and the Lumumba Government be allowed to function smoothly."

The Leftist leaders, however, went to the office gates to hand over the memoranda which were signed by them and addressed to the Belgian and the U.S. Gov-

## Security Act Denounced

THE life of the West Bengal Security Act was extended by five years on December 9 after a heated two-day debate in the State Assembly.

The Opposition put up a stiff fight and as the measure was being put to vote, most of the Opposition members, except those of the PSP, walked out in protest. Two PSP members, however, defied the party whip and joined in the walk-out.

Introducing the Bill to extend the life of the Act, the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, brazenly claimed that it was not meant to be applied against political parties and their legitimate activities. But, it was necessary for a State with a long international border like West Bengal to be well administered.

He further said that the security of the country had been endangered as a result of the activities of a certain State on the northern frontiers of West Bengal. Anti-State activities were being carried on in the border regions. There were also foreign agents in the country working against its interests.

The Opposition refuted the Chief Minister's arguments and pointed out that the Act had been designed and was being used primarily against the political opponents of the Congress and against the movement of the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people.

They repeatedly emphasised that the extension of the life of the Act on the eve of the forthcoming general elections was meant not for the State's security, but for that of the Congress Party and its Government.

Demanding that the Bill be circulated to elicit public opinion, the Opposition challenged Dr. Roy to seek popular verdict on the measure. They were convinced, they said, that the people would reject it outright.

Jyoti Basu, leader of the Opposition, said that Congress members now-a-days talked of

"Chinese aggression". But, he pointed out, they themselves knew that all such talk was untrue. Had there been apprehension of danger in the border regions, the recent riots in Assam would have been stopped and movements of trains would not have been suspended for three weeks in

## Soviet Youth Greeted

THE warm reception accorded to the 15-member Soviet Youth delegation during their three-day stay in Calcutta was a measure of the deep love of the people of this metropolitan city for the great land of the Soviets.

When the delegation arrived here by train in the morning on December 7, they were given a thunderous ovation. They were greeted with a blowing of trumpets, a traditional method of welcome in this part of the country. The platform echoed and re-echoed with the slogans: "Hindi Russi Bhal Bhal", "Long Live Indo-Soviet Friendship".

Hundreds of people had turned out at the station. A large number of girl students came in a procession. Representatives of youth and students' organisations and members of the West Bengal Reception Committee, which had been formed with the Mayor of Calcutta as Chairman and Prof. Sunil Muni, youth leader, as Secretary, were present.

The delegation's crowded programme for the day began with a meeting with the Mayor.

One group of the delegation attended a reception given by the students of the Calcutta University, which was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Subodh Mitra. Two other groups were welcomed by Jadavpur University students and by young girls.

The delegation then attended receptions organised by a large number of youth and cultural organisations and

a vital frontier State like Assam.

He concluded by emphasising that the Government might extend the life of the Act with the help of its brute majority in the House, but the "people will tear it to pieces under our leadership".

## Openly pleading for the supercession of Parliament's sovereignty by that of the President's, it states: "Occasions may clearly arise when the President may have to disregard the Council of Ministers." Such a thing will be "more democratic than the vote of a whipped majority".

Thus contempt for the elected Parliament and praise for a President who would ride roughshod over the former are not concealed. The Jan Sanghites have openly placed their cards on the table. What is astounding to democratic opinion is that the President should have opened the door for them.

Crime number three is that we advocate the end of colonialism (We side with Communism as against freedom, as Gorwala would put it). Writes the Jan Sanghite mouthpiece, "whenever we have tended to moderate extreme views, we become as much suspect as when we ride the high horse and prophesy the dawn of the golden age with the expulsion of the last unwanted European."

And again: "One aspect of it (Indian attitude) which confounds us is the inflammatory effect of our denunciation of colonialism as Satanic!" This indeed is the horror of horrors. The charge is: "Prominent mention was made of the fact that the Belgians who pretended to leave were really coming back in larger numbers."

It is a formidable charge-sheet, indeed. And the Jan Sangh which has drawn it up may take credit for performing a valorous piece of treachery to India. The BJS has earned the right to sign itself the "Belgian Jan Sangh".

It is clear the steps of these quislings, whether of the BJS or the PSP brand, will have to be watched carefully.

He expressed the hope that Indo-Soviet friendship would grow from strength to strength and would be "as pure as our snow and as warm as our sun."

## SPOTLIGHT

### GOBLINS DANCE

THERE should be no doubt left in any mind that the President's Law Institute speech opened Pandora's box because the goblins are already dancing. The Jan Sanghites have jumped up in their seats with ill-concealed glee to declare the President's action as a "welcome bomb-shell".

Their weekly mouthpiece has written a leading article to support the challenge to the sovereign supremacy of the elected Parliament. Patting the President and twitting Parliament, it has declared:

"It has been presumed that our Constitutional structure is the same as that of Great Britain. Our Parliament's obsession with May's Parliamentary Practice and Procedure is at once pathetic and humiliating. In this situation it was but right that the President should speak up."

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### BELGIAN LOVERS

WESTERN imperialist policy in Congo is finding India's principled stand extremely inconvenient. So its agents of the PSP and "Bharathya" Jan Sangh have come out outspokenly against India's stand.

A. D. Gorwala of PSP's Janata mounting a frontal attack on Indian policy with special reference to Africa, declares: "It (this policy) has convinced a large section of opinion in the Western world, and now in Africa, that whatever the outward guise in reality and at heart the Government of India is with the Communist powers as against the democratic powers, with tyranny as against freedom."

He is beaten hollow, however, by the Jan Sangh in outspokenness, which has come out with a dastardly diatribe against India. It has, in effect, declared that India's denunciation of Mobutu's fascist rabble and the return of Belgians to the Congo is (rightly) responsible for Indian person-

nel being subjected to goonda attacks.

Thus, the Jan Sanghite weekly writes in its issue of December 5: "The real trouble to which unfortunately we seem to have contributed by our role is that we have become persona non grata with the effective elements in Congo affair".

If the Jan Sanghites had their way, deep would lead into the deep, our Indian fascists would grimacingly kowtow to the Congolese fascists who are thriving on foreign money. Instead of that what has India done?

Listen to the Jan Sanghites' charge-sheet:

"Pandit Nehru has been keeping up an almost continuous fusillade of comment and criticism on the events in Congo. He chose to demand the summoning of their Parliament and to let it determine the nature of their future Constitution."

### NEHRU'S "CRIMES"

Crime Number Two: "The Army dictator came in for some caustic criticism at the hands of our leader, and this could not have endeared us nor our personnel to the army junta there". (It only remains to add in explicit terms that the beating up that our personnel got at the hands of the fascists there was deservedly got!)

Crime number three is that we advocate the end of colonialism (We side with Communism as against freedom, as Gorwala would put it). Writes the Jan Sanghite mouthpiece, "whenever we have tended to moderate extreme views, we become as much suspect as when we ride the high horse and prophesy the dawn of the golden age with the expulsion of the last unwanted European."

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— GARUDA

December 13

# DEAD BODY DISAPPEARS

From Our Correspondent

IT is a rare and rich experience in life to encounter a personality that uplifts and takes one beyond the restricted boundaries of life as one has to live it most of the time. Such a person was a frail, sick but nobly defiant lady from Hyderabad, who spread calm and strength even when she was in torment and agony.

She was Zehra Begum, the mother of our dear comrade Hasan Nasir, done to death only because he wished his people well and sought to bring forth their strength. She had returned from horror at the body of her dead son had been denied her. And much worse, the Pakistan simians dressed in their robes of brief authority had sought to palm off another body to her. Outraged she was, but there was a serenity and surety about her. For did she not know that her son would live forever?

Zehra Begum was overwhelmed at the courage of the friends of Hasan Nasir, who in the very shadow of tyranny, stood up for their leader and demanded justice. It was a measure of the heroism that her son infused in all who met him.

### Ray of Light

She spoke of the atmosphere of fear and of suspicion that seemed to choke and foul all that was alive in Martial Law ruled Pakistan.

And in this murky atmosphere her son had been the ray that pierced the gloom. It lit up the dark. Hasan Nasir had wrenched out his own heart to hold it aloft as a shining torch for his people—a light which shall never fall.

Time and again in our talks she returned to the point of how much Hasan Nasir had been loved. How so many persons, quite unknown to her had come and offered their services and all they had. And this in Lahore—just imagine Karachi. Friends had told her that this was only a minute expression of the reverence that all had felt for her son—so young, so wise and so free with the gift of his own blood for the people.

We print below her statement on her trip to Pakistan and its outcome.

### Mother Speaks

I HAD heard of my son Hasan Nasir's death in Pakistan on Nov. 14, 1960. On hearing from lawyers that the final hearing of the case was fixed for Dec. 5 at the Lahore High Court and that the Court might order exhumation of the body, I decided to leave for Pakistan.

I arrived in Pakistan on Dec. 5 evening and wished to offer prayers at the grave of my son. My friends and lawyers who were at the airport to receive me stated that nobody could say as to where his grave was. Since the office

hours were over, I could not contact the authorities either.

Next morning I contacted Mr. Rezvi, D.I.G. (C.I.D.) and requested him to direct me to her son's grave. Instead of doing this, he attempted to explain in great detail the circumstances of the so-called suicide of my son.

### Authorities' Attitude

When I enquired as to why they failed to inform me of his death, they pleaded ignorance of my address. I pointed out that since my son had written to me from Lahore Jail on Oct. 4, my address was surely known to them.

Mr. Rezvi informed me that though he had secured the permission of burial from the maternal uncle of the deceased, yet out of consideration for a mother's feelings, he had decided to preserve the body so that I could take it to India if I so decided.

Before sending me to the graveyard he cautioned me from disclosing its location lest it might become the rallying centre for underground workers. I was taken to Mian Sahib's graveyard, followed by a lot of police. There I was taken to the grave and I offered my prayers.

On return from the grave I decided to take the body back to India. Accordingly I informed Mr. Rezvi personally. The same afternoon I was present in the court and my request to take the body to India was granted. I contacted the Indian High Commissioner in Karachi over the phone who

was extremely courteous and extended all possible help.

In the night when I wished to offer prayers at the grave of my son I was shocked to find that the whole graveyard was surrounded by the police. I was so much grief stricken that I just could not go near the grave. Further, I found that the moment I reached the graveyard, a police car also came behind me.

I returned back home and could not sleep the whole night since my mind was full of the scene I had witnessed at the graveyard.

### Grave Disturbed

I remained disturbed the whole night so much so that the first thing next morning I did was to visit the graveyard again. I discovered to my surprise that the grave was disturbed and that the ground around was wet and bore signs of having been levelled.

As I was getting into the car, an unidentified person came up and whispered that the grave had been opened in the night. He disappeared before I could speak further to him.

Since I decided to take the body to India on the 13th, exhumation of the body was fixed for Dec. 12. On the appointed day when I reached the graveyard I met the District Magistrate who enquired whether I had the requisite permission to carry the body.

The order was not available with me since Mr. Rezvi had told me on Dec. 10 that he would make all arrangements and that I was not to worry

at all. But the Magistrate did not seem to know of this and was adamant that the body would be reburied after exhumation.

At this stage the C.I.D. officer tried to prevail over me not to insist over exhumation of the body since it was against all tenets of religion. But I insisted on my right.

When the grave was finally opened, a very strong odour struck us. We were all extremely surprised since Mr. Justice Mahmood, the Presiding Judge in the case had said, while passing the said order to the Advocate General, that the body should be in good condition considering the time element and the cold winter and he had mentioned that his father's body which was taken out after six months of burial was found in good condition.

The police and all of us were removed from the grave as the odour was extremely strong. The coffin box was not air-sealed nor did it appear at all that it had been underground for a month.

After the coffin was removed from the grave and its lid was opened, I was told that the body was so badly decomposed that no one would be able to identify it. I said that since I am the mother, I would be able to recognise the remains of my son as he had been buried for barely a month.

I was shocked to look at the body and find that the height was not that of Nasir nor the teeth of the body produced bore any resemblance to those of my son, nor the shape of the skull nor the hair on his head looked like those of Hasan Nasir. When I asked the feet to be shown I found the size of the feet to be different from that of Nasir.

When I had suggested to the Magistrate that I may be permitted to identify the body at the Hospital instead of at the graveyard he had flatly refused and had insisted that identification should be done either at the graveyard or not at all.

Before the body was carried to the hospital for postmortem, my statement on oath was taken by the Magistrate that the body was not that of my son. Considering the conditions and the attitude of the C.I.D. on my refusal to identify the body as that of my son, I felt it was wiser for me to leave Pakistan immediately.

## Moscow Acclaims Peace Appeal

By Cable From MASOOD ALI KHAN

"WAR is not inevitable" — these words have been repeated again and again since the publication yesterday of the Appeal to the Peoples of the World issued unanimously by the recent Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

These four words were most frequently heard in Moscow on Sunday in the conversation of groups that spontaneously gathered to buy newspapers and as usual to discuss the latest developments on the free day.

These four words were also repeated many times by foreign news agencies and broadcasts of foreign radio stations heard in Moscow. Meetings were held in factories and offices of the city where the Appeal was immediately read out and opinions exchanged on its significance.

And, of course, there could not be any two opinions on it, the great historic importance of this unanimous call to action, this moving challenge to the conscience of the world was apparent to everybody.

Pravda today headlines its editorial on the Peace Appeal: HISTORICAL MISSION OF COMMUNISTS. Workers of the world, better than anybody else, understand what unheard of calamity for the

peoples a nuclear world war could be, the paper declares.

If the imperialists could, they would have long ago thrown humanity into the abyss of a new world war. But these days are gone when the imperialists could arbitrarily decide for war.

Not imperialism alone but the struggle of the two social systems decides the course of international development in this era, Pravda says.

The paper prints the following words in bold letters: Struggle against threat of new war must be waged now and not when Atom and Hydrogen bombs begin to fall. This struggle must be waged now and from day to day. The important thing is to curb aggressors in good time to prevent war and not to let it break out.

Pravda notes that the policy of peaceful coexistence and its support by the Communists of all lands is so much in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the world's population that even the bourgeois press in its comments on the statement pays special attention to this aspect.

The international workers' movement, basing itself on the widest support of the masses has become such a mighty force that its Communist vanguard can now declare its historical mission to be the

deliverance of our generation from the horrors of a new war.

Pravda today declares that this task can and must be accomplished. Communists will dedicate all their strength to this great and holy task. Peace will conquer war, the editorial concludes.

A grim warning was issued here yesterday to the double-faced British Government of Harold MacMillan on the consequences of basing American atomic submarines armed with nuclear weapons and rockets in the Clyde near Glasgow.

The Tass statement issued in Moscow tears away the mask of subterfuge on this question worn by MacMillan to deceive the people of the British Isles. The Soviet statement points out the hollowness of the claim that if the submarines based on the British shores attack from outside, the territorial waters of Great Britain, retaliation will come only to submarines in the high seas and not to the bases.

### Power Station

NEWS came that the 21st turbine of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric power station has gone into regular service, thus making this power station now the biggest in the world. The whole station has been completed one year before the planned duration.

And yesterday papers brought the news that the world's largest blast furnace has been built in the Ukraine at Krivovir Metallurgical Plant. It is a giant, fully-automatic and mechanised—the last word in industrial technique.

Yesterday a special congratulatory message was sent by Premier Khrushchov to the builders of this huge furnace who completed it in record time of less than 11 months.

### Now Available

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# PLOT TO SELL PUBLIC SECTOR

## RAISE YOUR VOICE NOW!

● BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**T**HAT the Planning Commission is actively considering the proposal to sell the shares of the Public Sector projects on the market is no more a secret, it is in the press already. The New Age was the first to make this big exposure but then it was generally taken as a likely danger and a forecast which was not likely to come off as long as Pandit Nehru headed the Government. The evil plot is going to succeed unless Indian public opinion steps in and stops the rot now.

The highlights of the background that has led up to the present slippery situation are enough to indicate how serious is the danger and still more serious the ones that logically follow.

Our leading national economists and administrators associated with the Planning Commission know that for the last few years the U.S. specialists and the visiting professors coming from the famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) have been systematically pressing that the only way to get increasing rupee resources for the growing public sector was to sell its shares in the share market.

The MIT professors were introduced as having the ears of the State Department and the World Bank bosses. The impact of their advice was visible in the 16th report, 1954-55, of the Estimate Committee of the Parliament which recommended the same scheme that has now come to light. The Government, however, did not fall in for it at that time.

The Estimate Committee of the Second Lok Sabha, in its 19th report, again pressed the proposal. Once again the Government was not willing because of its own earlier policy declarations and the fear of public opinion.

The pressure campaign, however, went on. The issue was sympathetically considered by the Sub-committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party which reported to the party on "Parliamentary supervision over State-under-takings" in 1959.

### CRITICAL SITUATION

After the growth of the public sector during the Second Plan and the lack of resources for the Third, a real critical situation emerged and the World Bank stepped in with the blunt demand that to the extent the Government encouraged the foreign private capital sector with the public sector, it will be possible to mobilise foreign aid for the Third Plan. The very idea of selling the shares of the public sector was plugged hard by the World Bank Mission, informally of course.

Very dutifully, the Planning Commission set up a Study Group headed by D. L. Mazumdar of the Company Law Administration and including Tarlok Singh, the Secretary of the Planning Commission, Pitamber Pant of the Perspective Division and the Civilian Secretaries of all the Economic Ministries concerned.

After paying all the lip-service to the public sector in their report, they have made proposals virtually accepting the longstanding and hard-pressed demand of the foreign and the Indian private sector that the public sector of our economy be put up for sale.

The report of the Study Group was recently discussed in the Planning Commission and it should shock the country that not a voice of protest was raised. On the contrary it was decided that a final note be prepared, making the recommendations to the Cabinet to take the final decision. This is where the matter at present stands.

### SKILFUL SCUTTLERS

The scuttlers of the public sector have been very skilful. The confidential report of the Study Group was duly leaked to the press. A faithful summary of its recommendations appeared in the Hindustan Times of October 29, more detailed summary in the Statesman, November 9, and long material extracts appeared in the weekly economic journals published by monopoly gang.

A whole series of editorials were written in the well-known dailies supporting the scheme so that their stooges in the Planning Commission could claim the support of the Indian press!

The exact recommendations which have been accepted by the Planning Commission and are now before the Cabinet are the following:

- Twenty to twenty-five per cent of the shares be sold.
- The individual shares to be of Rs. 100 with a ceiling of Rs. 2,500.
- Equity shares to be sold and not debentures.
- The shares be sold on the stock market and be easily transferable but to prevent their transfer into the hands of those who are opposed to the public sector, the management to retain the right to refuse any transfer.
- The beginning be made with the shares of the Sindri Fertilisers, Hindustan Machine Tools and a few State Road Transport Corporations which have already begun making profits.

The present position is that President of India holds all the shares of the Public Sector enterprises. To sell their shares on the stock market is the beginning of the end of the Public Sector.

This should need no argument with those who know the ABC of the economics. It is a formal violation of proclaimed official policies about

the role of the public sector by the experts and members of the Planning Commission who were supposed to safeguard and strengthen it. It is a demand to take a step down the hill, which the Government in the past has at least twice refused.

What a big policy retreat stares the nation in the face should be clear from the welcome comments and happy reactions of the leading organs of the private sector.

### CAPITALIST PRESS

Goenka's Indian Express (November 8) welcomed the report as "a move in the right direction". The Hindu (November 2) pleads for the suggestion being accepted "because many desirable results would follow." Birla's Eastern Economist (November 4) hails it as "a valuable document" and headlines its fulsome editorial as "Peoples' Participation in the State-owned Corporations".

The British Capital (November 17) in its editorial is more circumspect. "The deficiencies and the evasions in the Study Group's report apart, it has to be complimented on having supported the idea of inviting the public to contribute capital direct to State enterprises".

Having won their big victory the organs of private enterprise are keeping up criticism and pressure to consolidate it and get more. The Statesman in November 9 editorial calls it "the timid and over-cautious report". The Tribune (November 10) Economic Correspondent characterises it as "vague, rambling" and criticises it for indulging in "the academic exercises of weaving a cobweb of idealism, around the theme under investigation".

### NEHRU'S IDEA

The idea was sold to Pandit Nehru in the form of securing workers' and employees' participation by enhancing their material interests in the project where they labour.

If the scheme is put into practice, it would imply raising about Rs. 10 to 15 crores annually from the workers and employees which obviously is an impossible proposition.

The Indian Express makes no bones about it and writes "Nehru's idea has some practical difficulties to contend against". It rightly argues that whatever the Government employee may contribute from his meagre savings, he would "hesitate to put all his eggs in one basket".

The report of the Study Group, however, goes beyond the workers and employees. It wants to mobilise the resources of a new dormant class which has savings but which is chary of modern investment. The Eastern Economist (November 4) catches hold of this weakness and states "precisely what these dormant resources of investment capital are and what is the class of emergent opera-

tors has not been elaborated". The Capital (November 17) also notes that the report is "remarkably vague about where the extra savings will come from".

Workers, employees and dormant small investors are all ceremonial Ganeshes. Once the scheme gets going the shares of the public sector would be sold like any others and new arguments based on so-called practical considerations will be duly forthcoming.

That only 20 to 25 per cent of the shares would be sold is no consolation. The British managing agencies control the companies they manage with smaller holdings of their own. The Hindu considers it good "to begin with".

### MORE DEMANDS

The Indian Express presses further and writes "if securing private investment in the public sector is necessary and desirable, there is no reason why it should be restricted to a smaller part of the capital". It pleads that 51 per cent as the majority holding for the Government should be enough.

Rs. 100 as each share and Rs. 2,500 as the upper limit, certainly cuts out workers and employees. Even The Capital considers each share of Rs. 100 as going "off the rail". The Eastern Economist considers it "by no test a small denomination and it could well be scaled down to Rs. 25".

The report is unanimous about ensuring easy marketability and transferability of shares but there were differences on the measures to be taken to prevent transfers of shares into the hands of the conventional or professional class of investors and in particular how to prevent group concentration.

The very fact that this remains an open issue adds to the danger that the scheme embodies. The Eastern Economist stresses, "easy marketability is the very essence of equity capital". The Capital adds "to restrict the transferability of shares may not be wise". The Statesman pleads that any complex official system of checks would be difficult to enforce "without circumscribing the negotiability of shares and thereby reducing their attractions".

### PROJECTS CHOSEN

To begin with, the three projects whose shares are to be sold are Sindri Fertilisers, Hindustan Machine Tools and State Transport Corporations. The scheme is confined to these three to begin with because they have already begun making big profits. If the shares are to be sold due profits have to be naturally guaranteed.

The nation, however, bore all the burdens of taxation and inflation to initiate and get these vital public projects started. The moment they begin making profits their shares are offered in the stock market for sale!

When the Indian people bore the heavy burdens they were assured that the public sector profits would go to further expand the public sector, increase employment and national wealth till the day comes when the common people will find that their material life has improved—all that was a lie.

### REAL PERIL

If the public sector is allowed to be put on the stock market the further logic of ultimately selling to the private sector cannot be easily resisted. The economic laws of capitalism are inexorable. How the danger is real has been shown above concretely.

The same danger stands out still more grimly if we seriously think over and fully understand the historical significance of the basic policy concession and the first practical surrender to the private sector which this proposal embodies.

The scheme outlined by the Planning Commission is nothing new. It was practised in Sir Mirza Ismail's Mysore with the State initiating the Industrial enterprises. As they began making profits, they were handed to the private industrialists. What happened in Mirza Ismail's Mysore, the private sector wants to ensure under Nehru's India as well.

An anonymous but high-placed columnist writes in the Indian Express (November 8), "Sir Mirza Ismail practised the policy of turning over State-initiated enterprises to the private sector at the earliest opportunity with considerable success in Mysore."

### TIME TO ACT

"It is a technique admirably suited to a mixed economy. In that it eliminates the occasions of friction between the Government and private business, at the same time as it allows the Government's resources to explore new industrial openings".

The Planning Commission is, thus, treading on the path that does not lead to winning a commanding height for the public sector in our national economy but to weakening and ultimately selling it to the private sector instead.

There is time yet to save and turn the situation and ensure that solemn national policies about the public sector are not violated, the public sector enterprises raised by the long sacrifices and hard labour of the Indian people are not sold to the greedy sharks that operate in the stock market. We have no doubt that all patriotic parliamentarians will raise their voice of protest against the sell-out-agreed to by the Planning Commission.

Everybody can help by mandating his MP to speak up like a true Indian and not act the stooge of the private sector and the foreign monopolists by remaining silent or defending the indefensible which is the proposal of the Planning Commission.