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STIRRING CALL TO ACTION

Editorial

SEVERAL DAYS HAVE passed since the publication of the Statement and the Manifesto adopted by the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties that met at Moscow in November. These documents whose impact has been worldwide and which are being studied by Communists and progressive-minded people with the utmost care will be discussed by the National Council of the Communist Party of India in the last week of this month.

In 1957 took place the Conference from which emerged the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, whose correctness was vindicated by the entire history of the last three years. Guided by these inspiring documents whose basic propositions remain fully valid even today, the world Communist movement surged forward, achieving vast and resounding success. Conditions were created and the basis was laid for still greater victories.

It was in the context of unprecedented advance of the world movement for Socialism, democracy, national independence and peace that the recent Conference met. Never in the history of the world Communist movement has there been such a representative Conference.

And never did a Conference attract so much attention. Progressive, as well as reactionary forces, people fighting for freedom, democracy and peace as well as imperialists, Communists as well as sworn enemies of Communism—all waited eagerly for the outcome of the Conference.

That very interest that the Conference roused in all countries and among all circles shows conclusively the decisive role that the mighty movement inspired by Marxism-Leninism has come to play in today's world.

The main document of the meeting, the Statement, is a brilliant example of creative Marxism. The product of prolonged discussion and of collective effort by Communist and Workers Parties, it indicates, with utmost clarity, the main features of the present situation and the path ahead.

Summarising the rich experience of the world-wide movement, it lays down the programme not only for Communists but for those who cherish the cause of freedom, democracy and peace, all those who want to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and usher in a just society.

The Appeal to the peoples of the world, with its stirring call for a world-wide struggle in defence of peace, expresses the cherished feelings of hundreds of millions of common people all over the world.

Permeated with noble sentiments that will find ready response among men and women of goodwill in all countries and laying down a concrete plan of action, it is bound to play a tremendous role in advancing the struggle to frustrate the plans of those who want to plunge the world into the horrors of a thermo-nuclear war.

The decisions of the Moscow Conference constitute a great victory for the progressive forces all over the world. They deliver a heavy blow against the imperialists who confidently predicted a "split". They arm the Communist and Workers' Parties with weapons of exceptional power. They will further consolidate the unity of the world Communist movement and inspire all Communist Parties to fulfil the noble tasks that lie ahead.

December 21

MORE ON AIR PIRATES AT LARGE

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CAPT. Long is in Delhi.

Our readers are familiar with him and his anti-Indian activities. He was the pilot of the plane that was engaged in aerial survey over Bhutan border. Indian security summoned him back to the base airport at Bagdogra, sealed his plane and brought him down to Calcutta. The offence suspected was passing on photographs of the air survey to some foreign power.

Such a person should have been tried under the law of land. This was not done. Capt. Long is a British citizen. The least that could be done was to order him out of the country. That too was not done.

On December 15, at 11 A.M., Capt. Long was present inside the office of the Director-General, Civil Aviation (D.G.C.A.), Talkatora Road, New Delhi. He was talking to the Director-General, K. M. Raha in a friendly and fraternal manner.

Capt. Long's boss is K. K. Roy, the Managing Director of the Air Survey Company whose plane was sealed. This Roy and Raha are old and very close friends. Their friendship is hereditary. Their fathers were both big officers in the Postal Department and also close friends.

Thus, Capt. Long was not summoned by Director-General Raha to explain his anti-national criminal activities but to plan out together how to hush up the whole affair.

The Air-Employees' Trade Union has submitted several memos in Calcutta to the authorities concerned on the illegal and very undesirable activities of the Air Survey Company and the other private air companies.

During the current Parliament session, they have submitted memos to the Minister of Transport and Communications, Dr. Subbarayan res-

ponsible for all air transport, the Home and Defence Ministries.

They have received no positive response yet. But they have succeeded in creating wide stir among the top officials who handle these problems and also panic among the guilty ones.

In Calcutta, a mass-signature campaign has been conducted with the demand that the Government take over the management of Air Survey Company and keep them in employment and with the offer that they will help unmask the black record of the management.

The delay is being caused by the fact that Air Survey Company's proprietor, K. K. Roy is not only a very good pal of Director General Raha but he is also closely associated with and a relative of Bengal's Chief Minister, B. C. Roy himself.

Tell-Tale Evidence

The workers' Trade Unions have massed on the tables of the Ministries so much well-documented evidence, so many tell-tale questions have been asked so often on the floor of both the Houses of the Parliament and last but not the least the criminals have been caught red-handed so often, the latest being the British pilot, Capt. Long himself, reported to have been caught in the very act of endangering the security of India, that when the delegation of M.P.s met Minister Subbarayan the other day he earnestly assured them that the nationalisation of private air-companies was under the Government's active and sympathetic consideration. But the matter cannot be allowed to rest here at all.

The men who own and run these private air-companies

are so powerful and influential that they have carried on despite the nationalisation of air-transport in our country.

Their illegal activities have been reported and fought out but except nominal punishment they have suffered nothing. This is because they have very powerful supporters inside the D.C.A. office and in the ministry itself.

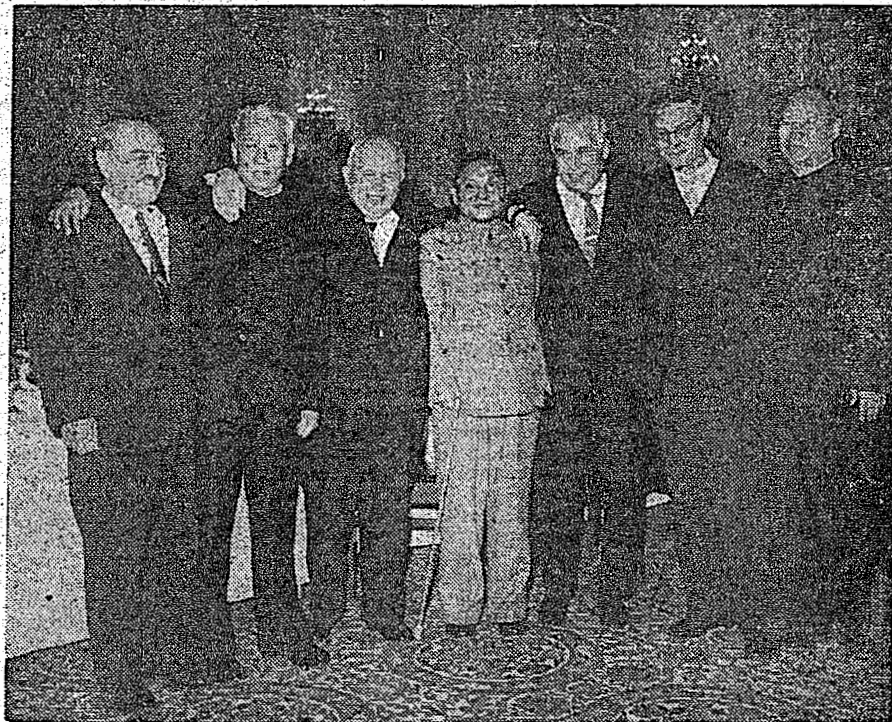
As late as early this month, on December 1, Dy. Minister Mohiuddin spoke in the Rajya Sabha. "There is no change in the basic policy of the Government towards non-scheduled air-transport operators in the country and there is no intention of nationalising the non-scheduled operations, according to Mr. Mohiuddin". (Statesman, December 2).

Circles close to the Communications Ministry report that A. K. Mukerjee, the Delhi Representative of Kalinga Air-lines spends most of his time with the Dy. Minister Ahmed Mohiuddin in his room in the ministry.

This Kalinga Air Line was duly nationalised along with the other private air companies in 1953 when the Government of India took the decision to nationalise the whole air-transport business. But Kalinga reappeared in 1958 as a private air company and got the non-scheduled permit to be able to operate, with the help of the top officials of the D.G.C.A.

It is also widely rumoured in the very offices of Air ministry that A. K. Mukerjee himself writes out the answers to the uncomfortable questions asked by the Members of Parliament regarding the irregularities in the Civil Aviation Department and above all those concerning the activities of the private air-lines like Kalinga and others.

★ SEE BACK PAGE



AT THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE :
From Left to Right : Mikoyan, Liu Shao-chi, Khrushchev, Teng Hsiao-ping, Kozlov, Suslov, Peng Chen

Democracy Murdered In Nepal

DEMOCRACY has been murdered in one more Asian country. On December 15 King Mahendra took over the neighbouring Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal. The arrest began with the Congress Prime Minister, the easily available Congress Ministers and the Communist leaders.

Very soon the net widened. Every known political leader of Nepal has been arrested, including two ex-Premiers. Every Communist they got hold of was rounded up. The Constitution has been abrogated and the Parliament stands dissolved.

The Nepal Ambassador in New Delhi stated that land reform legislation had upset the King, his advisers and supporters. All this constitutes a big throw back for democracy in Nepal.

The people of Nepal stand orphaned, they have lost their hard won democracy. We have no doubt that the heroic people of Nepal who fought for their liberation against centuries old Rana autocracy will not lie low under the King's oneman rule, for very long.

The King's arbitrary act cannot but make the situation in Nepal, both politically and economically, very unstable. In the present epoch no autocrat can rule over his own people without foreign imperialist support nor can he run the economy of the country without foreign aid;

THE PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

THE Prime Minister in his monthly press conference, on December 15, tried to save the face and the prestige of the President as best as he could. He also reiterated the correct and principled position that "politically and constitutionally" the President's position confirms to that of the British Crown.

He scuttled all inspired rumours about the issue being referred to some judges of the Supreme Court or any intention to amend the Constitution "to clarify the position" since some "doubt" had been raised, "we have been functioning now for 10 years or more".

The Prime Minister's explanation was simple and clear. "It has been repeatedly stated even by the President, that we have modelled our Constitution on the Parliamentary system and not in accord with what is called the Presidential system."

Essentially our Constitution is based on the U. K. Parliamentary model. That is basic and in fact, it is stated there (Constitution) that wherever it does not expressly say anything, we should follow the practice of the House of Commons in the U. K."

The President made his speech about interpreting the Constitution anew and his own ideas about Presidential powers, without even consulting the Cabinet. The Prime Minister revealed, "we did not know anything about it until it was delivered."

The President is neither ignorant nor an inexperienced politician, he obviously made his speech to gather support for his own views on Presidential powers.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

ed that under the Indian Constitution the President was not a mere figure-head "bound to put his seal on everything which emanated from the Ministry".

He however, added, "The Constitutional position appeared to be that the President had normally to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers". (Hindustan Times, December 17th). It is not easy to combine the functions of a Swatantraite demagogue and a responsible jurist. Even the very intelligent cannot pull off the trick!

The Jan Sangh columnist Chitra Gupta, in the Organiser, December 19, writes "Sri Prasadji has brought decorum, dignity, adequacy and prestige to his office". And the significance of the Presidential speech is that "it is the emergence of open conflict between the head of the State and its executive instruments. It is a matter for amazement that the duties of the President have been covertly usurped by the Prime Minister himself".

It is not enough to feel shocked by the end of democracy in Nepal. It is urgently necessary to call upon all foreign imperialist powers: Hands off Nepal! Indian security itself demands it. More, India is in a position to ensure it. It will also greatly help the struggle of the Nepal people for the restoration of democracy in their native land. India can and must help cut short the nightmare over Nepal. India's own interest demands it and it is the only wise and manly course for us to adopt.

Pro-American Comment

The notorious pro-American weekly, The Current, December 14, edited by D. F. Karaka, has a big splash story on the background and significance of the Presidential speech, that it was "not an accidental remark", and that the matter was first raised in a Cabinet meeting when the Congo situation was being discussed.

Some of the Ministers are reported to have put the question as to what the position in India would be supposing a Lumumba succeeds Nehru. Pandit Nehru is reported to have energetically expressed the view that the Indian President cannot act like Kasavubu. The story goes on to relate that since no individual Cabinet Minister dared challenge Pandit Nehru directly President Prasad was indirectly sounded.

"The Indian President is known for his independence. He has held his office as President with great dignity. He has respected the Constitution at every stage and he has respected the Government in mind the mettle of which Rajendra Prasad is made, he is no likely to be cowed down by Jawaharlal Nehru's unilateral interpretation of the Constitution."

"In other words, the President maintained that if any emergency did arise, the President could dismiss the Prime Minister and was not dependent on the Prime Minister's or Cabinet's advice".

"The above story may be correct or manufactured but the political aim of pro-American reaction in our country has been stated, clearly enough, that they want the Indian President to act like Kasavubu when the day comes, that they understand Dr. Rajendra Prasad's speech as implying that the Indian President has the right to dismiss the Prime Minister in any crisis.

Let us add up the Presidential supporters on Presidential powers, it is the

infamous gang of Indian reaction, the same PSP-Jan Sangh-Swatantra trio, the same anti-Nehru, anti-Memon, anti-CPI, anti-China and pro-West lot.

THE U. P. EXPERIENCE

IT is not that the President alone, himself an old-guard Congress veteran, is challenging the Indian Constitution. The Congress High Command, headed by the Prime Minister himself, is shaking its very foundations, in U.P.

Against all Constitutional propriety he imposed from above C. B. Gupta as U. P.'s Chief Minister. However, at the swearing-in ceremony of the new Chief Minister only 80 MLAs—all supporters of C. B. Gupta—were present, while 350 of them were present in the city on that day. This only shows that even the strongman C.B. Gupta has not been able to win the majority of the MLAs even after the blessings of the Prime Minister and the patronage of the High Command, and with reins of power in his hands.

Now Pandit Nehru himself is due to visit Lucknow. First stab and then bandage. This is how Indian democracy is being managed, under the Congress leadership.

Dr. Sampurnanand in an article entitled "The Congress Clash of Two Wings", has outlined his analysis and remedy. He is of the view that the trouble which arose in its most acute form in U.P. is the chronic disease of the Congress all over and inherent in the conflict of its two wings of the organisational and the governmental.

He thinks that the PCCs and the AICC should not seek to control the Government concerned because the former were less representative, being elected by Congressmen alone while the latter are elected by the people. His outspoken remedy is

PUNJAB TENSIONS

FOR some months now the political situation in the Punjab remains tense, torn between the Akali morcha on the one side and the Kairon Zubberdusti on the other.

Linguistic States had been formed in various parts of the country, not without lots of popular pressure, however, and in some States needing long-drawn mass struggles. The Congress rulers conceded the democratic right in the other places but denied it to the Punjab, relying upon divisions of the Punjabis between the Sikhs and the Hindus.

The disgruntled Akali leaders sought to exploit the situation by launching their morcha for the Suba. Reeking with Sikh communalism themselves, they could never win over the Hindus for the demand of the Punjab Suba. The peace-makers pleaded with the Government to release Master Tara Singh and with the Akali leaders to withdraw the morcha. Chief Minister Kairon, however, stuck out for the Sarkar's Izat and insisted on the morcha being withdrawn first.

—P. C. JOSHI

DECEMBER 25, 1960

MORARJI DESAI'S CAJOLERY

FINANCE Minister Morarji Desai is a pastmaster in the art of cajoling vested interests, both indigenous and foreign, hence his periodic panegyrics to the virtues of private capital cause no surprise. And yet, when in his anxiety to excel his own record in cajolery, he begins to twist the nation's accepted policies, it is necessary to cry halt to him and ask him to give up being a poseur of the socialistic philosophy, which the country has increasingly been making its own.

The need for such a warning has specially arisen this week because of two consecutive speeches, which he made before two gatherings of businessmen, and which have received welcome from quarters which do not generally look kindly at Government's economic policies.

The first of these speeches was delivered in New Delhi itself before industrial leaders, who had been assembled by the National Productivity Council. Its subject being the role of mixed economy in India's economic development, it provided ample scope to Morarji to wax eloquent about the need for co-existence of the public and private sectors.

In doing so, however, he left himself go so much as to end in almost handing over the entire economic development to the private sector. It already controls the bulk of trade and commerce, he said, and if agriculture too was included in it—as it should be—the share in the total national output would come to about 90 per cent.

Only 10 per cent is left for the public sector, and that too in lines which the private sector is either unwilling or unable to take up, or which being in the "infrastructure", it would better leave it to the state to take up.

The Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan, and earlier the Second Plan, assigned to the public sector a "leading role in the development of the economy", a role which it was expected to fulfil through a larger growth "both absolutely and relatively to the organised private sector".

In other words, it was expected in course of time not only to attain "commanding heights", but also to progressively take up functions which the private sector had been performing hitherto. Morarji's scheme, however, is quite its reverse.

Not for him the "commanding heights" for the public sector, but only the place and the work of a midwife which through its "infra-structural activities", through the provision of roads, power and railways, should aid further proliferation of the private enterprise.

According to the terms of this deal, there will be collaboration between the two for setting up of industries, but it will be confined to "light manufactures". Technical know-how, too, will be given, but not for basic industries, which are not in the category of those to be "surrendered" to developing countries.

The lead in this respect was taken by Pakistan's Commerce Minister M. Hafizur Rehman, who appealed to industrialised countries to help in the development of light manufactures in the developing countries, while they themselves could "concentrate on more specialised and dynamic forms of production for which they are better equipped and on which their economies should rest".

India's Ramnath Poddar also pleaded for hastening the "operation shift" in respect of the textile industry to non-European countries, but did not mention a word about the

They were as much aimed

This brings us to Morarji's speech at the Calcutta gathering where his audience comprised mainly the British businessmen. Here he could indulge for form's sake in homilies like calling upon them to imbibe a national outlook, but after his own earlier renunciation of the same at Delhi, he could not have expected his audiences to take them seriously.

And it did not do so either. Its chief spokesman Williams, while patting Morarji on the back for creating good climate, let it be known that he and his tribe wanted something more for their satiation. They want greater incentives, amendment of the Industrial Development and Regulation Act and the Company law legislation, and further relaxation of taxation proposals next year.

Else, the threat was held out, the incentives offered by certain other areas, "where there was an equal need for overseas capital", might reduce the funds available for India.

In trade also it was suggested that the State Trading Corporation, which has infused a new life into trading in ores, should be asked to circumscribe its activities to trade with the socialist countries, and that too only in raw materials and semi-processed goods, while private exporting firms should be relied upon to take care of the rest.

BIG BUSINESS CONCLAVE IN KARACHI

THE foreign businessmen could always be expected to demand as much, but after their Karachi Conference, where they met under the auspices of the International Chamber of Commerce earlier this month, their demands have acquired a new edge.

There they succeeded in fully netting in the indigenous big business into a deal for sharing of the opportunities which India and other South-East Asian countries offer.

Since such development could have strengthened the public sector they preferred to let it go for the sake of assuring for themselves a position of producers of light manufactures.

West Germany is, of course, a classic and also probably the crassest example of a country refusing to play fair in trade with the developing countries. And if these did not suffice they could quote the GATT's excellent 1959 report on the subject to support their case. Here is an extract from it:

"Changes in the terms of trade gave North America and Western Europe an increase in real national income which (for the period 1953-58) can be roughly estimated at about 2,800 million dollars at 1953 prices.

After this do our businessmen require telling that those

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

ITALY AND OIL

SIGNOR Enrico Mattei, President of Italy's National Petroleum Organisation, ENI, who arrived in New Delhi last week to hold discussions with the Government with a view to exploring possibilities of collaboration in exploration and production of oil, has left for Rome leaving behind two of his experts to study and survey things "so as to facilitate continuation of negotiations as early a date as possible".

Announcing this an official press note said that the discussions held with him had resulted "in a broad understanding of each other's policies and programmes".

Signor Mattei is some sort of a legend in the oil world. From small beginnings he has built ENI into a formidable competitor of the older Western oil companies. In Iran and elsewhere he has been able to cut into latter's domains through better terms.

To India also he has offered 50:50 partnership in the enterprise to be set up for oil exploration provided the refining and distribution of oil

discovered is also entrusted to it. The Government have happily not conceded any ground on the last point but this may not always be the case.

Our apprehensions in this behalf flow from the mention in the newspapers that the two sides had reached some sort of understanding about the pattern of their future collaboration. This is also evident from the fact that the negotiations have not been broken but only suspended.

Oppose Concessions

We need oil and can have it too in adequate quantities with the assistance of countries like the USSR and Rumania, which have asked for no share either in companies or profits.

Others, too, can come and help but not on terms opposed to the policy pursued hitherto. After all, it is the policy of keeping the oil monopolists at bay which has yielded for us such good results so far. Why should we now forsake it or even dilute it even for the sake of collaboration with Signor Mattei?

BRIEF NOTICES

● The State-owned Indian Oil Company (IOC), whose main problem so far had been the want of sufficient storage capacity, may solve it before long. It has already placed orders for construction of main installations totalling 30,000 tons to store petroleum products. These will be located at Bombay, Kandla and Cochin and are expected to be completed by May 1961.

● The Defence Ministry's naval tankage of 27,500 tons capacity at Visakhapatnam is also being made available to the IOC.

● To end on an item from another land—America's unemployed numbered more than four million in November 1960, the biggest figure for the month since the depression in 1930s (Hindustan Standard December 14).

CORRECTION

The per capita income in India in 1959-60 declined to Rs. 291.3 from Rs. 293.6 in 1958-59, and not to Rs. 191.3, as wrongly printed in last week's issue.

—ESSEN

December 20.

Week in Parliament

The Winter Session of Parliament will have closed by the time these lines appear in print. Starting on a tame note the session did develop into a stormy one—over Berubari; over the extension of the Preventive Detention Act; over the Companies (Amendment) Act and its clause permitting political contributions.

ON Berubari while Government had to muster all their forces Ayub's hollow talk of seeking friendship with India was blown up. The Prime Minister had to admit that he had overlooked the human factor in concluding the Agreement. A pledge has been given that the uprooted people will be fully rehabilitated. People have to watch over how this pledge is kept.

intervention, on the side of the colonial powers, on the side of the hirelings represented by Kasavubu and Mobutu.

"After having done that, when they have got into possession of authority, the U.N. are now pleading non-interference!"

Lumumba's Release Vital

Lumumba's release was a vital question. "It must be enforced no matter what the Western Powers think, no matter how much Col. Mobutu howls... Parliament can and must be made to meet and the United Nations has the authority to ensure it.... The world and the Afro-Asian nations were not so helpless as to remain silent spectators of this tragedy, Bhupesh Gupta said.

Bhupesh Gupta On Foreign Affairs

ABOVE all the session continued while stormy international developments were taking place all around. They inevitably found an echo in Parliament. The great sympathy of the people of India for our brothers fighting the battle for independence and democracy—Lumumba and his associates in the Congo, the heroic people of Algeria, our own people in Goa, our blood-brothers in Nepal who became victims of a foul conspiracy—found full reflection in Parliament.

Speaking in the foreign affairs debate which took place at the fag-end of the session in the Rajya Sabha, Communist Party spokesman Bhupesh Gupta opened with a reference to the Congo. It is but right and natural, he said, that our thoughts should go to Patrice Lumumba and the other patriots there who are in the hands of Col. Mobutu's hooligans. He was glad that the Prime Minister had dealt at length with this important question.

"We have got here a new technique," he said, "where under compulsion of the political movements of the freedom-loving people and of world opinion the imperialist powers abdicate authority openly and formally, but they seek to return to their colonial booty under different colours and different garbs."

The Congo issue had to be faced squarely, Bhupesh Gupta pleaded. "I do not expect the Prime Minister to speak in my accent but certainly, speaking from here, I think I can speak a little bluntly perhaps on the subject.

"It is quite clear that the United Nations authorities there and more particularly Mr. Hammarskjöld saw to it that the normal functioning of the Lumumba Government was paralysed. Then it was a question of intervention, crude

they were not American planes coming from Thailand. "Let us shoot them down," he suggested.

lesson must not be lost on us," he said.

more patriots as prisoners than before the July revolution. Thirty people are under sentence of death in military courts."

Persecution In Iraq

He also mentioned some unfortunate and disquieting developments that had recently taken place in Iraq. "Patriots are being persecuted there; democrats are being attacked. There is a tendency to learn more and more on the Right and on the reactionary elements who had been once tied up with the imperialists. Today in Iraqi jails you have

In the end Bhupesh Gupta asked people not to attach too much importance to American elections. "It is important in the sense that it was a slap in the face of the Eisenhower administration and its discredited policy which went down miserably. But they carry on the same thing. What is needed in America is a change of policy." He looked forward to the year 1961 with hope and confidence.

Nehru's Renewed Attack On Communists

IN his reply to the debate the Prime Minister returned to his attack on the Communist Party on the border question. It was clear in course of the session that he had been shifting his ground, and he further shifted it in this latest attack.

In the earlier attacks he had tried to make specific charges for a specific crime—anti-national activity on the border. But the so-called evidence had been so flimsy that it made no case. Now he made a bigger charge—of undermining national cohesion—and tried to back it with plausible arguments.

The Communists are charged with undermining cohesion because they do not desist from publicly reiterating their faith in the feasibility and desirability of an amicable and peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. That according to Nehru amounts to undermining national cohesion. Nothing more.

There is obviously a difference between the Communists and the ruling party in the manner of looking at this border controversy between our country and China. Shri Nehru says that it was several years ago that he became aware of the possibility of some such thing happening because he knew that the pressure of events in China was inevitably leading to some such development. It was only hastened by the Tibetan uprising and connected events. Because of those so-called basic factors he thinks that hostility between India and China would be a more or less permanent and lasting affair.

This analysis and conclusion of Shri Nehru is definitely not acceptable to any Communist. It cannot be reasonably claimed by anyone that it is the demand of patriotism that such analyses and conclusions be accepted by everybody. Nor can anyone, with the slightest claim to reasonableness, insist that refusal to accept such analyses and conclusions militates against the basic duty of upholding national sovereignty and integrity.

Moreover, it is a distortion—and a deliberate one at this stage—to say that Communists believe that no Socialist country can ever commit a mistake.

No one can, however, compel Communists to accept rotten theories made fashionable by imperialist scribes about peoples and countries. Communists will never base their policies and actions on such "theories".

What Independent Policy Means

CAN an independent foreign policy become independent of issues? That was the very pertinent question posed by Communist leader, P. Ramamurti. For that question summed up on the one hand the real dilemma of many honest people, who had felt and expressed themselves strongly on the world issues in the debate. At the same time that question focuses attention on the efforts of certain people who seek to utilise that dilemma to secure maximum deviation from an obviously right and just course.

The Prime Minister himself in his analysis of events—whether in the Congo or in the General Assembly of the United Nations, whether on the issue of Laos or on the latest reported decision for the nuclear arming of the NATO—kept on coming up again and again against this dilemma.

The return of the Belgians, the propping up of Mobutu, the dogged refusal to let the Congolese Parliament meet, the suppression of Rajeshwar Dayal's second report and the latest fraud of so diluting the Afro-Asian resolution as once again to make everything dependent on the sweet-will of Kasavubu—in general, all that the Prime Minister sought to describe as the process of putting the stamp of legality on illegally planted persons and groups, whether it be in the Congo or in Laos—who has been responsible for this? Surely, not both of the so-called power blocs. Only one bloc has been responsible for these things and everybody knows it. But this very knowledge is embarrassing and

leads to all sorts of acrobatics and jugglery.

"Disarmament, Congo, Algeria, colonialism, Laos—everyone of these questions," said P. Ramamurti, "has got to be looked into on its own merits and if for example we take a particular position and the Soviet Union also takes that same position what are we to do?"

"Simply because the Soviet Union has taken a particular position and we find that that is the correct position should we say: 'We will not take the correct position, but we will take the incorrect position'. Is that the criterion of our 'independence or neutrality', Ramamurti asked.

Spain And Congo

References were nowadays being made to the Congo situation becoming similar to that of Spain. Ramamurti recalled that as a Congress worker he had been inspired by Nehru's speeches in the days of the Spanish civil war. Nehru then did not say it was a struggle between two power blocs. On the other hand he went to Spain and on his return he told the people, "Here is a legally elected Government trying to carry out certain reforms and Hitler is trying to interfere with it. If the Soviet Union supports it, all honour to the Soviet Union". He had then mobilised India to support the legally-elected Government of Spain. "I would like to catch the same spirit in Panditji's speeches today", Ramamurti said.

Ramamurti wholeheartedly welcomed the Prime Minister's declaration regarding Goa that its liberation was not far off. "We are very glad that he has made this categorical statement", Ramamurti said, "and I hope that the powers that are supporting the Portuguese in Goa will take note of this serious and solemn statement made by the Prime Minister on the floor of Parliament that India is not going to tolerate the continued occupation of a part of her territory."

December 21.

Sale Of Public Sector

THE public sector's problems were but cursorily touched in the hurried discussion the Lok Sabha had on the subject on December 14. The Minister for Industry Manubhai Shah conveniently side-stepped questions raised regarding the reported decision of the Planning Commission to allow the sale of shares of public sector undertakings to private capitalists.

While the reputed Leftist R. K. Khadilkar had approvingly referred to the proposal, Communist member K. K. Warior sharply attacked it. The Minister in his long speech observed a studied and ominous silence on the subject. So much so that the mover of the motion, Congress member H. C. Mathur could not help in concluding his remarks with a reference to the matter.

"We should not permit any private money to get into these public sector enterprises," said Mathur. "That may certainly be the thin end of the wedge and we do not want that Government should take a decision to that effect."

Opening The Gates

K. K. Warior pinpointed the issue when he dwelt on the contradiction in the capitalists' cry that the public sector was a bottomless pit where public funds were squandered. The very same people demanded that they should be allowed to have a finger in the pie. "If public enterprises are not showing so much progress, then why all this cry for investing in the public sector?", Warior asked.

He said, "It has caused a great headache to our Ministers and the Planning Commission. And the Government is now considering the subject... It appears that a committee is considering not only the question of issuing of shares to the public but also how dividends should be paid, and so on.

"Without profits how could there be dividends," Warior demanded to know. "From the cries of the private investing public," he said, "we will have a view as to the way the direction (in which) the public sector is going."

"There are one-hundred-and-one things that have to be criticised in the departments and in those who are running these undertakings... But what is the over-all picture? The overall picture is seen in this demand.

"I am strongly against opening this gate for the private investors to come into the State sector.... A sort of cold war is going on. They say that the public sector is rotten.... The next moment they say: let us have some shares.

"Why? Why should they ask for some share in the management, some share in the dividend? Why should they ask these shares to be put on the stock markets? There is a

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commodities with export commodities which might have some sort of a very distant relationship.

"I have received a telegram from the legislators in Kerala regarding the inter-linking of tapioca export with the import of betel-nuts. One is an organised industry and the other is an unorganised industry.

"Tapioca is not merely an agricultural product as far as Kerala is concerned, because we have started a glucose factory there, there are exports of tapioca flour for being used as starch matter for textile mills and so on.

"There are also certain by-products from tapioca flour. When that is inter-linked or connected with the import of betel-nuts, I do not know how the tapioca exporters, will be affected, how the millers will be affected.

"It is said in the telegram that the members of the Kerala Legislature, a few of them, view with grave concern the import policy announced on the December 8 linking the import licence of betel-nuts, etc., with the export of tapioca flour.

Kerala's Copra

"Lately, I had also asked a question about the linking of the import of copra with the export of ground-nut oil. Of course they are very distant relatives; not so close to each other either in respect of the region where they grow or in respect of the nature of the produce.

"But copra is the life-blood for our mills in Kerala. I understand that the copra depots in Alleppey and Cochin and the coconut oil mills are now closing down. Not only the workers but also the employers do not know what to do now. It is not exactly that all the copra licences were linked with them but only a meagre quantity, say, about 175 tons or so, were linked.

"Copra is imported from Ceylon and the coconut oil is used in so many industries. But that is linked with the export of groundnut oil. They are not very much related with each other. But this is the opportune moment to refer to this aspect. So, I am raising that question."

Warior said: "I hope that not only will these organised industries like aluminium and bauxite, etc., but also the unorganised industries which are affected by the import and export policy be referred to the Tariff Commission, and protection should be given for the unorganised industries also."

Warior also drew attention to the fact that the industries protected by the Tariff Commission are not able to fully use the quotas permitted. He took up the instance of the aluminium industry.

"An aluminium factory is coming up in Kerala. There are other units also already existing there. What will be the position if all these units go into production and we are not able to consume the entire quantity produced? Then the question of export will arise. It will be difficult if you tackle the question then.

"Take the case of iron and steel. Iron and steel has been given protection in our country for some time now. Even now we find that the steel and pig iron produced are not available at reasonable prices to our own people. A few

months back almost all the foundries in Kerala had either to close down or lay-off their workers bringing the production almost to a standstill."

Demanding that consumers also be given part of the resultant benefit of tariff protection to industries, Warior said: "When we are considering the question of giving protection to our industrial production we must also consider how it will benefit the consumers and how it will help the other subsidiary industries.

"If the Government leaves these industries to go ahead in their own way and does not give them any protection there is no doubt that these industries will fail."

Neyveli Lignite Project

THE Lok Sabha on December 15 considered the third report of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited. Moving that the House take note of the Report and the audited accounts for 1958-59 placed on the table of the House on February 29 last K. T. K. Tangamani dwelt on the significance of the project.

"I would venture to place on record," he said "that Neyveli is not just one amongst the projects to be looked after in the normal way, but it is a project round which the industrial hopes and aspirations of the entire southern region of India are concerned. Recently, when the Madras Government demanded that the allocation for the Madras State in the Third Plan should be Rs. 399 crores, it was reduced to Rs. 282 crores by the

Planning Commission. Resentment was also expressed by the various newspapers in the country.

"The sense of neglect is not by any means entirely unjustified, and to ignore it only because it sometimes finds crude and exaggerated political expression will be to invite danger. For purposes of national integration as well as for the economic development of the South, the successful and rapid accomplishment of the Neyveli project is extremely important."

Tangamani further demanded from Government a firm statement on the schedule in respect to all various components of the project.

"In the report itself we find that some poor people have been uprooted. There has been some discrimination. Why should we become litigation minded? Because some of the peasants have succeeded in the High Court, the Corporation is thinking of taking the cases to the Supreme Court. Let us not bring litigation into this.

"Let us go and settle with the peasants. Pay them a few rupees more, a few thousand rupees by taking it to the Supreme Court. It is a very, very dangerous principle."

"Neyveli is a national enterprise; it should be nursed and nurtured. As such, recruitment for this project must be from among the best technicians available in this country. There should not be any discrimination shown.

"I have got reports to show and I can say on the basis of personal knowledge also and that is being given credence by men in the highest ranges of ladder in Madras State—that there is discrimination."

December 18.



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NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

● FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE decisions of the Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity have already begun to be implemented through anti-imperialist actions all over the country:

● The Conference's call for the release of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, for the functioning of the legally elected Parliament in the Congo and the removal of Belgian personnel from the Congo is already being echoed in the meetings and demonstrations held by different organisations in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi and other Centres (reports of some of these demonstrations appear in this issue).

● The Conference's decision to launch a new campaign for Goan liberation has been followed by the successful visit of the powerful Goan delegation to New Delhi which has brought the issue once again to the forefront of public attention.

Panchshila Declaration

In the coming days, the different State Committees of the movement will concentrate on fulfilling the other plans made by the Conference in regard to disarmament, support of the policy of peace and non-alignment, as well as actions of solidarity with the people of Algeria, Cuba, South Africa, Laos, etc.

We give below extracts from the major resolutions adopted by the Conference, which will serve as a guide to action by the movement in the first days of 1961.

The Conference adopted a Declaration of "wholehearted adherence to the policy of peace and non-alignment, of national independence and co-existence, which has the overwhelming support of the Indian people".

The Conference particularly lent its support to "the programme for peace and independence" put forward by the Prime Minister at the General Assembly of the UNO, "which calls above all, for total disarmament and the ending of colonialism".

The Declaration was a fighting attack on "the efforts of interested parties and persons to undermine this policy and to secure its reversal by dragging India into military pacts, directly or indirectly", and called for opposition to and frustration of these "sinister attempts, which draw their inspiration from imperialist sources".

New Summit

The Conference expressed its "fervent hope that, as early as possible after the assumption of office by the new President of the USA, fresh and fruitful discussions on disarmament will take place among heads of Governments of all countries, inside and outside the UNO".

The Conference called for agreements "for general and complete disarmament, by stages taken one after the other without delay", expressing its opinion that "the very

first stage in any disarmament agreement must include the destruction of all carriers of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all foreign military bases".

The Conference has proposed the calling of a World People's Congress for General and Complete Disarmament in 1961 by all organisations which are working for peace.

An appeal has been made to all organisations to observe "the fortnight commencing January 30—the day of the martyrdom of

and Government of Cuba and give them support in their efforts to safeguard their national independence".

"This Conference demands an immediate end to all such neo-colonialist methods".

Support Algeria

Extending its full support to the people of Algeria in their battle against French imperialism, the Conference condemned the NATO powers for the assistance they are giving to the French Government, extended its support to the Algerian proposal, backed by Afro-Asian countries for a re-

Change U.N. Structure

A special resolution on the United Nations pointing out its shortcomings, demanded:

- Adequate representation for Afro-Asian countries in all the vital organs and specialised agencies of the UNO, commensurate with their numbers and population;
- Changes in the structure and personnel of the UNO corresponding to the new composition of the UN;

The Conference made the following proposals to promote cultural exchanges:

(1) The establishment of a Journal of Afro-Asian Solidarity in which contributions of different cultures of Afro-Asian countries may appear as frequently as possible.

This magazine may preferably be brought out in the English language so that the material embodied in it may later go into different languages.

(2) The establishment of a cultural centre at Delhi which may provide a meeting place for Asian-African intellectuals and provide them facilities through a library, lecture hall-cum-cinema auditorium and exhibition room for cultural exchanges.

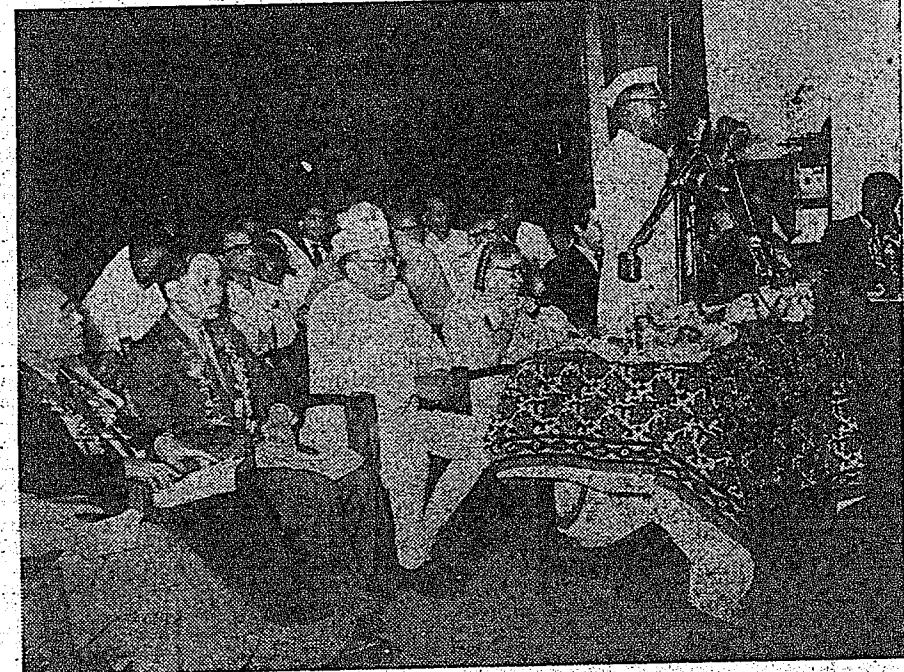
(3) The inauguration of a cultural festival of Afro-Asian peoples which may take place in different countries of Africa and Asia from time to time.

New Solidarity

Resolutions were also passed on the Kameroun, Pakistan, for the release of Jomo Kenyatta, on Portuguese colonies in Africa and on Portuguese atrocities in these colonies, for the release of Makhan Singh and endorsing the Central Afro-Asian movements' resolutions on Laos, Vietnam, Japan and Korea.

They were all expressions of solidarity with the peoples in different parts of Asia and Africa, fighting against colonialism and imperialism.

Of special interest also was Trade Union Convention's suggestion for an Afro-Asian Conference of Trade Unions. This proposal is bound to be widely welcomed everywhere and efforts must begin soon to overcome the difficulties lying in the way of bringing such a Conference about.



Presidium of Bombay Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi — as a Fortnight of Action for Disarmament, under the slogan 'Destroy the Bomb and Feed the Hungry'.

The resolution on Africa, while declaring its solidarity with the struggles of all the peoples of that continent, draws pointed attention to the new dangers of neo-colonialism. The resolution points out:

African Freedom

"Apart from such aggression as in the Congo, the imperialists strive to retain their domination over the independent countries of Africa by numerous other means including:—the exertion of economic pressure on the independent countries;

—efforts to bind the African countries to the imperialist governments through sinister plans such as that for the creation of the so-called 'Eur-Africa';

—the stationing of imperialist troops and the establishment of imperialist military bases on the territory of independent countries (as in Morocco and Tunisia) and nearly all the independent countries of the so-called 'French community';

—the utilisation of treacherous elements and pro-imperialist

ferendum in Algeria under UN auspices.

It urged "all those Afro-Asian Governments, including our own, which have not yet done so, to extend their recognition without delay to the Free Government of Algeria, headed by Prime Minister Ferhat Abbas".

Expressing complete solidarity with the South African people's struggle against apartheid, the Conference called for strong action by the UNO against the South African Government; It appealed to the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth "to consider making a declaration that they refuse to be in the same Commonwealth with the racist South African Government; and urged wholehearted participation by all Afro-Asian Governments in the economic boycott of South Africa.

Cuba

Theatrical

The Conference, noting with concern "the repeated threats and acts of aggression directed against Cuba by the USA", pointed out the danger to peace from the threats by certain public and military figures in USA who are demanding military intervention in Cuba and appealed to all peoples "to stand by the people,

- Immediate seating of the People's Republic of China in its rightful place in the UNO;
- Admission of the People's Republic of Mongolia.

Border Dispute

The Conference reaffirmed the previous resolution of the National Council of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, reiterated full support for the Prime Minister's policy and hoped that the border dispute would be solved by peaceful means as early as possible.

KISAN SABHA

A meeting of the A.I.K.C. will be held at Mahalaxmi, in the State of Maharashtra from January 2 to January 4, 1961. All members are requested to attend.

The Agenda will be: i) Agrarian situation in different States and areas; ii) Implementation of the Organisational Resolution of the last annual conference.

Bhowani Sen,
General Secretary
All India Kisan Sabha.

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KARNATAKA COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

THE Sixth Conference of the Karnataka State Council of the Communist Party of India was held in Mysore City from December 1 to 4. It was attended by 85 delegates and commenced its deliberations with the unfurling of the Party Flag by S. V. Ghate, founder member of the CPI.

The Conference proceedings were conducted by a presidium consisting of C. B. Monniah, A. Shantaram Pal and N. K. Upadhyaya.

A resolution paying homage to martyrs who had laid down their lives in the recent mass struggles was adopted by the conference, which observed two minutes silence. In an other resolution the conference expressed its condolences on the demise of Wilhelm Pleck, Harry Pollitt, Dr. K. T. Behanan, Feroze Gandhi, Somanna of Coorg and others.

After the appointment of the steering committee, creditentials committee, and audit commission, N. L. Upadhyaya, Secretary of the Council placed the report on the international and national situation and on Party organisation. Earlier messages greeting the conference from the various State Councils were read.

The report after dealing with the international and national situation dealt at length on the political and economic situation in the State and the organisational position of the Party.

Slow Progress

The report pointed out the slow rate of progress registered under the two Plans. It stated, that though some key industries, some of which are centrally owned, are situated in the State, its industrial development remains backward.

In the sphere of agriculture and irrigation the State is lagging behind and scarcity conditions are a frequent occurrence in many parts of the State. The conditions of the peasantry is deteriorating. The Government has failed to take adequate steps to prevent the steep rise in prices of essential commodities.

The report went on to point out that the Government has failed in not fully utilising the allocations made under the plans. It expressed its concern over the reported cut in the draft Third Plan of the State from Rs. 350 crores to Rs. 220 crores, which will hamper the rate of development in the State.

Criticising the taxation policy of the Government the report points out that during the Second Plan period the rate of taxation on the common people has increased by over 150 per cent per capita. The report pointing out the public debt position of the State, says that because of the policies pursued by the State Government the financial position has become precarious in the State.

Dealing with the Third Plan draft of the State, the report noted the non-inclusion of the development of Mangalore Port, Hassan-Mangalore Railway line and other new Railway lines vitally needed for the development of the State. It demanded the inclusion of these projects in the Plan and criticised the discriminatory and arbitrary policy of

the Planning Commission and the Central Government.

The report strongly condemned the inordinate delay by the Government in bringing forward land-reforms legislation in the State. The report pointed to the attempts of the landlord elements to modify the bill now before the select committee in a reactionary direction.

It also drew attention to the loopholes in the bill, which enables eviction of tenants, which in the name of self cultivation allows landlords to retain large tracts of land and, thus, leaves no land for distribution among landless etc. It demanded that the bill suitably amended, plugging all the loopholes, should be brought forward without further delay by summoning a special session of the legislature.

The report condemned the labour policy of the Government and also pointed out the disruptive activities of the INTUC.

Dealing with the other political parties in the State the report pointed out the activities of the reactionary Swatantra Party. It stated that though the PSP is the main opposition party in the Legislature, it has failed in its duty to function as a democratic opposition.

After reviewing the recent elections to the panchayats and taluk boards and municipalities, the report drew attention to the need for the strengthening of the mass organisations and the Party in the State.

Build Movement

It stressed the need for the building up of a strong democratic movement, with all the democratic parties and individuals, including honest Congressmen in the State.

Dealing with the organisational position of the Party the report pointed out its weaknesses and stressed the need for effectively functioning the Party at all levels to strengthen it. The report mentioned the need for building a strong movement of the peasantry in the State and the building up of mass organisations.

More than 30 delegates participated in the two day discussions on the report, which was adopted with amendments. S. V. Ghate, addressing the delegates greeted the conference, stressed the need for enforcing discipline in the Party and thus strengthening it. He pointed out the immense possibilities for the growth of the Party in the State and expressed the hope that the Conference in its deliberations would adopt a proper programme for building a strong Party in the State.

The resolution on the political situation refers to the frequent changes in the ministry, the anti-people's policies pursued by the Government and growing discontent among the people and to its failure in utilising the allocations made

in the Plan as well as wasteful expenditure in the projects undertaken.

The resolution draws attention to the shortage of food and the sharp rise in the prices of essential commodities and criticises the anti-labour policy and the discriminatory attitude to other opposition parties.

The resolution draws attention to the discussions inside the Congress, and points out how the ruling party is utilising the Government machinery for the interests of various groups. It states that as a result of these internal quarrels even if the ministries change the basic anti-people's policy remains the same. It points out to the need for strengthening the democratic movement in the State.

The resolution calls upon the Party to build peasant organisations in the State and prepare for a strong movement for suitable land reforms.

The resolution on the State's Third Five Year Plan draft, expressed its concern over the reported cut in the size of the plan from Rs. 350 crores to Rs. 220 crores and states that the cut will hamper the development of the State. The resolution demands that the size of the plan as proposed by the State Government should not be cut on any account.

The resolution criticises the policy of the Planning Commission while making allocations of funds for different States. It has not taken into consideration the needs of each area resulting in the preparation of backward State as backward. It called for a rational approach to planning.

Raising Resources

The resolution condemned the manner in which the revenues for the Plan are sought to be raised, by way of additional taxation to the tune of Rs. 20 crores as proposed in the draft plan, which the Planning Commission is now proposing to raise it to Rs. 42 crores.

It opposes any additional taxation on the people and suggests that the necessary revenues should be raised by fully utilising the natural resources in the State, nationalising the manganese and iron mines, increasing the forest wealth, levying agricultural income-tax on the higher income groups, etc.

The resolution on the sharing of the river waters, expressed its concern at the unsatisfactory arrangement between Mysore and its neighbouring States, particularly of the Krishna and Cauvery.

The Conference elected a State Council of 33 members. The Council re-elected N. L. Upadhyaya as secretary. It also elected a 11 man executive committee consisting of N. L. Upadhyaya, B. V. Kakkilaya, M. C. Narasimham, S. Suryanarayana, V. M. Govindan, M. H. Krishnappa, A. Krishna Shetty, M. N. Urganappa, B. N. Kuttappa and N. K. Upadhyaya. It elected N. L. Upadhyaya, B. V. Kakkilaya, M. C. Narasimham, S. Suryanarayana Rao and Y. R. Satyanarayana to the Secretariat.

The Conference elected a Control Commission consisting of C. B. Monniah, M. S. Rama Rao and Simpson Soans. It also elected N. L. Upadhyaya, Y. R. Satyanarayana, B. N. Kuttappa, N. K. Upadhyaya and M. H. Krishnappa as delegates to the forthcoming Party Congress to be held in Vijayawada.

The Congress concluded with a mass rally on December 4, 1960 in the Town Hall maidan. M. C. Narasimham, MLA presided and N. L. Upadhyaya, B. V. Kakkilaya and S. Suryanarayana Rao addressed the meeting. Earlier the delegates, peasants and workers went in procession through the main streets of the city and came to the meeting place.

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INDIAN WORKING CLASS - ITS PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

★ by K. G. SRIWASTAVA

WITH the year 1960 ending and four years of the Second Five-Year Plan nearing completion, after thirteen years of independence, the Indian working class will review its conditions and the issues facing it in the 26th Session of its premier 40-year-old organisation, the All-India Trade Union Congress, at Coimbatore in early January (5 to 12), 1961.

The national income of the country has risen from Rs. 8,670 crores to Rs. 12,480 crores (26.9 per cent from 1948-49 to 1958-59). The progress in the industrialisation of the country, especially heavy industry, as enunciated in the Second Plan has, though not exactly to the schedule and utmost efficiency, though accompanied by corruption and wastage, gone ahead.

Bhilai steel plant is almost complete. In Rourkela, two furnaces are in operation and Durgapur has also started with its first furnace. Bhopal Heavy Electricals is on its way to completion. The Hindustan Machine Tools, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Heavy Machine-building Plant and Foundry Forge Plant near Ranchi and other plants have either started production or expanded during this period.

The defence ordnance factories have produced tractors and are going ahead with the production of trucks. Manufacture of railway coaches at Integral Coach Factory and loco material at Chittaranjan is helping us to be self-sufficient to some extent in our requirements.

Plants assembling cars in India have done roaring business. Cycle manufacture has gone up in the country and we are exporting cycles, fans and sewing machines. Textile production has gone up and so has sugar and cement.

The engineering industry as such has registered marked increase in the number of factories as well as production. The production of coal, iron ore, chemicals and tea have gone up during last three years.

PRODUCTION RAISED

Though it is true that there was a possibility of greater increase in production in these industries, if only bureaucratic management in the Public Sector and sole profit motive in the private sector were not to be the main feature of production relations, it is nonetheless a fact that production during these three years has gone up towards the fulfilment of plan targets.

Exports of some of the articles does not necessarily indicate prices coming down within the reach of the common man or sufficient production for our domestic use. The general index of industrial production stood at 151.9 with base 100 in 1950.

The patriotic sense of the working class in raising production and working for the fulfilment of the Plan targets has fully expressed itself in this progress. Wherever the Plan target of production is still lagging behind as in coal, one of the major factors is the mismanagement of the Government in Public Sector and deliberate holding back on the part of the employers in private sector.

The productivity of the worker in jute industry has gone up from 126.6 to 138.7 from 1958 to 1959 and for the same period, in sugar and cotton textile industry from

162.5 to 163.0 and 104.1 to 106.1 respectively.

The employment index for the same period has gone down from 100.5 in 1958 to 89.3 (in jute) and from 112.9 in 1958 to 107.0 in 1960 in cotton textiles.

In coal mining, between 1956 and 1959 index of production rose from 114.9 to 137.1; index of productivity rose from 114.7 to 132.5 while the index of employment rose only from 100.1 to 103.4.

The index of production as well as productivity has generally gone up while the index of employment has in some cases gone down and in others not risen commensurate with the rise in production.

The index of profits has risen from 150.8 in 1955 to 160.7 in 1958.

WAGES DECLINE

What did the Indian worker gain from his work and what was his share of the rise in national income, production and productivity?

In this "socialist pattern of society" that is being built by the bourgeois government, even the Prime Minister does not know where this increase in national income goes! Who are the real big beneficiaries of this progress? Definitely not the working class!

The Union Labour Minister G. L. Nanda, speaking in Lok Sabha on April 11, 1959, admitted:

"Between 1939 and 1947, the standard of living of the workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they just recovered lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But since 1956, when again prices started rising, their gains have been to an extent wiped out."

The trend of declining real wages continues. The index of real earnings of factory workers has gone down from 144.9 in 1955 to 132.7 in 1958, though money earnings had gone up from 159.4 to 176.8 during the same period.

The continuous rise in the All-India Consumer Price Index, for food and general, from 105 in 1956 to 125 and 127 respectively in 1960 clearly shows that increase in money wages which workers in certain industries won by fighting struggles and facing bullets has not fully compensated them for the increased cost of living index.

The Government has miserably failed to maintain the price line as far as food, cloth, sugar and other articles of necessity as well as house-rent are concerned.

The fight along with other sections of people to check rising prices against the bourgeoisie, which alone is its beneficiary, is an important task to which special attention will have to be paid in the coming period.

It is true that in some of the industries, to certain extent, either through agreements, awards or settlements, the money wages have gone up during this period. Often

these settlements are as a result of bitter struggles as in Jamshedpur, W. Bengal plantations, Calcutta tramways, Bhilai, port and dock, etc.

WAGE BOARDS

Even for the implementation of the unanimous decision of the Wage Board in cotton textile, the workers had to resort to strike in W. Bengal, Rajasthan and in other areas. Agreement was arrived at only at the last minute before the strike was to take place as in Bombay, Delhi, Tamilnad and U.P. Even now in some centres, the recommendations have not yet been implemented.

The cement Wage Board report has still not been implemented in all its aspects in majority of the factories. On the report of the sugar Wage Board, submitted this month after three years, the Government decision is awaited.

These Wage Boards take a very, very long time to give their recommendations and then for their implementation, workers have to move with all their strength behind them.

It has taken more than a year from the date of decision even to announce the personnel of the plantation Wage Board and quite a few months in the case of jute.

The Bank Tribunal was appointed only after a strike by the State Bank employees and one day all-India token strike by all bank employees on February 19, 1960.

The jute-Wage-Board, in the past few months, has not been able to decide even on the grant of interim relief so badly needed. The Wage Board is being denied to metal and engineering workers and coal miners.

The Wage Boards, though from different angles, have not implemented the agreement at the 15th Indian Labour Conference (I. L. C.) regarding minimum wages.

PAY COMMISSION

The worst was the recommendation of the Central Pay Commission, against which for the first time in the history of our TU movement, all Central Government employees, belonging to railways, defence (civilian), P & T, civil aviation, Audit and Accounts, etc., fought a glorious battle of five days from July 12 to 16, 1960, against unprecedented odds.

Though immediately their demands of linking dearness allowance (D.A.) with the cost of living index and minimum wage according to 15th I.L.C. norms were not conceded by the Government and victimisation on unheard of scale was launched, the attention of the whole nation was directed to the national problem of rising prices and the need to check it.

Wage Board reports have often been in the nature of a package deal for a specific period, bringing along with it slight wage rise, increased workload and some other liabilities also.

Retrenchment as a result of closure of factories, due to mismanagement specially in textiles, was very much evident during 1958-59. Taking over of some of the mills by

the Government, though after many months of delay during which workers suffered badly, to some extent saved the situation in some cases.

The effect of recession in the capitalist world in 1957-58 had some effect in India also, in the closure of, specially, manganese mines and some of the engineering and foreign concerns. Rationalisation and introduction of automatic looms also resulted in the number of employed workers mainly in jute and cotton textiles going down.

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS

Even according to Government statistics, the number of factory workers has not increased at all in the years of 1958 and 1959. The total number of applicants on the live register of the Employment Exchange has increased from 11,83,299 in 1958 to 15,87,851 in August 1960.

This only just shows the trend. Employment of women workers, specially in jute and cotton textiles industry is continuously going down.

Tripartite conventions have helped the working class to have agreements on the national level either in these meetings or as a result of the same specially in coal, plantations, petroleum, etc.

Decisions regarding verification procedure, moral binding on the employer to recognise the union in the absence of statutory provision of the same, provision of grievance procedure, setting up of Wage Boards with minimum wages norms, etc., are some of the positive gains.

Nonetheless, the employers and the Government as an employer try to emphasise only such parts of these agreements in the Code of Discipline which bind down the workers to certain obligations and repudiate others which bind them and are helpful to the workers.

It is partly because of the fact that the TUs lack proper consciousness and apparatus to utilise the Code in their favour, while the employers and the Government are better placed in this respect.

The working class movement has been able to get certain amendments in the T. U. laws benefitting them.

Removing distinction between adult and minor for the purpose of Workmen's Compensation Act, amplification and widening of the term 'Mines' in Mines Act, applying the Provident Fund Act to concerns with 50 employees, advances for purchasing or construction of houses by workers from Provident Fund, Plantation Labour Bill preventing fragmentation of estates—these are some examples.

In addition, the All-India Maternity Benefit Bill, Kerala Industrial Aid Rule 1958 providing aid to victimised employees, Kerala Industrial Est National Holidays Act, 1959, and in certain States, enforcing Minimum Wages Act on

shop assistants and beach workers, were advantageous to the workers.

The Kerala Industrial Relations Bill giving right of recognition by statute was circulated by the popular Government of Kerala but has been dropped by the subsequent Congress-PSP-Muslim League Coalition Ministry.

Minimum wages for agricultural workers though fixed by some State Governments have not been properly enforced.

The extension of the ESI Scheme and Provident Fund scheme to newer industries and regions has been going on. As a result of our continuous agitation over the working of the ESI Scheme, the Madalar Committee was appointed and has submitted its report.

It has made a scathing criticism which was until now voiced only by the working class and certain good suggestions are made, specially about construction of hospitals and about the including of families in the scheme.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The employers are still paying less share in the scheme, besides a number of cases of default of depositing collections from workers as well as their own share with the ESI Corporation. Our efforts to raise the rate of Provident Fund rate from 6-1/5 to 8-1/3 per cent was not entirely successful and the Government in certain industries is requiring through a tripartite committee the capacity of the industry to bear its increased share. The AITUC held that no such inquiry is necessary and boycotted these inquiries.

In the 17th I.L.C., we succeeded in getting an unanimous decision about doubling the rate of compensation of accidents. The Government has not yet brought this amending bill.

The Industrial Housing Scheme is most unsatisfactory. The rent of Government quarters is high. Cooperative societies of workers do not get sufficient encouragement and the employers on the whole are not very keen on discharging their responsibilities in this respect. No doubt, construction of houses by the Government has taken place in some centres.

The working class movement has made further strides during this period. The membership of unions submitting returns in 1957-58 was 29,07,443. While up-to-date figures are not available, it is clear that membership of trade unions have risen appreciably.

The AITUC membership which was 9,47,239 at the time of the Ernakulam Session (Dec. 1957) has gone up to 10,80,480 in 1959-60. The AITUC has entered new industries of steel, mines in West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, engineering and in Calcutta port and dock and consolidated itself in plantations in W. Bengal and Tamilnad.

This has been a period of some progress in new fields and more organisation at all

levels despite shortage of cadre felt throughout. There have been long-term agreements benefitting the workers—some made with our TUs, some with INTUC unions as a result of pressure exerted and our agitation and action.

STRUGGLE WAVE

Big struggles in whole industries and on a State and nationwide scale have taken place.

The plantation and jute workers' strike in West Bengal; strikes of textile workers in Tamilnad, Bengal and Rajasthan; bank employees' strike; Central Government employees strike; the July 25, 1959 general strike in Bombay; July 26 and September 2, 1959 and July 14 and 16, 1960 General strike and 42-day strike in Calcutta Tramways in Aug-Sept. 1953; Jamshedpur; W. Bokaro; Premier Automobiles, Bombay; Madras textiles; all-India port and dock strike—can all be mentioned as some of them. There are many others.

Lessons from these struggles as well as the events of these three years provide rich experience in the organisational field of the TU movement.

Even now a large number of workers remain unorganised; all efforts not being made in the membership enrolment; day-to-day functioning, specially office and record keeping work being very weak at all levels; no team work at State TUC and Central level; financial irregularities; cadre shortage; absence of education and training specially among the working class cadre; lack of proper democratic functioning at all levels; no positive effort at raising class consciousness and explaining duties to workers—the class and nation—these are some of the important drawbacks, which if not attended to without delay will hinder the growth of the movement. Non-observance of national and international days is a common feature.

BLACK BILLS

With the growing struggles, and the disruptive activities of specially the INTUC, the Central and State Governments have been trying their best to amend their laws to curb TU rights. We succeeded in fighting back some of these.

The powers of Registrar of Trade Unions were to be enhanced giving them a free hand to interfere in the day-to-day functioning of trade unions. This was fought back in the 17th I.L.C. and later, with united agitation in W. Bengal the Government stand was rejected and bill had to be withdrawn.

In Madhya Pradesh, some of the provisions of the Industrial Relations Bill and the TU Bill were very retrograde and a satyagraha movement forced the Government to make some concessions in the Assembly.

In West Bengal, a Bill to restrict procession and demonstrations was introduced but the agitation of the TU movement forced it to withdraw. Still the efforts of the State Governments to extend the provisions of the Bombay Industrial Relations Act through amendments continue.

In some places, the Code of Discipline is tried to be used in refusing adjudication or not interfering by the Government in favour of workers in the strike struggles. The latest bill of banning strike in "essential services" is still pending and not given up in spite of unanimous opposition by all the working class organisations in the country and even some employers and

representatives. Formation of

the united union of textile workers of Bombay is an important event. Some industrial federations could maintain their unity with the HMS, other independents and AITUC elements working together.

The INTUC during this period has been more busy with disruption in the trade union organisations by forming rival unions and federations such as in defence, banks, petroleum, in HMT and lately in the P & T, though not with any spectacular success to themselves. Nonetheless, these disruptive activities of the INTUC are bound to do harm to the working class.

Even the INTUC and HMS, both affiliated to the ICFU, could not work together. Their differences have widened and the continuous efforts of various ICFU delegations to India to patch them up have not yet yielded result.

The UTUC was split into two and continues to be so.

Experience shows that we have to continue working for TU unity from below in struggles, bringing in the unorganised workers into the fold of our trade unions and at the same time never to miss the opportunity of giving united calls for action from the top wherever feasible.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Works Committees have functioned only when it suited the management. The Committee appointed to review its functioning has miserably failed in its task.

Participation by the genuine representatives of the working class in them sometimes helps to check their utilisation for these purposes. Our efforts to utilise them for working class interests have been continued, though a very difficult one, with perseverance.

Setting up of negotiating machinery in certain Public Sector concerns was a step forward but without a statutory status, this by itself could not go much forward in even stabilising relations between the employers and the trade unions of the employees.

As the bourgeoisie have often sold us junks in the industrial and commercial field, they are trying the same in exporting Whitley Council in the TU field. What is going to be its actual form to suit Indian conditions is yet to be seen.

This has been the lot and problems of the Indian working class during the last three years.

The draft Third Five Year Plan is before the nation. What does it offer to the working class?

The cost of living index has been continuously rising, which fact the economists of almost all shades of opinion have forecast, and the Government has been unable to check rise in prices.

We need, therefore, a firm assurance from the Government in the remaining period of the Second Plan and in the Third Plan period, that it will not only main-

tain the real wage at the 1937 level but ensure that if the workers have to play their important role in the reconstruction of the country and its economy, their share in the progress and gains be reasonably assured.

Some favourable amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act agreed upon in a sub-committee of the Standing Labour Committee appointed for the purpose in 1959, are lying in cold storage.

Certain decisions of the Supreme Court, given without taking into consideration the social goals and deciding strictly on the basis of bourgeois social laws, have taken away from the working class certain gains made through struggles.

CAPITALIST TACTICS

In mines, specially in collieries in Raniganj and in Barbil belt, these years have witnessed the growing violent attacks on the workers by the hired goondas of the management. The unfortunate part of the episode is the support these elements get from the State Government and the Central Labour machinery.

The scheme of joint management council, the National Productivity Council, and workers' education are designed to be utilised by the bourgeoisie and its Government for their own interests at their sweet will against the workers, for raising productivity per capita and indoctrination of bourgeois economy and anti-class understanding.

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on Japan, refusal to seat Chinese People's Republic representatives in UNO and help to Chiang Kai-shek clique in Formosa, continued threat to the new Cuban regime, and military pacts are all part and parcel of the same game.

TWO PILLAR POLICY

The Indian working class has been in the forefront of its own battle of independence. From its own experience, it knows the nature of imperialism. Active support to the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the running of campaigns for world peace and against world war and support to the working class struggle of other capitalist and under-developed countries are the international obligations without which our own progress will be in danger.

The Indian working class accepted the two-pillar policy of working for the reconstruction of our country and its economy and defending the working class interests at its last session in the year 1957 at Ernakulam. The defence of Public Sector against the attacks by Private Sector was one of our key tasks.

From all the available accounts and the figures of production, it has fulfilled its patriotic tasks. If it could not do still better, it is because of the bourgeoisie and the Government.

With its declared aim of establishing "socialist pattern of society" it not only did not do justice to the workers' cause in respect of their problems of living standards and working conditions, but created obstacles and more often supported the employers in the Private and Public Sectors against the working class.

Production in almost all Public Sector undertakings has gone up, the hard core of the Second Plan has been saved from being pruned as suggested, and insisted upon by the private sector, World Bank etc.

The basis of heavy industry in the country is being laid on more or less correct lines. The work on oil refineries and new oil finds is still important. Not that our work is over. This is a continuous task and we have to defend and expand Public Sector in the years to come also.

The defence of workers' interests has been the principle on which the TU movement and the AITUC is founded. This task is second to none and not dependent on any other consideration. The AITUC is proud of the struggles it had led during the last three years for this cause.

It has to tone up its organisation and keep itself always ready for the fight to defend real wages, against rising prices, new curbs on TU rights and victimisation.

A higher level of struggle, with better organisation, class consciousness and sense of solidarity, has to be developed to face the coming attack of the employers.

Such are our achievements and the issues before the Indian working class which will be discussed and debated in the 26th Session of the AITUC for one week at Coimbatore in January 1961.

Forward to the 26th Session of the AITUC!

Forward to the 26th Session of the AITUC!

NEW ROUBLE IN THE NEW YEAR

By MASOOD ALI KHAN

NEW money will be issued here in the Soviet Union from the New Year. Those who have seen the present currency notes know how extraordinarily big some of them are—specially the 100 rouble note—and how difficult it is to accommodate them in normal-size purses meant for carrying other currencies. Well, from the first of January 1961 all that is going to change, and much more.

The new notes are going to be smaller in size but much more in value. Ten old roubles are going to be equal to one new rouble. But nobody is going to lose anything due to the change-over; all prices and wages, payments and all other amounts will automatically become one-tenth in terms of the new money.

Internally it is a currency revaluation and a very convenient and simple one at that. It is just a matter of moving the decimal one digit to the left. The new prices are already being printed on goods now coming out of the factories.

New books, for example, have two prices printed on the covers, if a book costs, say, ten roubles and eighty kopeks now, from January 1, it will be one rouble and eight kopeks in new money.

Smooth Change

New coins will also be introduced. Now-a-days the coin of highest denomination is the 20 kopek piece. The new 20 kopek piece will not only buy as much as two roubles at present, there will be two new denominations also: the 50 kopek and one rouble coins. So the highest coin in circulation after New Year will be 50 times the value of the present coin of highest denomination.

The change-over is going to be smooth and for the first three months of 1961 both currencies will remain in circulation. And there will be two prices for everything: old price for old money and new price for new one. Gradually the present money will be withdrawn.

In the RSFSR 16,765 exchange-centres will operate. For the far corners of Siberia, Far East and extreme North 249 mobile centres have been established and aeroplanes, helicopters and reindeer sledges are going to keep them supplied. All these centres are going to have radio-telephones and special machines have been fixed in banks to count and sort out the coins. Over eleven lakhs of people all over the Soviet Union will carry out this huge money changing operation.

Why this currency revaluation? What are the benefits for the people and the country resulting from the new currency and coinage?

The new currency will be more convenient to handle, there will be less to carry in pockets and it will buy more. The new coins will make automation possible in many fields. As a bigger proportion of the money in circulation will be in the shape of coins, counting machines will be introduced in banks, offices and depart-

ment stores. This will become a big labour saving factor.

Lately many automatic slot machines have appeared in Moscow. Brightly coloured machines selling soft drinks were set up in large numbers on the streets last summer, and in winter many of them still operate inside Metro stations. There are other spending machines in shops selling pencils, copy-books, and one even to sprinkle you with perfume if you like.

But this development was being handicapped due to the small value of the coins in use, in some cases one had to buy a token disc at a counter first to get some tempting sandwich-out of the slot-machine. Now with new coinage a big development is planned in this field of automatic trade.

Those who have seen Moscow shops and their over-worked shop assistants due to the permanent boom which Socialism brings about, understand what a boon these machines are going to be. Machines will be selling food-stuffs, cigarettes, even soups and hot lunches; drinks and many types of goods in great demand. They will even give back change and will operate at all odd hours thus saving a lot of time and human labour.

It will be easy to keep accounts as they will not run to such huge figures. Prices will also be in one or two digit figures, in most cases. Then there is the psychological factor. Now-a-days if someone drops a small coin in the bus or on pavement to stoop down for it is considered "not worth the trouble" and one does not do it for fear of being taken for a miser in public. But all that will change now as the new coins will demand great respect. And the person saving one kopek will be saving ten times more than now-a-days.

Revalued Rouble

The rouble has also been revalued in terms of its gold content and in relation to foreign currencies, though not to the same extent as internally in terms of prices and incomes. At present the dollar is equal to four roubles according to the official rate of exchange, after first January it will be 90 new kopeks (worth today's 9 roubles). Other currencies will also be adjusted in the same proportion.

The two rates operating now-a-days—the official and the tourist—will be abolished and there will be only one new rate for everybody. At present tourists, diplomatic missions and foreign journalists, etc., get 250 per cent of what they would get on present official rate. In other words, a premium of 150 per cent is added to non-commercial payments.

The new rate of exchange which comes into operation from next year adds 125 per cent to all exchange transactions in terms of purchasing power in the country. With relation to the rupee the new rouble will be: one rupee equal to about 20 new kopeks (equal to two roubles of today).

The roubles current gold standard—0.222168 grams of pure gold—was fixed in 1950. For the new rouble this has been increased to 0.987412 grams of pure gold.

Firm Currency

The new rate has been fixed on a realistic and firm basis and corresponds to the factual ratio obtaining between the purchasing powers of the different currencies. Now the prices in the internal market of the Soviet Union will be nearer and comparable to world market prices and the rouble will become a more solid and firm currency commanding more respect due to its real and constantly growing purchasing power. This is in contrast to the present shaken position of the dollar in world market.

The strength of any currency is the backing it can get from production, and the amount of production depends on the productivity of labour. If we compare the

rouble and the dollar on this basis we immediately see the strength of the rouble and its steady onward march in world economy. The present rate of exchange was fixed in 1950 and how has the position changed during the last ten years?

Between 1950 and 1959 the volume of industrial production in the Soviet Union increased 2.8 times, the increase in USA was only 41 and Britain 26 per cent. In the same period the national income in USSR increased 2.5 times in USA and Britain only 32 and 18 per cent respectively. This year production here is to go up by another 11 per cent, whereas in USA there are more and more symptoms of an overall economic recession setting in.

Similarly productivity of labour in USSR rose by 83 per cent between 1950 and 1959 in USA and Britain merely 39 and 27. In current seven-year plan a further rise in labour productivity of about 50 per cent in industry and 65 per cent in construction is expected.

Growing Prestige

If we keep in mind the fact that in socialist countries currencies are backed not only by gold reserves, securities and other holdings of

the banks but also by all the means of production and goods owned by the state we realise what this rise means for the rouble.

The purchasing power of the rouble has been constantly on the increase this is evident from the following: From 1950 to 1959 here prices dropped by 25 per cent and continue to go down all the time. During the same period in USA retail prices increased by 21 per cent, and in Britain by 48 per cent or nearly by half.

On the other hand, the prestige of the rouble has been rising all the time due to the continuous upward march of Soviet Socialist economy. The new rouble will contain 11 per cent more gold than the dollar (as at present the gold content of the American dollar is equal to 0.888671 grams of pure gold.)

And what is the perspective? There is no doubt that in the next ten to fifteen years the upsurge of Soviet economy is going to give further strength to the rouble, and probably we shall see a convertible rouble after some time.

Continuous increase in the purchasing power of the rouble will make it a desirable currency for many countries of the world, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America who want to get out of the grip of the dollar and the pound sterling.

Rumanian Workers' Conference

By MD. ELIAS, M.P.

THE fourth Congress of Rumanian Trade Unions held in Bucharest from October 26 to 29 was a vivid manifestation of the strong democratic functioning of trade unions in that socialist land and of the urge among its working class for the planned development of their motherland.

The conference was held in a newly built hall which accommodates more than a thousand persons. It is situated in the heart of Bucharest and adjacent to the palace of the former Kings. The new rulers of Rumania—the common man—have dwarfed the old monarchy with its decadent pomp.

The conference was attended by 1,363 delegates representing 2,800,000 members. Among the delegates 936 were workers, 255 engineers and 152 scientists. Three hundred and fifty were working women. While the delegates from the Rumanian nationality numbered over a thousand the rest belonged to the Hungarian, German and other nationalities. Apart from these elected delegates there were nearly one thousand visitors, while fraternal delegates came from thirty seven countries.

The conference opened with the greetings from Chivu Stoica, Secretary, Rumanian Workers' Party. This was followed by the report of Georgi

Apostol, the Chairman of the Central Council of Rumanian Trade Unions.

G. Apostol in his report highlighted the activities of the trade unions. Inspired with the faith in the development of the national economy, its members were working hard to fulfill the plans to make the country more prosperous and to improve the working and living conditions of the workers.

The trade unions mobilised the workers to fulfill the plan ahead of schedule and in many industries they had overfulfilled their target. Due to the trade-union campaign labour productivity in 1960 has increased by 48 per cent in 1960 as compared to 1955. By fulfilling these targets year after year, the workers have saved for the State nearly 21,000 million lei during 1956-59 above.

Due to their tremendous service to the nation the working people are also getting their reward in the form of higher wages and savings. From 1956 to 1960 over four-fifths of the national income was allotted to the consumption fund of the population. This enabled the working and living conditions of the workers to be constantly improved.

During the period 1955 and 1959 and in the first half of 1960 some 2,200 million lei were spent only for labour protection, while over 32,000 million lei had been spent in the 1955-60 period for social security. In most cases the over-age and the disabled

were given 100 per cent of their wages. During 1955-59 over 300,000 people were sent to health resorts every year.

The delegates who participated in the discussion on the report while supporting the major conclusions in it vehemently criticised the trade union, Party and Government leadership where they failed to do their jobs. I could not imagine that an ordinary worker in the factory would so vehemently criticise the leadership.

The Chairman himself in his report dealt at length on the weaknesses and stated "some times the leadership of trade unions still try to hush up shortcomings, they take a formal stand towards criticism and self-criticism. There still exists bureaucrats among the local and regional trade union comrades who are not thoroughly acquainted with the trade union bodies and many of the workers".

Sixty-five delegates took part in the discussion, made frank criticism and self-criticism and put valuable suggestions from their own experience. The conference unanimously adopted a resolution on peace and disarmament. It also approved the report of the audit commission.

The last evening of the Congress was most memorable. The important Rumanian delegates and all the foreign delegates gathered in the beautifully decorated hall where previously the King used to hold his 'durbars' and his banquets. During the banquet I kept wondering when in our country our workers will also enjoy such a splendid life and such prosperity.

MANIPUR ALL-PARTIES DELEGATION

From Our Delhi Correspondent

ANOTHER delegation from Manipur has visited New Delhi and conveyed once again to the Centre the Manipuris' tale of long-standing and unredeemed woe. Seven leaders of the Assembly Demand Coordination Committee were in the capital sometime ago and met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister.

With Manipur's integration in October 1949 that "popular structure was pulled down". Manipur was made into a Part C State and its destiny placed in the hands of a Chief Commissioner.

People's Demand

The people did not accept this change without protest. The urge for responsible Government kept growing, taking the form of a movement in 1954. Resolutions demanding responsible Government were passed by all the political parties including the Congress.

The memorandum further reminds the authorities that the States Reorganisation Commission in 1956 had recommended a separate status for Manipur. "Much has happened since", says the memorandum.

Memo's Case

It was this memorandum that they presented to the Prime Minister on December 12. They met the Parliamentary groups of the Communist and Praja Socialist parties too, besides some other leading members of the Congress Parliamentary Party.

Their memorandum has set out the unanswerable case for responsible Government in Manipur—"an elected assembly with a Council of Ministers responsible to it".

It has found it necessary to remind everyone concerned that what they demand is nothing new. A popular assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage—even before it was so in the rest of India—and a Government responsible to that assembly existed in Manipur in 1948-49.

Parliament cannot devote time to matters of this place, it rather helps the growth of arbitrary rule and emboldens the officers to get on with their misrule.

"Today the people are not, in the least associated with the administration. The gulf between the people and the administration is the widest. Nepotism, misuse of public funds, corruption, arbitrary action and high-handedness are rampant and people say without responsible Government these things cannot be checked".

Gross Injustice

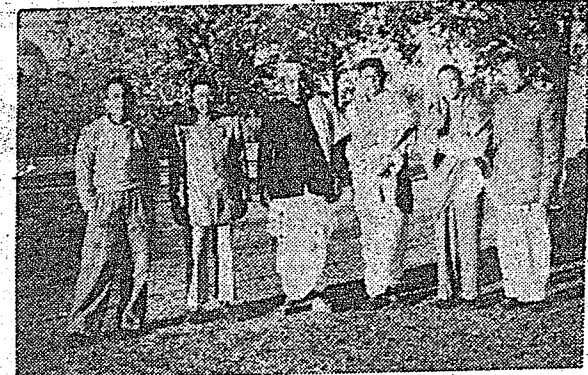
An additional factor which has accentuated the problem by further emphasising the gross injustice being done to Manipur is the Government of India's welcome decision to concede the demand for Nagaland.

The memorandum of the Manipur Assembly Demand Coordination Committee says: "The granting of a Naga State by the Government of India—a State with a population of hardly four lakhs and an annual revenue of Rupees three lakhs only has pricked the bubble of economic viability and smallness of size and population".

Manipur's bigger area of 8,728 square miles holds a population of nine lakh people and has an income of Rs. 50 lakhs. The memorandum, therefore, says:

"There is no denying the fact that Manipur has a much better position than Nagaland so far as the question of revenue is concerned".

Castigating the Government for its repressive campaign



From Left to Right: R. K. Manisana Singh (P.S.P.); K. H. Angangjias Singh (Scheduled Castes); L. Jogeshwar Singh (Congress—Leader); K. Kunjabihari Singh (Independent); Bisang Koisang (Socialist); Soyam Satradhari (Communist) Two other members of the delegation not appearing in the photograph were L. Joy Chandra Singh (Congress) and Namkhalar Angam (Tribal, Khulimi)

against the movement for responsible Government, the memorandum says: "There may be suppression for sometime and Government may feel they have taught the people a lesson; that is a gain quite transient and temporary."

"The need is for a permanent and progressive solution for the advancement of a democratic form of Government".

The memorandum urges the release of all detained and convicted leaders and workers of the movement. It demands the withdrawal of all pending cases.

Release Leaders

The deputationists have conveyed to the Central Government and leaders in New Delhi that in order also to check Naga hostile activity in the three Manipur sub-divisions inhabited by Naga people it was necessary to restore responsible

Government forthwith in Manipur. That step alone would rally them. Otherwise the Manipuri leaders feel Manipur would inevitably go down the inclined plane of disintegration and it might become too late for any steps to become effective.

United Struggle

The deputation of the Manipur Assembly Demand Coordination Committee felt they had received a sympathetic hearing. Will this be followed by action or will New Delhi again go to sleep, nobody knows. The Manipuris, however, are not willing to rest. They will continue their struggle till their goal is achieved.

The very fact that they conducted a united struggle for their demand and the delegation consisted of leaders of all the democratic parties in Manipur—the Congress, PSP, CPI and Independents—is a guarantee of their success.

JOTEDARS' RAMPAGE IN WEST BENGAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The ripening paddy, stretching across vast fields in West Bengal's countryside, looks like a rolling sea of gold. But, however, captivating the sight might appear, it is not so to a sharecropper.

The one worry that now haunts his mind is: will he be able to harvest his paddy or will the jotedars, aided and abetted by the police and backed by powerful men inside the State Cabinet, succeed in seizing it?

Harvesting has started in many parts of West Bengal and in the next few days the entire peasant community will be out on the fields.

But police camps have been already set up in several areas and jotedars are forebodingly taking away sharecroppers' paddy. Some of the land from which paddy is being illegally seized is mostly benami land (that is, land which has been transferred by jotedars under fictitious names to evade the ceiling of 25 acres fixed by law).

Other portions are surplus land which has vested in the State and has been settled by the Government with the sharecroppers in return for an annual licence fee of ten rupees per acre.

Reports received from different districts show that the modus operandi of the jotedars is almost the same everywhere. They are employing hired gangs to terrorise the sharecroppers and loot their paddy.

Armed with lathis and lethal weapons, these gangsters raid the fields tilled by sharecroppers, harvest the paddy and remove it to jotedars' barns. The local police not only refuse to take any action against jotedars; more often than not, they actively help jotedars' hirelings.

Armed Bands

The illegal and violent activities of these armed bands have already assumed serious dimensions particularly in Midnapur and 24 Parganas districts. Two sharecroppers have fallen victims, one to police firing and the other to jotedars' violence.

A month ago in Khejuri Thana in Midnapur district, jotedars' men numbering more than 150 forcibly took away paddy from 40 bighas of land belonging to 16 sharecroppers. When the aggrieved party went to the thana to lodge a complaint, it was not entertained at all.

Shortly afterwards, the Secretary of the Contal Sub-Divisional Kisan Sabha sent a complaint to the Speaker of the State Assembly to the

effect that the police had helped jotedars' men to seize sharecroppers' paddy in Bhaganmari village by standing guard over the field while the crop was being harvested. They also arrested many peasants on charges of theft and murder!

On November 14 an armed band of about 200 men looted paddy from eight bighas of land owned by a sharecropper of Kontarapur mauza in Jhargram Thana. One of these hired goondas, who was armed with a gun, threatened to shoot the sharecropper if he offered any resistance.

A notice under Section 144 Cr.P.C. was served on the jotedar when Haripada Sanki, a sharecropper of Anantapur village in Sutabata Thana filed a petition. The jotedar's men, however, harvested the paddy on November 29.

Haripada went to the Thana, but instead of giving him protection, the police issued a notice on him restraining him from entering the disputed land and allowed jotedars' men to remove the paddy.

On the same day, a sharecropper of Bargada Jalpai village in Mahasadal Thana was wounded by an arrow when he tried to prevent jotedars' men from harvesting his paddy.

The most serious incident in Midnapur district occurred on December 6 when Shyam Burman, a sharecropper of Kalagachi village

in Mahisadal Thana was killed and four persons were injured, one of them seriously, as a result of firing by the local jotedar and his men.

Killing Kisans

The peasants apprehended some of the miscreants, seized the gun and handed them over to the police. There was a dispute between a jotedar and a sharecropper over the possession of paddy on a plot of land which had been transferred by the jotedar in a mala fide manner.

The Police Minister admitted in his statement in the State Assembly on December 19 that Rabisankar Jana (who is a jotedar) had a gun, from which shots were fired, resulting in injuries to Shyam Burman and Rajen Burman. The former died on the way to the hospital. The Minister further stated that eight persons including Rabisankar Jana, had been arrested and the gun had been confiscated.

Reports coming from 24-Parganas District are equally disquieting. On November 29, the police raided the house of Lakhna Sardar, a peasant of Dulduli village in Hasnabad Thana and shot him dead. Hemanta Ghosal, Communist MLA, twice tried to raise the issue in the State Assembly, but his adjournment motions were

disallowed by the Speaker. Equipped with teargas shells, an armed police force of about 40 men and officers visited Dulduli village in the afternoon with the sole object of terrorising the villagers. They patrolled the village throughout the night. Next day, they arrested six persons, one of whom is mentally deranged.

It is further learnt that when Hemanta Ghosal met the Sub-Divisional Officer of Basirhat on December 5 to demand an impartial enquiry into the firing, he was told that he (the SDO) had not given any instructions to the police either to intervene in the dispute or to resort to firing.

The combined offensive of the jotedars and the police has also started in the districts of West Dinajpur, Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri. There is every reason to believe that it will become far more ferocious when harvesting is in full swing.

A grave situation now prevails in the countryside of West Bengal as a result of the lawless activities of jotedars' armed bands and the protection given to them by the police. In fact, the battle for the new harvest has already begun. Meetings and demonstrations are being held in many villages. At several places, sharecroppers have peacefully prevented illegal seizures of their paddy.

Kerala Communists

THE week-long Sixth Kerala State Conference of the Communist Party of India held in Cannanore from December 4 to 11 was especially marked by the high level of the discussions in the Delegates' Session as well as the attention the Conference devoted to consideration of the political situation in Kerala and the organisational tasks of the Party.

The Conference began with the holding of the Red Flag by R. Sugatan who paid homage to the martyrs and spoke at length on the epoch-making significance of the tremendous growth of the Communist movement in the world over.

The conference elected a Presidium of five consisting of C. Achutha Menon, T. V. Thomas, Moosan Kutty, M. K. Kulu and C. K. Susheela.

A steering Committee of twelve was formed with M. N. Govindan Nair, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, C. Achutha Menon, K. Damodaran, C. Unniraja, S. Kumaran, Achuthanandan, A. V. Kunhambu, N. E. Balaram, E. K. Nayanar, C. H. Kanaran and C. Janardanan.

The discussion on the international situation was on the basis of a draft report presented to the conference by M. N. Govindan Nair, which was later adopted with a few amendments out of the nearly fifty that had been moved by the delegates.

The highlights of the draft report circulated to the delegates were:

When the last State Conference of the Party met in Trichur, the international situation presented a more or less bright picture with the Summit in the offing and the hopeful atmosphere created after Soviet Premier Khrushchov's United States visit, British Prime Minister Macmillan's Soviet visit and Chou En-lai's readiness to visit India to meet Nehru. But developments since then have been in a different direction.

The Summit was torpedoed by provocative U. S. actions. But the Western Powers' hopes of intensifying tension have not been fulfilled.

Peace Possible

On the other hand, the activities of the Soviet-led Socialist camp since then—the proposal for complete and universal disarmament, the bold stand taken on issues like Cuba and Congo and the role played by the Soviet Premier in the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations—all this has enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union and the Socialist world among peace-loving people all over the world.

Though these developments have been in a direction different from what the Party visualised at its Trichur Conference, they have in no way contradicted the Party's basic understanding of the international situation.

It has, in fact, confirmed the understanding on the possibility of preventing wars in the present context when the peace-loving forces are in a stronger position than the war-loving imperialist forces

and when the present epoch is the epoch of transition to Socialism and victories of national liberation movements, the epoch of the collapse of the imperialist system.

The daily-increasing strength of the Socialist world backed by the independent countries of Asia and Africa and all peace forces is adding even more strength to the peace camp.

All this, however, does not mean that imperialism will give up on its own accord the policy of war. As long as imperialism exists, the threat of war remains, but the peace forces have acquired enough strength to defeat the imperialists if they remain eternally vigilant.

Vigilance Needed

The report specially emphasised the need for vigilance against the imperialist efforts to disrupt the grow-

Chart Their Course

ing unity between Afro-Asian nations and the Socialist world.

In India itself there are elements which have been carrying on propaganda for the imperialists, which have aggressively attacked India's peace policies and called for India entering into military alliances with the Western Powers. The report said the Party had not been able to mobilise all the forces to effectively fight these elements.

The report emphasised the need for defeating these forces, specially since India needs peace for its nation-building activities.

The task of organising a campaign for liberation of Congo and the de jure transfer of the French territories was underlined by the report.

The report said that the United Nations did not reflect the realities of the present-day world and called for the restoration of China's rights in the U. N. and giving Afro-Asia its legitimate due. A powerful campaign in favour of the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals was laid down as a major task in the struggle for peace.

The report concluded: "This task can be fulfilled only if every unit of the Party, every Party member, takes it up as his responsibility and makes it a part of his everyday activity".

Seventeen delegates from all the districts and two members of the State Executive Committee spoke on the report mainly concentrating on the basic formulations of the report on the possibility of preventing war, the questions of peaceful coexistence and of

peaceful transition to Socialism and the India-China border problem.

M. N. Govindan Nair, summing up the debate, warned against both the tendencies of underestimating the war preparations of the imperialists or of exaggerating the strength of imperialism.

The balance of forces, he said, is in favour of peace forces and if they remain vigilant, peace can be defended and imperialism's plans to unleash war can be defeated.

Emphasising the role of the Afro-Asian powers for peace, he again underlined the task of the Communist Parties to make all efforts to keep them in the camp of peace.

National Situation

The conference then took up discussion on the national situation and tasks of the Communist Party.

Forty-two delegates participated in the discussion which centred round the present stage of the Indian revolution and the national tasks that have to be fulfilled.

After this comprehensive

discussion, the conference adopted the draft report that had been presented to it by M. N. Govindan Nair. The report is to be amended and finalised by the newly-elected State Council.

The draft report said that the ruling classes in India had been able to an extent to lead the country on the path of building an independent economy. This has been made possible by the weakening of imperialism in the present-day world, the growth of the Socialist States and their readiness to help build the economy of the newly-independent countries.

The draft report dealt in detail with the advance our economy has registered—the increase in national and per capita income, the increase in production both in the industrial and agrarian sectors, etc.

But this is only one side of the picture, said the report. The other side was the effect of this on the vast mass of the people.

While the national income was going up, the common people were getting impoverished. The ruling party itself had to admit this when it appointed a committee to enquire into the distribution of the national income.

The people have fought against these attacks on their living standards—the food struggles in U.P., Bengal and Bihar, working class struggles for a living wage, the struggle of the Punjab peasantry against the Betterment Levy, the strike of Central Government employees, are all examples.

The Government has met

Chart Their Course

winning political power to complete the democratic revolution on the basis of a national programme to eliminate the remnants of feudalism and imperialism, to unleash all productive forces and raise the living standards of the common people. And our tactics should be to unite with all parties, groups and individuals who accept such a national programme.

Present today are conditions which enable the working class to complete the democratic tasks without denying the role of the bourgeoisie and defending the interests of the people.

Our main task is to formulate a national programme to liquidate the imperialist-feudal remnants in our country, to unleash the productive forces without imposing inequitable burdens on the people and respecting the democratic rights of the people.

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Tactical Approach

Basing ourselves firmly on this programme we have to examine the transformations that are now taking place under bourgeois leadership and support all measures with which we can agree like foreign policy, priority to industries in the Plans, public sector, etc.

In the course of such activities, possibilities may arise of unity with sections of Congressmen and with the Congress organisation itself on specific issues.

But such unity should not be mixed up with the struggle for power between the

working class and the bourgeoisie. It is wrong to give up one for the other. To deny such unity in the name of struggle for political power will land us in sectarianism, while denial of the struggle for power in the name of unity will land us in mere economism and revisionism.

About the elections, the report in its concluding section said our tactics should be to put forward the national programme we formulate, try to build unity with all parties, groups and individuals who agree with that programme and win as many seats as possible fighting in opposition to the Congress.

The Conference then took up for discussion the Draft Political Report on Kerala presented by C. Achutha Menon.

Reactionary Forces

The report dealt mainly with three questions—the character of the present coalition Government in Kerala taking into account the social forces behind it and the circumstances in which it came to office; the attitude of the Communist Party to the Government on the basis of such an evaluation; and the tasks of the Communist Party in the new stage.

The Trivandrum session of the State Council, held after the mid-term elections, had

said that there was a legitimate fear that the present Kerala Government would have more reactionary features than any previous Government in Kerala or any other State Government in the country.

The reason for this fear can be found in the forces behind this Government—the Catholic Church which has declared a global war on Communism; the Nair Service Society which stands to protect the feudal reactionary vested interests; the Muslim League which splits the mass movements in the name of religion; and other political

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NO ACTION ON CONGO U.N.'S LATEST

IT becomes clearer all the time that the struggle in the Congo and over it is a confrontation, not of two "power blocs" but of the two radically opposed forces of the international scene—the imperialists and the anti-imperialists.

It is most unfortunate that many of India's dailies, and even the Prime Minister, have made more than rather oblique references to this confrontation as a mere scramble for "spheres of influence" on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union. It is the great merit of the recent U. N. debate on the Congo situation that this seditious propaganda has been torn to shreds.

The Afro-Asian group (India, Indonesia, Ghana, UAR, Iraq, Morocco and Ceylon) and Yugoslavia tabled a resolution which demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners; the immediate convening of Parliament; the ending of armed interference with political activities and the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian military and para-military forces.

In substance what it amounted to was simply a demand that the U. N. Congo forces actually implement the mandate that was given them.

This was immediately countered by the U. S. and the U. K. who moved a counter-resolution. Outwardly, it would appear that this resolution, too, wants the convening of the Congolese Parliament. But in reality this resolution asks the United Nations forces to "assist" President Kasavubu to "establish conditions in which Parliament can meet and function".

There is no mention in that resolution of the need to release political prisoners. There is no mention of the need to prevent the outrageous incursions into the political arena by Mobutu's mobsters. There is no mention of the need to speedily convene Parliament. The resolution was a clear attempt on the part of the West to further strengthen the already shameful U. N. backing of Kasavubu and Mobutu.

While the West succeeded in defeating the Afro-Asian resolution, its own resolution too failed because of lack of the requisite two-thirds majority.

The experience has nevertheless brought further enlightenment for world opinion.

In sharp contrast to this Western manoeuvre was the clear-cut support extended to the Afro-Asian resolution by the Soviet delegate Zorin. He wished only that it was further strengthened by the immediate setting up of an Afro-Asian Observation Commission "to oversee the actions of the U. N. Command and the U. N. Secretary-General's representatives in the Congo". This Commission should report directly to the Security Council or the General Assembly.

He strongly urged that "the resistance of the colonialists must be broken and their attempt to foist a military regime on the

Congo cut short". He coupled these remarks with a scathing attack on Kasavubu, whose letters to the U. N. he described as "blatantly mocking".

He termed the latter's actions vis-a-vis the U. N. Congo Conciliation Commission "impudent sabotage" and added "because the colonialists had not liked the Commission, Mr. Hammarskjöld had washed his hands of the matter and did not ensure normal conditions for its operation".

The Western Powers were upset not only by the unanswerable indictment of their actions by Zorin but even more by the fact that increasingly the stand taken by the Socialist camp on the Congo and that of the advanced Afro-Asian nationalist States tend to converge and coalesce. It is this unity that shakes them to their very marrow.

Menon's Stupendous Speech

This fact was most clearly evident in the Western reaction to the stupendous speech of Krishna Menon on December 20. He had most witheringly criticised the U. S. U. K. resolution as "weighted in favour of President Kasavubu and Col. Mobutu and, as such, constituting gross interference in the Congo's internal affairs and making the United Nations, in effect, hold the ring for illegality".

The New York Reuter correspondent cabled: "Mr. Menon's warning left Western listeners boiling mad. According to neutral observers, the Western anger was probably due to the fact that while they wanted to fight the Russians over the Congo, they found themselves fighting the non-aligned countries".

Apart from the sharp onslaught on the Western straggle, Krishna Menon's speech is also welcome on three other counts.

Firstly, the spirit of Zorin's suggestion has been accepted by the sponsors of the Afro-Asian resolution when they added to their own proposal the idea that "the General Assembly should appoint a standing delegation of specially qualified members to work with and advise the U. N. operation on the spot in the Congo".

The second positive feature was the stress in his speech that the U. N. should either take effective action to realise the aims which sent its forces to the Congo or it should pull out—"govern or get out" was his slogan.

The blind faith that no thing could be done in the Congo except by and through the U. N. seems to be lessening. If the U. N. can not act effectively, India would obviously have to consider other steps together with the Afro-Asian States, to save the peace and preserve the freedom of the Congo.

The third, and perhaps, best point in Krishna Menon's speech was his sharp attack on Hammarskjöld. Reuter's report states:

"Mr. Menon cited instance after instance wherein the United Nations Force was

MORARJI HAS THE FINAL WORD

THE Third Plan is now at the final drafting stage. Before the meeting of the next National Development Council several issues have to be clinched by the Planning Commission. The question of resources has been raised afresh.

In the latest round of discussion the Finance Minister has reiterated his earlier stand that he guarantees no more than Rs. 7,250 crores for the public sector, not a rupee more, is his slogan.

He even went so far as to stress that his Ministry thought the correct figure was only Rs. 7,000 crores. He is at least only reconciled to Rs. 7,250 crores, the figure of the Draft Plan.

In the discussion between the States and the Planning Commission the original size of the Plan has become enlarged. Morarji Desai, however, won't let the States have bigger plans even if they raise the resources themselves. His argument is: if the State raise more the Centre will get less, from the market.

The question arises: If Morarji Desai is to have the final word why spend the last few months in long-

drawn discussions between the Planning Commission and the States. There is no straight answer to this simple question, the way the Government of India functions.

The various Ministries have been finalising their own plans and targets and most of them fairly and successfully though not always correctly made the argument that if they were expected to achieve the targets outlined they must be guaranteed more finances.

The lucky S. K. Patil has got about Rs. 90 crores more for his Ministry and if the figures of the other Ministers are added together the Plan goes up by about Rs. 400-Rs. 500 crores more. Morarji, however, remains adamant with his loud, Not a rupee more!

The Perspective Division is once again reported to be making different estimates, on various counts, and challenging the Finance Minister.

As the final phase draws near the Finance Minister has dug up the whole issue anew.

The manoeuvre of reactionaries hostile to planning obviously is to encourage the various Minis-

tries and the States to go on making demands so that the initiative goes back to the Finance Ministry to say Yes or No.

Finally if the targets are insisted upon and there are no internal resources available, seeking foreign aid and inviting foreign private capital remains the only practical alternative!

The inevitable result of this uncertain situation will be that whatever decisions are taken about the final shape of the Plan it will all be on paper. They will have to be reviewed over and over again; yearly and, perhaps, more often, since the Finance Minister has already begun saying that he can't provide the financial resources to achieve the proclaimed targets more and more.

Foreign aid will remain the only way out and the foreigners will dictate their own terms, and then we will know what will stand and what should be cut and 'pruned' and what they will help to finance! It will then be not the same Plan as was published now.

If we begin with financial instead of physical planning such a messy situation, is the inevitable perspective.

used in the Congo in other situations and asked why exception was made when it came to the releasing of political prisoners and disarming Col. Mobutu's men.

"Mr. Menon said that Mr. Hammarskjöld had been drawn into 'political debate' and had used 'every trick of the debater'."

"For all practical purposes the Secretary-General has played the role of a delegate in this debate", Mr. Menon said. "He has argued, parried blows, struck blows and tried to strike blows."

"I have been a victim, but I have great powers of recuperation. During the last two or three days he (Mr. Hammarskjöld) has been speaking almost like Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge (former United States chief delegate) and you cannot say it is not controversial."

"Therefore, we are entitled to ask why did not the General Assembly have the benefit of his advice at other times? Why did he not tell us that if this or that is done, this or that will follow?"

These words need to be given the widest possible publicity and the Indian democratic public has to gather all its forces to insist on action consistent and commensurate with them.

It was certainly neither wise nor even courteous, that in the midst of all this storm, Lumumba's representatives were sent back from Bombay on the idiotic plea that they did not possess yellow fever certificates.

They could have been quarantined, given the necessary inoculations and then taken around the country to rouse the anti-imperialist conscience of our people.

It is for the people to ensure that the vibrant voice of India, speaking through Krishna Menon, becomes a call to concrete and speedy action

to hurl out the Western imperialists from a sorrowing but struggling Congo. If the U. N. is not the appropriate instrument, India must join hands

Our Moscow Letter

SOVIET STRIDES IN COTTON-GROWING

INDIA is one of the major producers of cotton in the world and occupies the second position in capitalist world in its production. In spite of the fact that our dependence on import of cotton has now diminished (after partition much of the cotton producing area went over to Pakistan) and there has been rapid increase in production—78.3 per cent in ten years—India still depends on import for better quality cotton. Twelve per cent of needs of our textile mills are still met by buying cotton to the value of 50 to 70 crores of rupees every year.

The Soviet Union has made astounding progress in this field and now occupies the first position in world in production and productivity of cotton. Soviet Central Asia produces the best fine fibre cotton and has developed methods of cultivation which yield fantastic results.

Some collective farms have succeeded in producing even upto 100 centners per hectare from some of their irrigated land. (One hectare equals 2.471 acres and one centner equals 220.46 pounds). Many new types of cotton have been developed for this purpose

including naturally coloured ones.

The Republic of Tajikistan has won big victory on the production front this year; they have already sold to the State 460,700 tons of cotton, 4,000 above the plan target. We have to keep in mind that the total population of this Republic is 18 lakhs. This should give some idea of the colossal productivity achieved by means of collective farming, using the best agricultural methods and mechanisation.

Pravda published on Friday Nikita Khrushchov's letter of congratulations to the Chairman Mohammad Aliev of Lenin Collective Farm in Aral Region of Tajikistan. From an area of 2,570 hectares they have given 10,470 tons of raw cotton to the State. On an average they produced 40.7 centners per hectare.

Only this year the farm has spent 12 million Roubles on building. One Boarding School for 420 boys and girls and 200 Homes for the Collective Farmers have been erected. Before the end of the year another 100 houses will be completed. Houses of Culture and Hammam are also being built. All this prosperity is due to their cotton yield. There is lesson in this for us.

—M. S.

—M. A. KHAN

KERALA CONFERENCE

* FROM PAGE 12

forces who form the Swatantra Party in other States but find it more profitable to support the coalition here to implement their programme.

But the Trivandrum session of the State Council did not come to the conclusion that only reactionary measures need, therefore, be expected from this Government and the only task of the Party was to remove the Government.

The State Council, taking into account all aspects of the situation, had said that it was not so easy to push through a programme of anti-Communist crusade.

A large section of the people who were rallied on a negative programme of anti-Communism are also among those who believe the Communist-led Government had introduced beneficial measures.

Similarly, the Catholic church which is the vanguard of the anti-Communist crusade takes, to a certain extent, an anti-feudal stand in relation to agrarian reforms, industrialisation, etc. A major section of Christian leaders represents bourgeois rather than feudal interests and the masses of Christians are either peasants or industrial and agricultural workers.

All this makes it clear that it is not so easy for the anti-Communist coalition to accept all the dictates of the vested interests.

So also, Left thinking in PSP ranks will make it difficult to get continued support of the PSP for reactionary policies.

Hence along with reactionary features, there are possibilities of forces opposed to them developing inside the ruling coalition itself.

Unite Democrats

On the basis of such an evaluation the State Council had laid down that if the Communist Party adopted the tactics of utilising these possibilities to unite those who voted for the Party and those who voted against it, it would be possible to force the Government to take a comparatively progressive stand.

The Draft Political Report said that this evaluation has been confirmed by major developments in the last nine months.

For instance, the Government was not able to make all the changes the vested interests demanded in the Agrarian Relations Bill.

The united struggle of the cashew workers in which all the three central trade union organisations stood together forced the Government to extend them its support. Similarly, in textiles, toddy-tapping, mills, etc., owners have been forced to accept workers' demands to an extent.

The experience of this period has proved that what

ever victories have been won have been the result of mass agitation and struggle. Where the Party did not seize the initiative to unite and rally the masses, the Government went all out against the interests of the people—for instance, police policy, partisanship in formation of committees, etc.

Among the important campaigns run by the Party were those on the Agrarian Relations Bill and for a Just Plan share to Kerala.

Regarding the question of injustice to Malabar, though the State Council had taken a correct stand emphasising the need to maintain the unity of the Malayalee people, the Party had not run a campaign to popularise this stand.

The report in conclusion dealt with the situation in every front and the activities of the Party.

Twentyfive delegates took part in the discussion on the report after which Achutha Menon summed up the debate. Forty-six amendments to the report were moved. Some of these were accepted after which the report was adopted.

In the light of the discussions of the political report, a resolution on the political situation was later moved by E. M. S. Namboodiripad which is to be finalised by the newly-elected State Council.

Organisation Discussed

The Conference then took up for discussion the Organisational Report presented by C. Unniraja. The report nailed down the weaknesses that have crept into the Party and called for a re-evaluation campaign. It reviewed the experience of the new Party Organisation set up according to the new Constitution of the Party adopted at Amritsar.

It discussed the problems of building a mass Communist Party and underlined the importance of Party education and suggested measures for improving Party functioning at all levels.

Twentyfive delegates participated in the discussion of the report giving rich experience of Party work in the exceptional situation of a Communist-led Government in Kerala.

The Conference discussed the report of the Audit Commission.

A State Council of 101 members and 95 delegates to the Party Congress were elected. The State Council later met and reelected M. N. Govindan Nair as its Secretary.

The Credentials Committee in a hand-out said that 377 delegates were present at the Conference of whom nine were women. The youngest delegate was 21 years old and the oldest 59. Six of the delegates had joined the Party before 1939; 126 during 1939-42; 81 in 1943-48; 87 in 1949-52; 57 in 1953-57 and six after 1957.

Sixty-nine of the delegates were born in the working class, five agricultural labour, 96 kisan, 183 middle class, 16 landlord and one bourgeois. Two hundred eightyone delegates were whole-timers of the Party, 73 part-timers. One hundred and forty delegates were trade union workers, 110 kisan, three student, seven women and eight youth. One hundred eighty-six delegates had primary education, 87 secondary and 94 college.

Great Rally

After these discussions came the great day—December 11—of the public rally.

From early morning the people had begun coming to the delegates' camp in Kattampilly, just to see the Party leaders and the comrades who had come from the various districts for the conference of their Party.

And they were mostly women with their children, whole families from one area coming in one group, followed by another, from village. All of them had the same story to tell, they had, left just an old man or woman to guard the house, all the others had come away.

Hundreds and hundreds of small restaurants and shops had sprung up around the maidan and by evening the owners of the empty stalls were complaining that they had nothing to sell because the Reception Committee had expected a crowd of only two lakhs and they themselves had not prepared for more. And the people were complaining they could not get any food.

When the demonstration began there were ten thousand Red uniformed men volunteers, two thousand uniformed women volunteers, the delegates led by E. M. S. and other Party leaders, followed by the people, estimated at between 50,000 and three-quarters of a lakh, and behind them the jeeps, cars and buses which had arrived from outside.

A train, which steamed into the station a few minutes after the procession began crossing the railway line at a gate a furlong away, was held up for nearly two hours before the gate could be closed and the train could pass.

It was between solid human walls that the demonstration marched the four miles round the town. Hardly were there any breaches in these walls, they were never less than five deep, most of the time they were ten to fifteen deep and in busy centres twentyfive to thirty deep.

They waited to see the demonstration and the moment the demonstration passed, began their journey to the Police Maidan to be in time for the rally.

When the main demonstration arrived back at the brilliantly lit Maidan presenting the atmosphere of a huge fair, and mingled with the crowd there, it became difficult to

Comrade Shankarlingam

The New Age regrets to announce the sad demise of the beloved leader of Bombay railway workers, K. P. Shankarlingam. He died in a Bombay hospital on December 9, after a heart attack. He was 52. Shankarlingam who was Assistant Foreman in the Central Railway workshop was dismissed from service in 1952 for his trade union activities. Workers on the Central Railway will for long remember his tireless efforts in building the C.P. Railwaymen's Union, of which he was General Secretary for a long time.

For his militant trade union work among the railwaymen, Shankarlingam was arrested in 1940 under the Defence of India Act and in 1950 under the Preventive Detention Act. He was also imprisoned during the recent strike of Central Government employees.

He was a Communist Party member of long standing, beloved and respected by all. In him the Party loses one of its most valuable militants. The New Age sends its deep condolences to members of the bereaved family.

estimate the audience. There was nothing in the town's earlier history with which it could be compared.

We pressmen were agreed that three lakhs would not be an over-estimate of the size of the audience, but I know there are comrades in Cannanore who would protest saying this is an under-estimate.

How did the Party mobilise such a huge crowd? Comrades here had only three weeks to prepare after their District Conference.

But these three weeks had seen a high-speed campaign. Every village had gone into action, every house had been visited, every person approached for conference funds. A. K. Gopalan himself had visited most of these villages and even gone from house to house during the campaign.

And the response had been terrific. The target of Rs. 30,000 for the conference fund had almost been fulfilled. There were houses where the peasants had sold their ornaments to pay to the Conference fund. The collection was not all in cash. For days trucks had arrived at Cannanore carrying vegetables collected from the villages.

Approach All

A comrade told me the secret of the success of the campaign and of the huge audience at the rally. He said it is because we were able to mobilise the women. Go to any surrounding village just now when this rally is going on and you will find hardly any house from which the women have not come.

Again, he told me, he had approached Congressmen, PSPers, Leaguers, big merchants, industrialists, big and small shopkeepers for funds. And they had all given something.

Those who had voted for the present ruling parties had not only contributed to the conference funds, they had whole-heartedly wished it success. We could see the discontent rising in them, the beginning of the disillusionment with the parties which they had voted into ruling parties.

Addressing the rally which was presided over by A. K. Gopalan, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, M. N. Govindan Nair, K. Damodaran, Sushila Gopalan and A. V. Kunhambu, Secretary of the Cannanore District Council of the Party, reported on the discussions and decisions of Delegates' session.

The decisions of the Conference were a call to the people for united struggles to solve their problems.

Instead of solving these problems the coalition Government, said E. M. S., was trying to ensure its continued existence on the basis of anti-Communism.

"If you go on at this rate with these policies, the people will defeat you again whenever you hold the next elections—whether in 1962 or in 1965," said E. M. S. amidst deafening applause.

Regain Kerala

The delegates' sessions had been held in Kattampally, about six miles away from Cannanore town. In 1948 when the police were running riot and Communists and their sympathisers could be beaten and killed on the streets with impunity, a panchayat election had taken place in this village where the people had to record their votes openly. They had then raised their hands and voted for the Communist Party in the presence of the landlords and the Congress police.

After the Communist-led Government was formed, the first shot of the "liberation" struggle was fired in this same Kattampally with the notorious "anti-eviction" satyagraha.

It is again in Kattampally that an irrigation scheme is fast nearing completion, begun by the Communist-led Government after distributing waste land to the landless.

V. R. Krishna Iyer, Independent member of the dismissed Communist-led Cabinet greeting the delegates, reminded them of this:

"Anti-Communist forces," he said, "see the Kattampally struggles as the beginning of the end of the Communist-led Government. It can be no accident that your conference is being held here. Let this be the beginning of the efforts to regain Kerala for the democratic forces led by the Communist Party."

After being in Cannanore on December 11, one could feel it was no expression of an exaggerated hope.

LAOS-WAY OUT

THE danger to Laotian freedom and to world peace, briefly taken up in these columns last week, has not abated. The crisis continues and hope and disaster wrestle on the brink. Yet the salient trend of the events of the last few days has been the emergence of the way forward.

No sooner had the Laotian situation entered upon its present acute phase than the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRVN), in a letter addressed to Pandit Nehru and the Prime Ministers of other States, stressed "the necessity of the thorough implementation of the Geneva Agreements on Laos".

Premier Pham Van Dong asked Nehru "as leader of a State of the Afro-Asian area and Chairman of the International Commission of Supervision and Control in Laos, to use your prestige and influence so that active and effective steps be taken to save the present situation in Laos".

As the situation deteriorated the DRVN Government reiterated its proposal, made as early as September this year, that a conference be called of the countries participating in the 1954 Geneva Conference for a good solution of the Laos problem.

"Before the danger of war expanded in Laos, threatening peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia, the DRVN Government considers that the calling of such a Conference is all the more important and urgent. At the same time the DRVN Government holds it necessary to reactivate the International Commission in Laos...."

International Commission

It is, indeed, very welcome that Pandit Nehru has publicly stated that he is for the reactivation of the Laos Commission. It would appear that Poland and Canada, whose Governments he has contacted, are not averse either to such a step. The hitch, according to the Indian Premier, is that it is not clear which Laotian Government the Commission should work with.

This is an extraordinarily strange argument. As far as one is aware, the Indian Government has not withdrawn its recognition of the Souvanna Phouma Government. Nor could it on any reasonable grounds, since the foreign policy of this Laotian Government corresponds very closely to that of the Government of India—neutrality and non-alignment. Moreover, the legal position is also that the Souvanna Phouma Government has neither resigned nor has it been overthrown.

All that has happened is that it has been compelled temporarily to abandon its administrative capital, Vientiane. Prince Souvanna

Commission will have to deal. It needs to be emphasised that the loss of the cities of Luang Prabang, Savannakhet and Vientiane do not at all mean that the rebel forces of Phoumi Nosavan are heading for victory.

A glance at the map will show that these towns are all situated practically on or very close to the Mekong River and the Thai frontier. Obviously, the rebel forces, backed by the U.S. and operating from the SEATO base in Thailand, have a big advantage in this region.

But the vast hinterland is securely in the control of the legitimate Government. And, even at the time of writing, news comes of the encirclement

of Luang Prabang by the Pathet Lao forces.

Moreover, the loyal armed forces are obviously acting on the familiar principle of all national-liberation armies—withdraw from cities if necessary, preserve your own forces and inflict casualties on the enemy. There can not be the least doubt that if there was no outside intervention the traitor Nosavan's forces would be scattered in a matter of weeks.

It is precisely to prevent and end such outside intervention that the International Commission needs to be reconvened. We have to be on our guard here lest in the name of "impartial pacifi-

cation" the imperialist powers try to bring in a new U.N.—i.e., themselves in a new guise. The U.N. has shown itself to be badly in need of structural change, without which its intervention cannot be a healthy one.

Besides, the People's Republic of China and the DRVN are not represented in the U.N., while they are signatories to the 1954 Geneva Agreement and most vitally concerned in the Laotian crisis. It is the International Commission, set up by that Agreement, that can alone, therefore, prevent the further deterioration of the already serious situation in embattled Laos.

ALGERIAN VICTORY IN THE U. N.

licemen, but with paratroopers.

"This time, there was no nonsense about tear-gas bombs. Fire was opened immediately, and the battle of the streets became a massacre. Thomas F. Brady, of the New York Times, one of the most experienced foreign reporters in North Africa, related: 'One paratrooper said to this reporter while his fellows were firing: "The more we kill, the better. They deserve it!" Evidently, they shot to kill.

"Nobody knows the exact death-roll of last Sunday's massacre."

The result of this glorious action has been, as the London Economist (December 17) editorially comments, to destroy "the myth of an Algeria Française that might have Muslim acquiescence. Without that myth, or some form of it, the French position in Algeria is untenable...."

It goes to state that the only sensible course for De Gaulle is to take "the last, decisive step of negotiating a political settlement with the rebel government in Tunis before a cease fire, as the rebels have always insisted that he should, and of agreeing to a plebiscite in Algeria under international supervision".

De Gaulle Exposed

In the same issue a despatch from its Paris correspondent states that French analysts hold that: "L'Algérie française is dead, they point out, at least with its former frills of freedom and fraternity; it can only be resurrected in a South African form, as a naked repression.

"But, the Algérie algérienne, in its Gaullist version, also looks stillborn. General de Gaulle can either negotiate with the insurgents to bring the war to an end (and their terms will now be stiffer as the latest tragic events strengthen their international po-

sition) or he must entrust his 'third force' policy to the army and whatever Moslem puppets can be scrapped together.

"A referendum in present circumstances in Algeria will have no more significance than previous polls. The idea of asking the French electorate for its approval of institutions for Algeria which can hardly, in fact, be set up there, is also criticised as an irrelevant gesture".

It is against this background that one has to evaluate the Algerian success in the Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on December 15. That body passed by a two-thirds majority an Afro-Asian resolution which recognised Algeria's right to self-determination "on the basis of respect for the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria".

What was more significant was the passage in the resolution which called for a U.N.-supervised referendum to bring independence to Algeria. The Times of India's New York Correspondent states that the Afro-Asian "argument was reinforced by the recent shooting of Muslim demonstrators in Algeria. It proved that the vast majority of the Algerian Muslims were behind the rebels...."

It is revealing that both the U. S. and the U. K. opposed the resolution. An analysis of the voting showed that no Nato member voted for the resolution, though Denmark, Norway and Iceland abstained. No Afro-Asian country voted against the resolution, though most of the former French colonies in Africa as well as Japan, Cambodia and Iran abstained.

The former French colonies (which are still largely only formally free) tried to secure a change in the operative clause. They were for direct negotiations between France and the rebels under U. N. auspices. But representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria were averse to any toning down and their

views prevailed". (Times of India, December 17).

The socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in the lead, were fully and vigorously in favour of the Afro-Asian resolution. In a strong speech Soviet representative Zorin castigated the "shameful colonial war" and said "the bloody slaughter in Algeria is a monstrous anachronism".

He went on to state "this shameful encounter was supported by France's allies in the Nato. The bombs dropped by the colonialists on Algerian towns and villages were delivered to their targets by American bombers.

"Napalm bombs 'made in U.S.A.' were also being used, while NATO bases in North Africa were accommodating French soldiers engaged in the Algerian conflict. United States U-2 planes based in North Africa carried out aerial photographic missions to help the French colonialists in Algeria."

India's Stand

It does every patriotic Indian good to know that one of the finest speeches in this entire debate was delivered by Krishna Menon. In an impassioned speech he upheld the cause of Algeria and castigated the colonialists.

He said, further, that "the bold Algerian people must be on the conscience of countries which are members of Nato. India while opposing military pacts generally had not made detailed criticism of the Nato in the past. But Algeria had changed that situation".

We cannot do better than to conclude by quoting his fiery tribute to the Algerian fighters: "These men will fight to the end till the empire of France is broken in its back, broken in its spine and broken in its every nerve."

—MOHIT SEN

December 20.

PAGE FIFTEEN

Liberate Goa Now!

MAKE 1961 YEAR OF COMPLETION OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

Delegation Visits Delhi

A delegation of the National Campaign Committee for Goa was in the Capital from December 15 and has just concluded its work. The delegation led by Rev. Father Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas, represented all the main Goan nationalist parties and forces.

In a press conference the delegation stated that the aims of the National Committee which is to work under the auspices of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement in co-operation with the Goan liberation forces are:

- To intensify the demand for more effective action by the Government of India for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, and the removal of all hindrances in the way of Indian citizens parti-

cipating in the Goan freedom struggle;

- To bring pressure to bear upon the powers belonging to the NATO to put an end to the aid being given by them to Portuguese imperialism—such aid constituting an act of hostility towards the Indian people;

- To win the support of the Governments and peoples of Asia and Africa and also of the peoples of the rest of the world for the cause of Goan liberation and to persuade such Afro-Asian Governments as those of Japan and Pakistan, which are unfortunately assisting the Portuguese Government in maintaining its repressive rule over Goa, to desist from these unfriendly actions.

The delegation stated:

"Our Committee has called upon the Indian people

to make the year 1961, the year for the completion of India's freedom, the year for the liberation of Goa.

"In the context of the winning of independence by so many countries in Africa in 1960, the ending of colonialism in other parts of the world is on the agenda. A resolution in this regard has been adopted by an overwhelming majority in the United Nations.

"We, therefore, firmly believe that effective action by the Government and people of India, supported by other Afro-Asian countries, can ensure freedom for Goa in the nearest future.

During its visit, the delegation met the Prime Minister, the Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan, Home Minister Govind Ballabh Pant, Finance Minister Morarji

Desai and leaders of the Congress, P.S.P., the Communist Party and other parties in the Lok Sabha. All whom they met gave them a sympathetic hearing and promised to make the cause of Goa a national cause.

The delegation also drew attention to number of special issues particularly the question of the immediate integration of the liberated territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli with the Indian Union; support for the political prisoners, exiled and incarcerated for their part in the Goan freedom struggle; and help for constructive activities among the Goan population in Bombay.

The delegation was particularly grateful that the Prime Minister referred to Goa during his speech in the Rajya Sabha at the Foreign

Affairs debate and that several other M.P.s also referred to the need for more effective steps for Goan liberation.

Grateful To Prime Minister

The Committee's programme for the coming days includes tours of all the States by its members to secure support for its aims, and also the sending of delegations to all major national and international gatherings in our country, again to draw attention to the Goan problem.

The Committee envisages the setting up of a Goan News Bureau with offices in New Delhi and Bombay, and also proposes to send delegations abroad to counter Portuguese propaganda and win informed support for Goan liberation.

BURST PROFITEER RACKET

NATIONALISE

AIR

COMPANIES

NOW

* FROM THE FRONT PAGE.

It seems the above answer of Dy. Minister Mohiuddin was also drafted by A. K. Mukerjee himself and not by anybody knowing and agreeing with the Government's declared policy of air-transport.

Let us just recall the Government's basic policy documents on the subject. The Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India, April 30, 1956, places air-transport in Schedule 'A', that is under the exclusive monopoly of the Government. The Second Five Year Plan incorporates this basic policy and the Third reiterates it.

After the nationalisation of Air-transport, the Air Corporation Act, No. 27 of 1953 was passed. This Act reserved all scheduled air transport services to the two new nationalised Corporations formed, viz., Indian Airlines Corporation (I.A.C.) and Air-India International (A.I.I.)

No Room For Private Air Companies

Section 18 of the Indian Air Corporation Act clearly states, "It shall not be lawful for any person other than the Corporations or their associates to operate any scheduled air-transport service from, to, in or across India."

There is thus no room left under the Act for the operations of any private air-companies. The question arises

how then did these private air-companies emerge and continue to operate despite the law of the land. They have such patronage and support that they found it possible to get round the law.

Again, it is noteworthy that the Air Corporation Act of 1953 nowhere mentions any category as non-scheduled operators nor are these non-scheduled operators anywhere defined in the Act. Their very existence has not been provided for under the Act.

"Special Permission" Clause Misused

The Air Corporation Act does make exceptions and provide for foreign air companies operating on the basis of agreements with the Government of India, for the aircrafts of the flying clubs and the like, for the aircraft to be used for ambulance service or rescue or relief operations during any natural calamity, or for aircraft which provide joy rides provided they operate from and to the same aerodrome. Obviously, these private air companies do not come under any of the above categories.

It, however, appears that these private air companies operate under "special permission" which they manage to get under the Indian Aircraft Manual Rule 134, Sub-rule 3 which states, "No air-transport service, other than the scheduled air-transport service... shall be operated except with the special permission of the Central Go-

vernment and subject to special permits and conditions as it may think fit to impose in each case".

They obviously manage to get "the special permission" mentioned above. Once again, non-scheduled operators for whom Dy. Minister, Mohiuddin spoke out so loudly are not mentioned anywhere in the Indian Aircraft Manual! Very likely the special permit holders have themselves become the non-scheduled operators.

The special permit, if the spirit and the letter of the law is seriously respected, was meant to be issued whenever the Government felt any extra need for air-transport and did not have aircrafts of its own in the nationalised sector, e.g. on occasions of national calamity like floods, draught etc.

Again, the non-scheduled operators are not supposed to operate on any fixed timetable and on a regular basis. But anybody can go to Calcutta and find that these private air operators publish their own time-table.

They have regular schedules of arrivals and departures and they issue their own tickets and freight receipts. They function just like the IAC except that they escape most of the safety and scrutiny rules of the IAC, under the Aircraft Manual.

This gang of spies, smugglers and racketeers that operates as non-scheduled private air operators not only functions against the security and

the economy of our country but does so in gross and open violation of the basic national policy of the Government of the country, the Industrial Policy Resolution and the Second Five Year Plan.

Their very existence is illegal if the spirit and the letter of the Air Corporation Act, 1953 is taken seriously. They can and must be put out of their illegal business. They exist because of the shameful misuse of the emergency clause about "special permission" under the Indian Aircraft Rules, No. 34 (3).

India's security and economy urgently demand that

these non-scheduled private air operators be immediately banned. The laws of the land on the subject are enough not to give them one day more to exist within our country.

A little more is also demanded and that is a serious and independent investigation into the affairs of the DGCA officials, guilty of permitting these private air operators to exist and patronising them to continue to operate.

The longer the Government drifts, the more exposures will be published in the New Age to prove that these private air operators are an anti-Indian, greedy and criminal lot.

W. BENGAL PROTESTS

COMPLETE hartal and total general strike was observed on Tuesday throughout West Bengal in protest against transferring Berubari to Pakistan. All sections of people, all parties except the Congress participated in it. It was the third general strike and hartal in the past six months against the Congress Government's policy. Life in the six-million strong city of Calcutta came to a standstill. Trains and buses were off the streets which were turned into playgrounds by youngsters. The busy Dalhousie Square area looked like a graveyard. In most factories and mills, non-Bengali and

Bengali Hindu and Muslim workers unitedly went on strike. Train services were suspended.

This gigantic mass action was entirely peaceful and disciplined. Picketing wasn't required anywhere. After the strike and hartal, a mass rally was held in the evening by the Transfer Resistance Committee. Resolution passed at the rally said the proposed transfer would jeopardise India's territorial integrity and would be remembered as strangling of democracy by the Congress. The resolution demanded resignation of West Bengal Government for its betrayal of the people.