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NEW AGE

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-Draft Resolution for National Council

The draft resolution on the current situation adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi from April 3 to 10, to be placed before the meeting of the National Council of the Party being held in May 1960, reads:

THE Fourth Congress of our Party (Palghat) laid down the general political line for our Party and this was further elaborated, in the light of developments, by the Amritsar Congress of the Party. The developments that have taken place in the international arena as well as within our own country have, on the whole, confirmed the correctness of the analysis and the political line.

sections of the people all over the world.

In this context, the initiative of the Soviet Union and its concrete proposals and measures in the interest of world peace, including further unilateral reduction of armed forces stands out as an example of unmatched contribution to the relaxation of tension and the creation of the climate of negotiations.

At the same time, some features of the international and national situation that had been noted earlier have become more pronounced. Some new features have appeared. Also, the democratic movement has gathered new experiences. This would call for a proper assessment of the situation and further elucidation of the tasks before the Party.

In this background, imperialism and warmongers have suffered serious isolation and set-back. Even within the USA itself, a popular upsurge for putting an end to the cold war has grown.

The meetings between the Head of the Government of the USSR on the one hand and the Heads of the Governments of the USA, Britain and France on the other, the recent progress in the negotiations to suspend nuclear tests, growing urge for complete and general disarmament which find expression in the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, and, above all, the decision to hold the much-desired Summit Conference, underline the significant changes in world affairs.

During the years since Amritsar, significant and encouraging changes have taken place in the world situation. The Soviet Union and the Socialist world played a decisive role. In bringing about these changes, India and other peace-loving nations as well as the peoples all over the world fighting for the cause of world peace and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, struggling for their national independence, have played a notable part. The correlation of world forces has changed still more in favour of world peace and freedom.

The contradictions within the imperialist camp itself have further sharpened. The recovery and expansion of the industry in other capitalist countries, especially in countries of Western Europe and Japan, has confronted the USA with growing competition in fields where hitherto it reigned supreme. The power of the USA to compel other countries to toe its line has visibly weakened.

The tremendous growth in the moral prestige and material power of the Soviet Union, the breath-taking advance of Soviet science and technology demonstrated in the conquest of outer space, the great leap-forward in the economy of the People's Republic of China and the tremendous upsurge in the economy of the Socialist countries have not only further proved the superiority of Socialism but also have profoundly impressed diverse

A number of countries in Africa have won national freedom. The movement for democracy and independence has gone forward in Latin



THE TALKS MUST SUCCEED

Premier Chen En-lai of the People's Republic of China arrives in our Capital next week. The week-long talks between him and our Prime Minister will be of momentous significance not only as a step towards the settlement of the unfortunate border dispute that has arisen between China and our country, but also for the future of India - China friendship, Asian solidarity and world peace.

Prime Minister Nehru in his letter inviting Chou En-lai (February 5) expressed his deep pain "that the relations between India and China which have, in the past, been so friendly and which we have endeavoured to strengthen should have deteriorated rapidly and led to bitterness and resentment. That is a tragedy for both our countries as well as for the larger issues in the world."

countries must not waver in their common desire for a peaceful settlement of the boundary issue on account of temporary differences of opinion and certain unfortunate and unexpected incidents. The Chinese Government, therefore, takes a positive attitude towards the forthcoming meeting and has confidence in it." (Note of February 26)

The Communist Party was among the first to express its wish for such a high-level meeting. Notes between New Delhi and Peking, however, useful they might have been in the initial stages to set out the different positions of the two countries, could not have taken the issue any further forward towards a solution of the differences and normalisation of relations between the two countries. Only a Nehru-Chou meeting and discussions in the spirit of the Panch Sheel and India-China friendship could break the stalemate.

Though "for the moment I do not see any common ground between our respective viewpoints," Prime

Free India and Socialist China cooperating for peace had become a powerful factor in Asia and the cornerstone of Afro-Asian solidarity. Independent States of Asia and Africa considered this a guarantee for their living in peace and building for prosperity, colonial peoples still struggling for their freedom received a new inspiration, and as a check to imperialist intrigues in Asia it was the bedrock of Asian peace and a mighty contribution to world peace.

Editorial

Minister Nehru said, "Nevertheless, I think that we should make every effort to explore avenues which might lead to a peaceful settlement. Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible, still I think it might be useful for us to meet."

It was all this that was in danger when the two countries fell apart on the question of the border. Only the imperialists and their friends were happy, peace-loving people not only here, but elsewhere, too, expressed their concern at the disruption of the cordial relations between the two countries.

With this awareness, the Chinese Government had invited our Prime Minister to Rangoon or China for talks. Our Prime Minister, though he was then unable to accept this invitation, himself later invited the Chinese Prime Minister to New Delhi for a meeting.

The Chinese Prime Minister readily responded, saying: "The Chinese Government has consistently held that the friendship between the Chinese and the Indian people is eternal, that it is necessary and entirely possible to settle the boundary issue between the two countries in a friendly and peaceful manner, and that the two

The first step is now being taken to retrieve the situation and the Commu-

KERALA ASSEMBLY

The session of the Kerala Legislative Assembly, just concluded, was important for many reasons. The session had attracted extraordinary attention because it was the first after the mid-term elections and the formation of the new Ministry.

THE united parties, (the Congress, PSP and the League) were beating the drums of their victory and had a big majority in the legislature (96 out of the 127 members are supporting them); the Communist Opposition had been reduced to a small number; and the people were anxious to know the programme and policies of the new Ministry—these were the factors which lent special importance to this session.

The pro-Government Press had run an incessant campaign about all the attractive and beneficial measures the new Ministry would bring forward like reduction of rice-prices, free high school education, provision for old age pensions, etc. Simultaneously, the impression was sought to be created that the Communist Party would organise walk-outs and create other difficulties.

Contrary to all these expectations, it was a comparatively calm first session that the Assembly had.

Not that there were no sharp conflicts, there were plenty of them. And through each of them the Ministry exposed its real anti-people face. On each of these occasions, the Communist Party did not fail in its responsibility of defending the interests of the people. The Party also put forward constructive proposals for the building of the State and fulfilled its role as a responsible Opposition.

Anti-People Policies

It was with a restricted agenda that the session met—the Governor's Address and the debate on it, the vote on account of the Budget and the discussion on it, and one or two essential legislations.

Since the Budget was only a vote on account, there was no full-dress debate on it, the Ministry saying such a debate can take place when the supplementary budget is presented within three months.

The Budget was nothing more than a routine one and the Governor's Address just a report of the administration. The new Ministry did not evolve any programme to implement the attractive slogans it had raised when it was in the Opposition as, for instance, forest nationalisation, transport nationalisation, extension of free mid-day meals to make it universal, etc. At the same time, through the new police policy, attacks on cooperatives, etc., it has inaugurated an era of anti-people activities.

The Budget and the Governor's Address both showed total ignorance of the problems of the State and a pitiable lack of imagination. The Opposition alone drew the attention of the people and of those who rule at the Centre to these problems.

Mention has to be made here of two programmes which the supporters of the ruling party are lauding to the skies: reduction of rice prices and abolition of fees in the eighth standard.

Rice Price Reduction

Communist MLAs spoke in the Assembly welcoming the first measure. But it does not help to exaggerate the effects of this measure reducing an average one anna per measure in the price of rice—from 53 to 59 paise to 50. The ruling party's attempt is to make out that rice prices have gone down all over the State as its result.

This is a baseless claim. The price of rice in the market has not come down even by a naya paise after this policy declaration. Food Minister E. P. Poulse said on the floor of the Assembly that it was not the aim of the Government to supply from fair-price shops all the rice requirements of a family, that all that it was proposing to do was to supply a limited quantity of rice through these shops so as to bring down the prices prevailing in the market.

This is precisely what the Communist Ministry had tried to do while it was in office. Then also subsidised rice distribution was being made through the fair-price shops.

The Communist Government was distributing rice at what it considered to be a fair price—Rs. 32 a bag when its market price was Rs. 42. Rs. 50 lakhs had been allotted every year in the budget for this subsidy and the Government had said it was ready to spend more if it became necessary.

No Effect On Market Prices

But the Communist Ministry also thought it incorrect to distribute rice at less than Rs. 32 a bag (53 to 59 n.p. per measure), for what was necessary was to increase the quantum of rice supplied through the fair-price shops rather than restricting the supply to one measure and reducing its price. That would have enabled each family to get more rice and would, at the same time, have helped to control the prices in the open market.

Unfortunately, the attitude of the Central Government did not permit the Communist Government doing this. But this Government is not making any effort to increase the quantum though it gets all the help from the Centre.

Opposing a Communist member's resolution demanding that the Centre should give Kerala 25,000 tons of rice every month for distribution through fair-price shops, Food Minister E. P. Poulse

said that it would not be right to ask the Centre for more than two lakh tons a year. Participating in the same debate, Deputy Chief and Finance Minister R. Sankar said that in order to distribute 25,000 tons of rice a month through fair-price shops, the Government would have to suffer a loss of two to three crores of rupees and that this was not possible.

All these statements only mean that not more than one measure of rice will be available through the fair-price shops and prices in the market will not be brought down. It is worth noting that the same people who asked the Communist Government to go and buy rice from anywhere if the Centre did not give it, are totally silent today.

Abolition Of Fees

There was no discussion about the abolition of fees in the eighth standard because it was no new policy. The Communist Government had itself given this benefit to children of parents whose income was less than Rs. 100 per month—that is, to all those who deserved it.

The effect of the present measure, therefore, is that

by C. ACHUTHA MENON
(An abridged version of the original article in Malayalam)

Thus while on many issues there was a disquieting lack of clarity, the Ministry has not hesitated in adopting clearly anti-people policies in other cases, the crassest example of which is the Government's stand on the Anti-Eviction Act.

Anti-Eviction Act

The Anti-Eviction Act was to lapse on April 11. The Law Minister moved a Bill to extend its life by six months. During the discussion of this Bill, Communist members and some members of the ruling parties also pointed out that it was not enough to just extend the Act in the present conditions and that it needed certain amendments. The Law Minister also agreed with it and the Bill was referred to the Select Committee, which was also to examine the original Act.

The Select Committee made a unanimous report suggesting some amendments to the original Act. When this report came before the Assembly, the Law Minister who, in the Select Committee had agreed to all the amendments, changed his stand

who were members of the Communist Party had not drawn even the Rs. 500, they had only drawn Rs. 350.

Apart from the Communist members, a member of the PSP also spoke opposing the present Bill and at the time of voting on the Bill, three PSP members kept away from the House.

It was to cover up this disgraceful action of theirs that some members of the ruling parties and the newspapers that support them have started the slander campaign that the Communist Ministers, though they reduced their salaries, had drawn huge allowances.

The truth, however, came out in answer to a question in this session of the Assembly itself: the total amount drawn by all Communist Ministers during the entire period they were in office was Rs. 329,021—i.e. an average of Rs. 1,068 per Minister per month. And this includes the expenditure incurred when Ministers travelled to Delhi by air on various occasions. K. R. Gowri, Revenue Minister in the Communist Cabinet who had travelled the

LOOKING BACK ON THE FIRST SESSION

even those who can afford to pay the fees need not pay it. It is doubtful whether this is a reform in the right direction, considering that the expenditure on education is going up from year to year (it is already Rs. 1.5 crores now) and that the budget speech gave the impression that there was a move to impose an education cess to meet this expenditure.

Except for these two issues, there was nothing of any importance in the budget speech and the Governor's Address. If there were any other policy indications, they were all disquieting for the people.

For instance, though there were no concrete schemes announced for setting up new industrial units, it was promised that a favourable atmosphere for this would be created. No assurance was forthcoming as to whether this would not mean an attack on the rights and freedom of organisation of the workers.

No clear answers were given to repeated questions as to what would be done about the Agrarian Relations Bill, Debt Relief Bill, Jemmikaram Bill, Education Act, etc. Though the Law Minister indulged in a lot of tall talk about the Agrarian Relations Bill, the other Ministers kept silence on the issue and the Governor's Address and other speeches did not make any mention of it.

and insisted that it was necessary only to extend the life of the Act for another six months.

There are many stories making the rounds as to what happened behind the scenes. Whatever that might be, the difference in the two standpoints is not just a technical one. As a result of a judgment of the High Court, there is no protection today from eviction from homesteads. What the Communist members tried to do was to remedy this situation. A number of amendments were moved but they were all rejected by the Government side.

least, had drawn only Rs. 671 per month on an average.

Raising Own Salaries

Another measure adopted by the Assembly was the Salaries Bill raising the salaries of Ministers and the Speaker of the Assembly from Rs. 500 to 800, that of the Deputy Speaker from Rs. 250 to 400 and of MLAs from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200.

The Communist Party vehemently opposed this Bill. It was deplorable that the new Ministers showed such anxiety to increase their own salaries—especially so when they had themselves opposed the Salaries Bill which the Communist Ministry had introduced. The Communist Ministry had then reduced the salaries of the Ministers from Rs. 700 to Rs. 500, and those Ministers

least, had drawn only Rs. 671 per month on an average.

This is much less than what is spent on a Minister in any other State in India and also much less than what had been spent on Congress and PSP Ministers in the past in this State itself. And what the new Ministers will be spending on themselves can be seen in the coming months.

The law and order problem and the new Government's police policy had naturally attracted the attention of the House. Just before the Assembly met, the Chief Minister had, in a Press Conference, declared that the new Government would change the police policy of the Communist Government and re-establish the rule of law. The people from their own experience already had a taste of what this rule of law was going to be.

New Police Policy

Police lock-ups had again become scenes of torture and heart-rending cries of innocent people could already be heard from them. The poorer sections of the people were finding it difficult to live in peace after the "revitalised" police began their attacks and there was nobody to protect them from the rich and the powerful. A number of such

other voters). What can one say about this Police Minister's respect for truth? When the Communist Ministry assumed office, it withdrew a number of criminal cases and remitted some sentences. That was said to be the reason then for the breakdown of law and order in the State. But this Government, immediately after it assumed office, withdrew all the cases in connection with the "liberation struggle". There were heated discussions on this Government action during the session of the Assembly.

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TWO FALLEN SOULS

TWO good men, who were first fallen among Congressmen and then fallen away from Congressmen, dominated Delhi last week. They adhered together at more than one function, only to speak in different voices, and with their tongues in their cheeks, J. P. praised C. R. on Friday at a citizens' reception organised by the Swatantra Party, and C. R. repaid the compliment by praising Nehru on Saturday at the Tibetan Convention, presided over by J. P.

J. P. wailed that Frank Moraes was not known widely in India, whereas he was only second to Nehru among the best known Indian writers in the United States of America. And then he posed the question: "After Nehru who?" He did not quite answer the question at the Imperial Hotel, where he launched Frank's book, "India Today"—for he was going to answer another question the day after.

The question he answered was, "After Rajaji, who?" J. P. looks two steps ahead. Rajaji declared that the Swatantra Party would come to power after Nehru. After the Swatantra Party, J. P. will be in power, (implied J.P.), unwilling to contradict Rajaji.

For Rajaji, politics was a mere game. He thought that those who played thief in this game should play policeman in the next, and vice versa. Each game would last for five years in his calculation. The obvious conclusion

that this would be playing with the lives of the people has not occurred to Rajaji.

RAJAJI'S TRAGEDY

RAJAJI is full of energy and enthusiasm today. It is a delight to watch his alert brain ticking away as precisely as it ever did. His resonant voice, his clarity of expression, his command of the English language—all compel attention and add to the entertainment value of his speech.

He cannot be blamed if his leadership was pressed into service by the Swatantra Party. A leader must have a following, and that was forthcoming only from the founder-leader of the Swatantra Party.

On the eve of the formation of the Swatantra Party, this was the pattern of conversation whenever anybody called on Rajaji at Madras: VISITOR: "What are your activities nowadays?" C. R.: "I am engaged in a comparative study of Kamban's Ramayana and Valmiki's Ramayana."

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struction of the country" C. R.: "Jawaharlar is there to carry on the construction" VISITOR: "But Nehru needs your advice and guidance."

C. R.: "He does not need an adviser. He only needs a heavy 'yes-man'.... In fact, he wants a huge rubber-stamp."

Such was the frustration of the former Governor-General. It was only because of this that he fell a prey to the machinations of the Forum of Free Enterprise—which has made Rajaji the head of its political wing.

The most glorious period of Rajaji's life was the one immediately preceding the Swatantra period. He was occupied with the problems of world peace, and he made substantial contributions to the solution of these problems. The idea of unilateral suspension of nuclear tests was Rajaji's.

That such a man should now fall among the plutocrats of the Swatantra Party is a tragedy of the magnitude of King Lear's.

PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION

THE enforced idleness of another man with an active brain has resulted in his taking to the study not of Kamban and Valmiki, but re-reading Marx, Lenin and

FROM FACING PAGE

session, was withdrawn just to office, there was a regulation which could be freely used to keep Communists out of Government services. Even after the Public Service Commission selected any person for a post, a police enquiry would be made into the person's record and only if this report was satisfactory, would he be appointed. Communists, their sympathisers and even friends and relatives could thus be kept out of Government service.

Another policy issue which came for bitter criticism from Opposition benches was the new Ministry's attitude to Government officials. This policy had also been enunciated by the Chief Minister in his Press Conference just before the Assembly session.

The long and short of this policy is that the new Government considers a number of officials guilty because they carried out the policies of the Communist Government (though it was their duty to do so then). This is McCarthyism, it is contrary to the spirit of our Constitution and an inroad into the freedom of officials grants Government officials.

The Chief Minister at one stage agreed that his new policy only meant that Government officials should not take an active part in politics, though they could have their own political views and vote according to their beliefs. But the explanations which have since come from him and the Police Minister are enough to cause alarm.

The Police Minister said there were Communists inside the services and even in the Secretariat. Though no investigations had been made to find out who the Communists were, he knew them from their "behaviour". It is a terrible prospect if people are to be dubbed Communists because of any particular behaviour and action is to be taken against them on that basis.

An explanation given by the Chief Minister held out even more dangerous possibilities.

SCRAP-BOOK

But before he began his speech he requested all those present at Vigan to stand in silence for two minutes to honour the memory of those who fell before the white man's bullets in South Africa. The whole assemblage of men, women and children stood in silence.

It was expected that J.P. would next ask those present to stand similarly for those who died "defending" Tibet. But he did not. He was not sure that his interpretation of events in Tibet would meet with the approval of many among the audience!

Jaya Prakash Narayan agreed with the packed International Commission of Jurists when it says: "From 1912 to 1950, Tibet was virtually an independent country." Independence means political control by the British, and free play for feudal oppression and exploitation!

J.P. says he does not understand the term "liberation" because he fails to see that liberation can only be from feudal oppression and exploitation, as well as from British and American influence which was trying to entrench itself in Tibet.

The struggle in Tibet has been between the feudal landlords and their serfs namely, the entire population of Tibet. But study of Marxist "scriptures" doesn't seem to have taught J.P. this elementary fact of life. But then, perhaps, he is too pre-occupied about "succession" problems. How nice if the Dalai Lama and the Kashag could give him a tip or two.

- P. VENKATESWARA

QUOTING SCRIPTURES

JAYA Prakash Narayan made a brilliant speech as President of the Tibetan Convention. His speech was interspersed with even more brilliant quotations from Marx, Lenin and Mao.

McCarthyism In Kerala

session, was withdrawn just to office, there was a regulation which could be freely used to keep Communists out of Government services. Even after the Public Service Commission selected any person for a post, a police enquiry would be made into the person's record and only if this report was satisfactory, would he be appointed. Communists, their sympathisers and even friends and relatives could thus be kept out of Government service.

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An explanation given by the Chief Minister held out even more dangerous possibilities.

Till the Communists came to office, there was a regulation which could be freely used to keep Communists out of Government services. Even after the Public Service Commission selected any person for a post, a police enquiry would be made into the person's record and only if this report was satisfactory, would he be appointed. Communists, their sympathisers and even friends and relatives could thus be kept out of Government service.

The Opposition also moved two resolutions in the same spirit—one by E. M. S. Namboodripad demanding the setting up of the second shipyard in Kerala and the second demanding a monthly supply of 25,000 tons of rice to the State by the Centre.

While the first one was unanimously adopted to the satisfaction of the people of the entire State, the Government side defeated the second one purely out of anti-Communism.

Before concluding, it is interesting to recall another aspect of the session—of how the Government leaders had to give the lie to the slanders they themselves had earlier spread about the Communist Government, and swallow some of their own previous statements.

For instance, they had always said that the Communist Government had endangered the financial stability of the State. But Finance Minister Sankar in reply to a question had to admit that the financial position of the State had improved—in 1957, the assets of the State were Rs. 64.1 crores and its liabilities Rs. 52.08 crores and in 1959-60 when the Communists were removed from office, the assets were Rs. 93.02 crores against liabilities of Rs. 76.43 crores.

Similarly, on the question of overdrafts from the State and Reserve Banks also, the Finance Minister's reply showed the baselessness of the charge that the Communist Government had overdrafted to the extent of crores of rupees.

OIL POLICY

Last week, while the Lok Sabha was debating the demands for grants of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, the Oil Minister declared on the floor of the House that in Cambay we have "commercially feasible oil field" and a medium-sized refinery will be set up there; and that in the Cauvery basin seismic work in search for oil will start "very soon".

WHILE this statement has been welcomed both in the Lok Sabha and the country as a whole, how serious is the Government itself in taking immediate concrete steps and how far is it prepared to go in this direction? The occasion for an answer to this question was all the more important as the year was the closing year of the Second Five-Year Plan and we were on the eve of the Third Plan.

The immediate tasks facing the Ministry, tasks "most vital to the national development activities"—to quote K. D. Malaviya—were those of exploration, imports, distribution, pricing and the training of technical personnel in the oil industry. And the imminent danger was the foreign monopolies' machinations to scuttle the development of the public sector in this industry.

How has the Ministry fared in tackling these tasks?

The Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Sardar Swaran Singh, initiating the discussion dwelt upon the situation in the oil industry as well.

He started by reminding the House of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 which has included oil among industries which were to be "the exclusive responsibility of the State." And in the next sentence, he was informing the House that interested foreign parties have approached the Government for participation in exploration for oil, thanks to last year's new Petroleum and Natural Gas Rules, with proposals which fall "generally within the ambit of the Industrial Policy Resolution and of the new Rules."

Who Are These Interests?

Although the Minister did not mention the names of these "interested foreign parties", it is understood from press reports that these include the Assam Oil Company (a subsidiary of Burmah Shell), the Standard Vacuum Oil Co., the Caltex, the Shell group, the ENI (an Italian State-owned company), the State-owned French Petroleum Institute and several American companies.

How far their proposals, which the Ministry is entertaining, fall outside the ambit of the Industrial Policy Resolution is left to anybody's guess.

The rest of Minister Swaran Singh's speech, dealing with oil, was a mere reiteration of some of Government's good intentions. In vain would one try to find in it either a proper, serious assessment of the results achieved so far or signs of any concrete plan for the implementation of these off-repeated intentions.

An outstanding contribution to the discussion was

made by Communist M. P. T. C. N. Menon who, in a hard-hitting speech, pointed out the dangers of giving concessions to foreign oil interests and to some of the main problems the Ministry must come to grips with. At the outset T. C. N. Menon accused the Ministry of lack of any serious planning worth the name, in its activities.

Referring to the experience of the Second Plan, when the Planning Commission had initially allocated only Rs. seven crores, — eventually to Rs. 30 crores, he said: "The ultimate result was that because the money did not come in time, the work

Communist M. P. draws attention to dangers of giving concessions to foreign monopolies

has very miserably suffered, and as against what might have been done with this sum of Rs. 30 crores, we got the result of only about Rs. five to ten crores."

Concrete Plan Needed

So his first question was, "Whether the Government has a concrete plan to place before the Planning Commission so that we may get a comprehensive picture of the shape of things to come during the Third Plan period?" or whether the money is to come in the same "haphazard way".

A concrete plan for the development of this industry is all the more necessary today, than ever before, because by the end of the Third Plan, the consumption pattern of energy would be reaching a level of 15 million tons of oil, which if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, would mean a drain of Rs. 1,000 crores of foreign exchange by that time.

And yet we have it from Press reports that the Ministry has proposed Rs. 400 crores, while the Planning Commission has got only Rs. 116 crores, for the development of this industry in the Third Plan!

Why? Because the tendency on the part of the Government is to go to the private sector. But can the private sector deliver the goods?

In the background of the experiences of the other countries where the oil monopolies have built up

States within States, the Communist member recalled our own experience with foreign monopolies who hold the entire distribution wing of this industry in their clutches. In striking contrast with each other are the experiences of the Indo-Stanvac project and of Cambay; in sharp conflict are our aims of extensive exploratory work—for, in the words of K. D. Malaviya, "the whole strategy of oil exploration is, the more areas we tackle, the greater are the chances for us to find oil and gas fields"—and the reported negotiations to let a foreign monopoly to come in the Kutch area where seismicographic survey has been completed and oil has been struck.

Is it that exploration work in the private sector costs less? T. C. N. Menon gave a devastating answer to this question:

In the public sector, for the gravimetric survey, the expenditure of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission comes to only Rs. 14,000 per month, while in the case of the Standard Vac-

uum the expenditure is Rs. 80,000 and for the Canadian team it is Rs. 31,000. For the seismic survey, the expenditure of the Commission is Rs. 50,000 whereas for the same work it is Rs. 325,000 in the case of Standard Vacuum and Rs. 128,000 in the case of the Canadian team. For geological survey, the expenditure of the Commission is Rs. 14,500, while it is Rs. 35,000 in the case of the Indo-Stanvac project.

As regards drilling also, the expenditure of Stanvac is Rs. 800 per foot whereas the Government knows that for drilling in Cambay, for which accounts are not finalised, the expenditure will not be more than Rs. 350 per foot.

Whose Counsels?

Why then are some persons so enamoured of foreign monopolies? Whose counsels have prevailed upon the Government to issue invitation cards to the oil sharks?

Effectively did T. C. N. Menon recall: Lord Mountbatten's letter, the Abbs-Frank-Sprout Report and a recent issue of the Time magazine gleefully telling its readers: "For long after India got its freedom, Socialist Jawaharlal Nehru regarded foreign investors with the narrow-eyed suspicion of a spinster convinced that friendly attentions from any man probably conceal evil designs." But now, thanks to Morarji Desai's visit to U.S. "they made many policy changes. No longer in any new venture must Indians hold majority stock control. No longer are such

fields as petroleum and synthetic rubber to be dominated by the 'public sector' i.e. State-owned."

Against Policy Resolution

The Communist M. P. asked: "When the thing is so clear that the oil exploration part of it is to be the exclusive responsibility of the State, how does it arise that the private sector has to be invited for participation in oil exploration?... We demand a categorical answer from the Hon. Minister as to whether his Ministry proposed by an executive order, to amend and also modify the Industrial Policy Resolution, without the consultation of this House, and face this House with a fait accompli at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan saying that the circumstances had forced them to modify the resolution."

It was, however, refreshing to hear Minister Malaviya declare: "All that I

Rs. 750 crores should be set apart for oil alone during the Third Five-Year Plan period. For, then alone shall we be able to get some considerable results and we shall be able to have our own oil."

The fourth main point raised by T. C. N. Menon was as regards distribution and tankerage system. It is a well-known fact that through their distribution network, the foreign monopolies suck colossal amounts in foreign exchange from the country. And yet apart from the unmetten times repeated promises to start a national distribution company, the Government not only did not present any concrete plan about the functioning of this company, but manifested an extremely complacent attitude even towards setting up its own storage facilities. All this while the storage facilities belonging to the Defence Ministry at Antop Hill in Bombay and at Ehusavai have been leased out to Stanvac for a ten-year period.

The Government talks of

can say is that any future agreement with any party which wishes to come here will be strictly based on the two facts that it is within the framework of the Industrial Policy Resolution and that the agreement is consistent with national interests."

But how on earth are you going to keep the foreign monopolies in tight reins in the exploration field in the existing state of affairs? With what curbs? There is no answer from the Government as yet.

In the course of the debate, apart from those who appeared to have a Macawberian faith in the doings of the Ministry there were others who were either underestimating or even oblivious to the dangers in giving concessions to the foreign monopolies or were gloomy as regards the financial potentialities existing in this industry itself.

T. C. N. Menon's suggestion for financing the developmental requirements of this industry was: "According to the ad hoc agreements that have already been entered into, the Government would be getting a sum of about Rs. 30 crores by 1961 and if the report given by the cost accountant of the Government of India is relied upon, and the agreement is finalised in 1961, they will be getting about Rs. 250 crores out of the surplus profit of the oil companies alone, and, therefore, Government should provide only Rs. 500 crores.

"I submit that this House should take this proposition very seriously, and at least

importing oil in the public sector. Unless you have your own installations for the storage of that oil, unless you have a distribution machinery, what will you do with it asked T. C. N. Menon.

Problem Of Distribution

Another important aspect of the problem is, because of their sole monopoly over the distribution and exports, the foreign monopolies have been successfully dodging the Government on the pricing question.

Even the Oil Minister had to admit that under the existing agreements, "sky is the limit or the ceiling price is the limit." More. The situation is such that "we have to pay for freight charges also for the petroleum products that we produce in Bombay. The freight element is, I suppose, to be included in it as if it has been brought from the Persian Gulf."

Can there be any serious talk of building our own oil industry unless and until we are in a position at least not to pay freight charges for oil which is produced in our own country?

The last point raised by T. C. N. Menon was about the conditions of young engineers and technicians employed under the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. Paying a tribute to their services in the interests of the nation, he demanded that they should be given a decent living wage and security of service.

—RAZA ALI

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DRAFT RESOLUTION

* FROM FRONT PAGE

America and achieved notable successes.

As a result of all this, the prospects for prevention of world war and preserving peace and for further advance in the struggle for national independence and freedom have grown as never before.

Although the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan remain yet to be solved, some progress has, however, been made following the Nehru-Noon agreement in 1958, the border settlement and the recent trade negotiations. This corresponds to the desires of our people for normalising the relations between the two neighbouring countries. Our Party naturally welcomes every step in this direction.

However, it will be a profound mistake to imagine that the imperialists have reconciled themselves to peaceful coexistence. Policies of cold war and war preparation still continue. The U.S. monopolists are strengthening their links with the Japanese and West German monopolists. The frenzied re-militarisation of West Germany with American backing cannot but cause the gravest anxiety. In defiance of public opinion in Afro-Asian countries, the French imperialists have carried out nuclear tests in Sahara. Attempts are still being made to reorganise and strengthen the military pacts, including those directed against the independence and security of Afro-Asian nations. The French imperialists are still trying to drown in blood the glorious struggle for liberation of the Algerian people. In South Africa, the aggressive racialists have surpassed themselves in their wanton violence and barbarism against the Africans. They have so blatantly violated the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights that the conscience of the whole world is ranged against them.

Moreover, the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, still continue their policies of intervention in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Faced with the changed international situation, they are changing their old tactics and adopting new ones. They seek to corrupt and win over the reactionary elements in the ruling classes through the instrument of economic aid, by intrigues and pressure, by raising the bogey of Communism and by other insidious methods, including assassination of progressive political leaders. Pakistan remains a constant reminder of the means and misfortune that such imperialist intrigues and intervention spell.

One of the most tragic developments is the present deterioration in the relations between India and China over border question. This is sought to be exploited by the imperialists abroad and by reactionary and disruptive forces within our country.

The outstanding positive achievements of the recent period have shown that the imperialists and warmongers can be pushed back and the cause of world peace and national freedom can advance

only by the combined efforts of peace-loving Governments and peoples. The coming period summons the Indian people and Government to vital tasks in carrying forward these achievements.

This is no time for resting on our oars or for any manner of complacency. On the contrary, efforts must be redoubled to mobilise our people for—

i General and complete disarmament and success of the Summit Conference;

ii Support to African people in their struggle for freedom and for further strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity;

iii Peaceful solution of India-China border dispute and restoration of friendly relations between India and China;

iv Peaceful solution of outstanding problems between India and Pakistan through negotiations and normalisation of relations between the two neighbouring countries.

Vigilance, initiative and activity on the part of our people and democratic organisations become all the more urgent in view of the concerted efforts of extreme Right reaction and disruptive forces to discredit and weaken India's policy of peace and non-alignment.

rupees have been spent for its development, most of it has been misused; whatever technical advance has been registered has not reached the mass of poor and middle peasants cultivating the major part of the land but only a narrow stratum of rich peasants cultivating a fraction of the land. The result is that increase in foodgrains production has been meagre and the economy has been as dependent as ever on heavy imports of foodgrains, particularly from the USA.

Moreover, certain vital steps of land reform, which constitute the most important lever for developing the initiative and capacity of the peasant masses for an upsurge in agricultural production, have either been abandoned or relegated to the background. Proper type of ceilings are not being seriously imposed on the holdings of landlords, evictions are not being stopped, the evicted tenants are not being restored to their possession and land is not being given to the landless and poor tillers. On the contrary, with some exceptions here and there, the landlords are being helped, directly or indirectly, to retain big holdings and also to grab most of the re-

sources spent by the Government for the improvement of agriculture. The grip of big landowners, moneylenders and profiteer traders over the rural economy has further strengthened resulting in greater pauperisation of vast masses of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers. All this has strengthened hoarding and profiteering in foodgrains, which has aggravated the food situation. Thus, this narrow stratum of exploiters in the countryside appropriates a big surplus from agriculture. Thus the most important source of capital formation is being frittered away.

Rural unemployment and under-employment have grown and the vast masses of agricultural labourers and peasants have had to face increasing privation and hardships. Even in the industrial sector, the progress has been slow, halting and partial. A number of targets, which by themselves were modest, had been either slashed or remain unattained.

Despite rise in productivity and increased profits, the real wages of workers have remained static and in many cases have declined, giving rise to adverse repercussions on industrial relations.

One of the most disturbing features of the economic situation is the growth of urban unemployment, including middle-class unemployment. In fact, the situation has considerably worsened since the commencement of the Second Plan.

The execution of the Plan, as was apprehended by the Fourth Congress of our Party, has been accompanied by heavy burdens on the mass of our people. The continuous rise in prices stemming from the policies of the Government has led to enormous suffering for the entire people, barring the upper strata of capitalists, landlords and speculators.

The rise in prices has also had disastrous consequences for the economy. It has raised the cost of every project included in the Plan—both their internal cost as well as the foreign exchange required for them. This led to a further accentuation of the difficulties in raising internal resources and securing foreign exchange. This was an important factor that led to the cut in physical targets.

Taxes, especially those on the common people, have gone on increasing. By way of additional taxation, more than double the target originally fixed in the Plan has been realised.

Taking advantage of the difficulties of the Plan and the approach of the Government, foreign capital, notably American capital, has already succeeded in securing a number of concessions in the matter of taxation, remittance of profits and repatriation of capital. Even the Government's own Industrial Policy Resolution is being modified step by step, to accommodate foreign capitalists, as has been done in the case of oil. Restrictions on joint participation of foreign capital with Indian monopolists are being relaxed.

All these concessions and opportunities for exploiting India's wealth are now sought to be justified in the name of helping the process of building what they call a self-generating economy.

Actually the perennial and heavy drain on our resources that these concessions spell, restricts and retards our economic development. Moreover, links between Indian Big Business and foreign monopolists are strengthened and new vested interests are being created. All these exercise a reactionary influence in our national-political life. All patriotic forces have to take note of the dangerous potentialities, both political and economic, stemming from all this and expose and resist them.

No wonder the four declared principal objectives of the Second Plan remain far from being realised and the expectations of the people have been belied. Instead of reducing economic disparities, these have been allowed to widen. The Government has remained indifferent to the living standards which have, in fact, been deteriorating. The Pay Commission's Report and the Government's attitude to its own employees are an example of this indifference and callousness.

Thus, while the main burden of development has been put on the shoulders of the people, the fruits have been garnered by Big Business, foreign capitalists, big landlords and certain other sections.

playing throughout the world." This tendency has grown since then. The bulk of the U. S. assistance in the public sector that has been accepted not only does not add to the productive capacity of the country, but has been accompanied with onerous terms and conditions as regards price, interest rates and shipping charges. Moreover, it is also being utilised to buttress the private sector to the detriment of the public sector.

Apart from this, there has been a continuous rise in and penetration of foreign capital in the private sector. Foreign private business investment has grown from Rs. 256 crores to Rs. 600 crores. While Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate, and developed basic industries and as a result, the Indian bourgeoisie is growing stronger, foreign capital, however, continues to occupy important positions in certain vital sectors of our economy, particularly foreign trade, shipping and oil.

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There has been yet another disturbing development. The Amritsar Congress had noted "the heavy reliance by planners on U. S. economic assistance which is generally accompanied by designs and terms detrimental to the interests of our economy. This is an extremely dangerous tendency considering the role American imperialism is

playing throughout the world." This tendency has grown since then. The bulk of the U. S. assistance in the public sector that has been accepted not only does not add to the productive capacity of the country, but has been accompanied with onerous terms and conditions as regards price, interest rates and shipping charges. Moreover, it is also being utilised to buttress the private sector to the detriment of the public sector.

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CEYLON Out With This Govt. Of Fraud

COMMUNIST LEADER SAYS

Dudley Senanayake's UNP Government in Ceylon came to power by a confidence trick and rules by deceit and fraud. The main job now is to throw it out. This is the gist of an interview given to the Press by Pieter Kueneman, M.P., General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, on the political situation following the General Elections in the country. The questions and answers follow:

QUESTION: What is the Communist Party's attitude towards Dudley Senanayake's UNP Government? Do you think it will last long?

ANSWER: Dudley Senanayake's UNP Government came to power by a confidence trick and rules by deceit and fraud.

The UNP has no moral or other right to govern. It received only 29 per cent of the total vote and one-third of the seats in Parliament. As things stand now, it commands only 52 votes from elected mem-

bers. Even with the six members it has appointed, it is in a hopeless minority.

Dudley Senanayake was called upon to form a Government as a result of a confidence-trick. The UNP pretended at the time to have the support of the Federal Party and the LPP. It has subsequently been revealed that it never had this support.

The main job now is to kick out this unrepresentative and minority Government of reaction. The Communist Party will vote against the UNP and do

everything to remove it from power. The voting on the Throne Speech has been fixed for April 22. If we can't get rid of the UNP Government before then, we shall try to do so by that date.

Dudley Senanayake claims to be a man of honour and principle. During the elections, he inveighed against "achecharu" Governments and said he would not take power unless he was given a clear majority. His present actions belie his words. If he is an honourable man, as he claims, he will not cling to power when he is in a hopeless minority or resort to cheap, backstairs horse-deals. He should resign and advise the Governor-General to invite the Leader of the Opposition to form a Government.

QUESTION: If the UNP Government is defeated

and the SLFP can form a Government, what will be the attitude of the Communist Party?

ANSWER: If the SLFP can form a Government when the UNP is defeated, the Communist Party is ready to help it to do so.

We think this is the policy that the Left as a whole should follow. We should not act like the proverbial dog in the manger because the people gave the SLFP a majority over the other anti-UNP parties.

We do not expect the SLFP to follow our policy. But if they follow the broad lines of the policy of their founder, the late Bandaranaike, we are ready to help them.

QUESTION: What do you think of the outcome of the elections? Do you agree with the analysis of

the local and foreign capitalist newspapers that this is a defeat for the Left?

ANSWER: Those who speak about a "defeat for the Left" are talking through their hats.

The three parties whom they and the people regarded as Left are the Communist Party, the LSSP and MEP. These parties polled 25 per cent of the total vote. In other words, one out of every four persons who voted on March 19 voted for parties who were dubbed as "Left" and "Marxist".

The real issue of the 1960 General Elections was not Left vs. Right, "Democracy" vs. Marxism, or capitalism vs. Socialism. It was whether the progressive advance started in 1956 under the late Bandaranaike's leadership should continue or be stopped.

The UNP led the campaign to stop this advance. Its main slogans were: "No more experiments" and "Back to stability". But it only got 29 per cent of the vote, i.e. less than two per cent more than it got in 1956, an increase that is not even proportionate to the new voters on the electoral registers. The SLFP and the Left parties posed, in various ways, the issue of continuing the 1956 advance and got nearly 48 per cent of the total vote.

The pattern of voting in the 1960 General Election is about the same as in the 1956 General Election. The difference is that in 1960 the progressive forces were divided whereas there was greater unity in 1956. It is owing to this that the UNP was able to increase its number of seats from eight to 50 although its vote remains almost static. If the Communist Party's proposal for a united front of the Left and progressive forces had been accepted, it would have been a different story.

In the 1960 election, the middle forces opposed to the UNP generally rallied round the SLFP. This was due to the division in the Left and to the fact that the programmes of the Left parties were too sectarian and did not seek to answer the problems of these middle forces. But those who voted for the SLFP were in no way voting against the UNP and with the idea of defending the late Bandaranaike's policies.

The attempt to raise the false issue of a victory for "democracy" over Marxism is being made by those who want to save the UNP by bringing about a UNP-SLFP coalition. But the conflict between the middle forces and the reactionary vested interests represented by the UNP is more sharp and real than any ideological differences these middle forces may have with the Left. This is being realised within the SLFP itself.

Baseless Propaganda

The reactionary forces and their Press have tried to interpret the election results as a decisive defeat for the Left. This they try to do by lumping the SLFP along with the UNP as a Right party.

But facts are otherwise. The three Left parties together polled 721,626 votes, nearly one lakh more than the SLFP (632,678). Their percentage of the votes was 25.35 per cent. That is, one in every four voters voted Left. This is quite an achievement. Besides, the SLFP is not regarded by the people as a Rightist party. The division in the country today is not rigidly between the Right and the Left but between the pro-imperialist and reactionary forces and the national forces, between the UNP and the anti-UNP forces.

Before the election, the UNP leader had publicly stated that he would form a Government only if he obtained a clear mandate. But when the elections ended inconclusively giving the UNP a slight lead over the SLFP, Dudley Senanayake, its leader, was

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TRIP TO FRANCE

Over 15,000 representatives of the working people of Moscow City and Region gathered in Moscow's Sports Palace on April 4 to hear Soviet Prime Minister N.S. Khrushchov speak on the results of his visit to France. Here below are some extracts from the Soviet Premier's speech:

WHY did we go to France? What was it that interested us there? It was, above all, a desire to establish better contacts with President de Gaulle and the Government of the French Republic, to exchange opinions with the French leaders on questions which are of interest to our countries and which have long awaited their solution.

We made this trip for the sake of reducing international tensions, ensuring the peaceful coexistence of States, and, consequently, strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Summing up the results, one might say that the visit has been rather successful. The talks and conversations between General de Gaulle and myself were serious and highly useful.

Naturally, our positions on the key issues do not fully coincide. But our thorough exchange of opinions has shown that our views are close on most issues.

On the question of disarmament—and this is the main question agitating all people concerned for security, for the maintenance of peace—our positions with General de Gaulle coincide, I should say. And mutual clarification of the positions of the Soviet Union and France on questions of disarmament alone made going to France worthwhile. This is why it can be considered that the trip was a success.

You will realize, of course, Comrades, that looming large in our talks and conversations with President de Gaulle was a problem which deeply agitates the peoples of the Soviet Union and other European countries, which had been invaded by the Hitlerites. The President and I had a very frank discussion on the German problem.

There is every possibility for a just solution of the German problem and for removing the threat of a violation of peace by German militarists. It has always been our view that it is impermissible to tarry in the quest of a solution which would conform to the interests of all peoples, including the German people, the interests of preserving and consolidating world peace.

We would like the question of a peace treaty and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin to be settled jointly, by agreement, with all countries which fought against Nazi Germany in the last war.

Adenauer's Antics

But there still are many difficulties on this road. It is impossible not to mention these difficulties. Some leaders—and I mean Chancellor Adenauer above all—do not want the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and they are against this question being settled by agreement between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. They are trying to make the German question a matter of showdown between the East and West.

During his stay in the

United States of America, Chancellor Adenauer concentrated his efforts not on settling the issues in dispute and clearing the way to the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, but on mobilising the cold war advocates, on rallying them to prevent agreement on a peace treaty with Germany.

Later, when he was in Japan, Adenauer continued to speak in the same vein. Here is his position: if NATO wants to prove its strength, it should not retreat an inch, it should not allow any changes in the present status of West Berlin.

But this is an extremely dangerous position. Such an approach can lead mankind to the brink of war, and we are in duty bound to warn of this all those interested in the preservation of peace. In following this policy, Adenauer is doing a bad service to West Germany herself. He is causing great harm to all the people striving for peace and the liquidation of international tensions. It can be said confidently that if Mr. Chancellor does not

Powers will sooner or later arrive at the same conclusion as ours. Life itself will make them understand that the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German States is the only correct solution guaranteeing a normal situation of peace and tranquillity in Europe.

Relations With France

We attach great importance to our relations with France. If the Soviet Union and France, as the two biggest continental Powers of Europe, pool their efforts with all the other nations upholding peace, an insurmountable obstacle will be put to new aggression and to new wars in Europe.

During our stay in France attempts were made by some ill-wishers in the West to allege that the Soviet Union wants to sow discord between France and Western Germany, to incite the French against the Germans.

It is difficult to think of a more absurd lie. Although the Soviet people have suffered from the Hitlerites more than the other nations, we have always based and are basing our policy vis-a-vis Germany on anything but hatred towards the



Huge crowds lined the roads and cheered Khrushchov everywhere the Soviet Premier went in France.

KHRUSHCHOV Sums Up Results

change his policy, if he persists in continuing his present course, life will sweep him off his feet, because every thing living wants to live. People want a normal, peaceful life. It can be ensured only by solving the disarmament question, by concluding a peace treaty with the two German States.

We are also convinced that despite Chancellor Adenauer's endeavours the Western

German. Spitefulness and revengefulness are alien to the Soviet people. We wish to be friends with the Germans. We have established relations of sincere friendship with the German Democratic Republic. We shall go on strengthening and developing these relations.

At the same time, the Soviet Union wishes to have normal friendly relations with the Federal Republic of Ger-

many. We are not afraid of the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany has good relations with other nations, notably France. We are convinced, however, that truly friendly relations between West Germany and the other European States are possible only in a Europe rid of World War II vestiges. If the Soviet Union, France and the two German States are

friends, reasons for any sort of unrest and alarm will disappear from Europe.

[N.S. Khrushchov then dealt with economic and cultural relations and said how the exchange of views had shown the deep interest of both the countries in developing these relations. Specially, "the first agreement on cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy," said the Soviet Premier, "will be of value both to us and to France."]

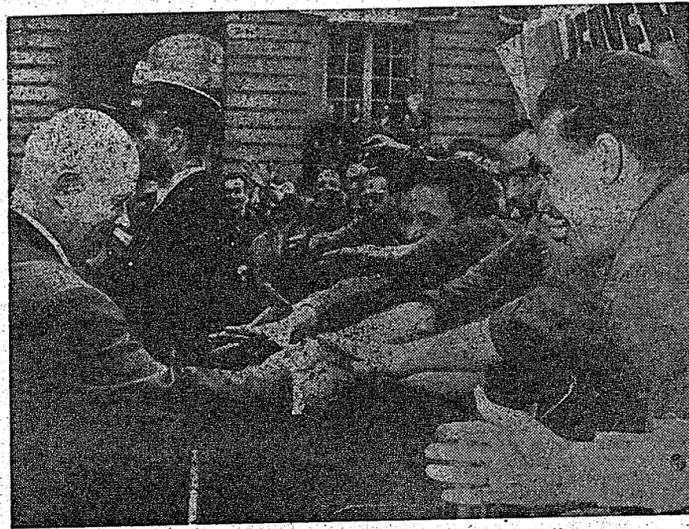
With The People

Permit me, comrades, to speak now of my impressions of the visit to various parts of France.

It is difficult to select words for expressing the feelings which we experienced while among the French. Their cordiality and warmth was manifested everywhere we went. The French people wanted to show us all the best things they have in economics, engineering, science and culture. This is an understandable and natural desire.

The French people are industrious. They have a wealth of technical experience and traditions and their land is fertile. If the strength and energy of the French was concentrated only on the solution of peaceful tasks, there is no arguing that they would achieve even greater successes. Life shows that it is unnecessary to search for

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People vie with each other to shake the Soviet Prime Minister's hand.

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POLITICAL STALEMATE AND INSTABILITY

★ by N. SANMUGATHASAN

The elections to the Fourth Parliament of Ceylon held on March 19 have ended inconclusively and produced a stalemate. As the Communist Party predicted before the elections, no single party was able to win a sufficient number of seats to form a Government by itself.

ALTHOUGH decisively rejected by the voters, the reactionary, pro-imperialist, former ruling party, the United National Party (UNP) managed to become singly the party with the largest number of members in Parliament and has, therefore, been called upon by the Governor-General to form a Government.

But the UNP polled only 29 per cent of the total votes and obtained only 50 seats in a Parliament of 151.

It was only slightly ahead of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the party of the late Premier Bandaranaike, which polled 22.19 per cent of votes and obtained 46 seats.

Of the balance, 23 seats went to the three Left parties, Philip Gunawardena's MEP, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP-trotskyist) ten and Communists three.

The Federal Party which contested in the Tamil areas of the North and the East won 15 seats.

The other seats were won by individuals and splinter groups. Of these one has already joined the UNP while four have indicated their intention of working with the SLFP.

Although the results are inconclusive they indicate a high degree of political consciousness and maturity on the part of the electorate. This election was one of the most hard fought ones.

The UNP had been preparing for this election for the past three years. Their entire party machinery had been geared towards this. They had a plentiful supply of money, subscribed by both foreign and local capitalists who rallied to a man behind the UNP. They had the powerful backing of the Catholic hierarchy and foreign imperialist forces in the country. The entire capitalist Press openly campaigned for it. This was in contrast to the previous election when at least one Sinhalese daily supported Bandaranaike's party.

They were further aided by the disunity of the anti-UNP forces and the exposure of the previous Government during its last days as a result of the assassination of Bandaranaike and the unpopular actions of his successor, Dahanayake.

Divided Votes

Yet, despite all these advantages, the UNP managed to increase its votes from 1956 by only 2.4 per cent. The polarisation of forces that took place between the UNP and anti-UNP forces in 1956 more or less remained the same. But, whereas in 1956, the people were presented with a clear alternative to the UNP in the form of a People's Front which they voted to power overwhelmingly, in 1960 there was no such unity. As a result, the people divid-

ed their votes and allowed the UNP to score many undeserved victories.

One thing is quite clear. The people have once again endorsed the line of progress and advance for which they gave a mandate to the late Bandaranaike in 1956. This they did by refusing to go back to the UNP. But in 1960, the people were undecided as to which party was best suited to carry forward the traditions and policies of the Bandaranaike Government. In fact, all the anti-UNP parties claimed the mantle of Bandaranaike.

In such a situation, the only course of action that should have been followed was to have united all the anti-UNP forces into one solid anti-UNP front. Such a front would have meant a decisive rout of the UNP in the country. This was what was advocated by the Communist Party but the appeal fell on deaf ears.

A particularly heavy blame rests on the leadership of the other two Left parties, the LSSP and MEP. It was their sectarianism and anti-unity policies that contributed to several UNP victories. Not only did they refuse unity between the three Left parties, they even spurned a no-contest agreement.

With an astonishing disregard for the realities of the situation and with inflated notions of their own grandeur and strength, both these parties put forward nearly 100 candidates each and went round the country claiming that, alone and unaided by any other progressive forces, they would come to power. The results have left these parties speechless and without excuses and with a rank and file which is beginning to ask inconvenient questions.

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tions of the exploiting class-

As important as the content of the Five-Year Plan is the way in which it is formulated and implemented. The enthusiastic cooperation of the masses both in formulating and implementing the Plan is the surest guarantee of its success.

This has, in principle, been accepted by the Government, but violated in practice. Democratisation and decentralisation in words but centralisation and bureaucratisation in practice—such has been the trend in administration. The result is the admitted failure of the Community Development movement in the very field in which it was supposed to lead to a fundamental change—mutual cooperation between the people and the officials.

All this has proved the correctness of the Fourth Party Congress which stated: "While opposing imperialism and attempting to weaken its grip over national economy, the bourgeoisie simultaneously maintains its links with British capital and gives facilities for further inflow of foreign capital. While striving to curb and weaken feudalism, it simultaneously maintains its alliance with landlords against the democratic forces and makes concessions to landlords. While striving to industrialise the country, it seeks to place the burdens of economic development on the common people. While extending the public sector, it simultaneously pursues policies of support to monopolists in their attacks on the working people and adopts many measures which enrich monopolists and thus help them to strengthen their position in important spheres of our life. While calling upon the people to cooperate in the task of national reconstruction, it simultaneously strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus, places main reliance on it, refuses to extend democracy and to adopt measures that would improve the conditions of the people.

"Due to all this and the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the Government to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions."

All these features have grown and got accentuated during the last two years. The radicalisation of the masses and the advance of the democratic movement have been seen in a number of mass struggles such as the strikes of the TISCO workers, the U. P. food satyagraha, the Punjab anti-betterment levy struggle, the food struggles in West Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, Government employees' strike in Madhya Pradesh, the strike of the State Bank employees, the one-day strike of all the Central Government employees, the one-day general strike in Bombay and the prolonged strike of the Harvey Mill workers.

This mass radicalisation and mass activity reached its peak in the mass demonstrations that took place all over the country over the issue of the unconstitutional movement for Central intervention to oust the Communist

Government in Kerala. The ousted Government had exercised profound influence over the entire democratic movement and indeed become a rallying point of the hopes and aspirations of the masses. The way in which the Communist-led Government was overthrown and the subsequent activities of the ruling party in Kerala show the length to which the Congress and its Government would go to arrest the growth of the democratic movement and the Communist Party.

Faced with the growing mass discontent and the advance of the democratic movement on the one hand and the difficulties of its own creation in the matter of Plan and development on the other, the Government, instead of correcting its policies, actually shifted further to the Right, as will be seen in the economic policies already noted earlier. Within the ruling party and Government, forces of the Right have further strengthened their position.

The shift to the Right has found concrete manifestations in the Central Government's Budgets of the last two years which increased

inevitably conflicting trends have manifested themselves. Not merely has the Right grown inside the Congress and the Government. Another factor of significance is that the forces of extreme Right have now found an independent open political platform in the Swatantra Party.

The formation of the Swatantra Party does not signify a split in the bourgeois class into two sections, one collaborationist and the other anti-imperialist, nor even a clear differentiation in the ruling classes. Nor should the emergence of the Swatantra Party be looked upon as due only to factional squabbles, of no importance to our national-political life, although many disgruntled elements in the Congress Party gravitate towards the Swatantra Party. Its emergence and the growth of the Right betoken the growth of a more conciliatory tendency towards Western imperialism. The imperialists, especially the U. S. imperialists, will strive their best to strengthen these forces. The growth of this trend is dan-

gerous and harmful to the nation and must be combated. Striving to build itself up as the "main party of Opposition" in the coming general elections so that its capacity to pressurise the Government may increase still further, the Swatantra Party is skilfully utilising the popular discontent against the Government. It argues that shortage of foodgrains is due to the "killing of incentive" of the landed interests by talk of agrarian reforms, that the high prices of industrial goods are due to the "iniquitous" taxation system. It plays upon the landowning peasants' prejudice against cooperative farming to discredit agrarian reforms. It thunders against corruption and nepotism with a view to discredit the public sector and planned development. It openly assails the foreign policy of the Government and advocates "defence pacts" with Pakistan and with countries of Southeast Asia threatened by "Chinese expansionism" so that American military aid can be secured on "honourable terms."

The Swatantra Party is striving to build alliances with parties of communal reaction in several States, such as the Akalis in the Punjab and the Jan Sangh in U. P. The wide publicity given to the utterances of the leaders of the Swatantra Party in the big bourgeois Press is meant to project it in the consciousness of the people and build it up as the weapon to pressurise the Congress Government.

The Right inside the Congress feels emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra Party, just as the Swatantra Party draws inspiration and encouragement from the activities of the Right inside the Congress.

The reactionary forces and the big bourgeois Press have specially chosen India's foreign policy for attack. Tibet and the India-China dispute have strikingly revealed; as no other incident in recent years, how well-entrenched these forces are and how wide is the support they enjoy from the big bourgeois Press. The Swatantra Party, the PSP, Jan Sangh, the Ganatantra Parishad, and the Socialist Party, with active encouragement from the extreme Right inside the Congress, joined forces to lead an assault on the Government's foreign policy, which it was alleged, was "weak" and had exposed the country to grave danger.

But even when opposing these policies and measures of the Government, we must concentrate fire, wherever possible, on the Right elements in the Government. We must not, when fighting the Government and the Congress, lose sight of the broader perspective. Our approach, our slogans should be such as serve to strengthen the democratic movement as a whole.

It is evident that the Indian bourgeoisie and its Government, while compromising with feudalism and giving concessions to the imperialists, are determined to go ahead with building their capitalist economy. Not only has the Indian bourgeoisie grown stronger, but it is also using the disinterested economic assistance by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries for building heavy and basic industries on the one hand and striving to overcome imperialist obstructions and secure favourable terms, at least partially, in the matter of economic assistance from the West on the other.

This, by itself, cannot, however, ensure continuous and steady advance nor solve the profound contradictions that arise from the Government's policies. The limitations inherent in the capitalist path, further accentuated by the attempt to build our economy without resolute action against the entrenched position of British capital, without radical agrarian reforms and by concessions to foreign capitalists to the detriment of our economy, continue. The same approach marks the proposals of the Third Plan also. In such a situation, progress cannot but be slow and halting, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions. The food problem will continue. Unemployment will grow. Conditions of the vast majority of people will remain wretched. Antagonism between the Government and the people will sharpen still further. In such a situation, the anti-popular and dangerous trends which have already manifested themselves are likely to accentuate, inflicting colossal misery on the people and creating grave perils for democracy.

Obviously, in such a situation, things cannot remain

static and stationary. Either the Government is going to move backwards, yielding more and more to the pressures of the Right or it has to be compelled by the popular forces to move to the Left.

It has, however, to be remembered that twelve years of Congress rule and nine years of Plans have conclusively proved that the basic capitalist nature of the Plans has got very limited possibilities, that the capitalist path of development cannot basically solve the problems of our country and it is bound to intensify all the crisis and contradictions in the life of our people. Hence it has become all the more necessary to educate the people about the basic weakness of these Plans and the necessity for the alternate people's path of development, while simultaneously defending the progressive aspects of the Plans and fighting for their reorientation for the better on the one hand and resisting the reactionary attacks on the other.

The crucial question before the democratic movement and Communist Party is, therefore, whether the de-

a) A reactionary modification of the present policy, a shift towards the Western Powers. A state of permanent hostility towards China and thereby disruption of Asian solidarity. Hesitation to support the struggles of the colonial peoples;

b) While adhering to the policy of industrial development, further concessions to Big Business, whittling down of the public sector, creation of a "suitable climate" for investment of foreign private capital, especially American capital, and a conciliatory attitude towards it;

c) Sabotage of agrarian reforms; and

d) Undermining of parliamentary democracy and the suppression of the Communist Party.

Therefore, a determined and sustained ideological-political battle has to be waged against the Swatantra Party. Their political slogans have to be exposed and laid bare as being anti-national and anti-people and diametrically opposed to the traditions of our national movement, as well as the interest of our people. Every effort should be made to rouse all democratically-minded people, including those inside the Congress, to the danger posed by those slogans and draw them into the campaign.

It must not be forgotten that, while the Swatantra Party is indisputably the open spokesman of the policies of the Right, the main forces of the Right still remain inside the Congress. But with the formation of the Swatantra Party, which, together with the forces of the Right inside the Congress, is trying to take the Government further in a Rightward direction, conflicts over policies are bound to

* SEE FACING PAGE

struggles as well as through parliamentary measures.

Precisely because of the development that have taken place since Paigat and especially since Amritsar, it has become all the more necessary that mass unity is built to defend the interests of the people and also bring about a move to the Left.

In order to develop such a democratic movement, it becomes particularly important to draw, by correctly formulated demands, correct approach and suitable forms of activity, the masses following the Congress and Congressmen into such movements. The situation is going in such a way that it cannot but cause disillusionment and stirrings among the vast masses following the Congress. Moreover, in many places a number of Congressmen are getting worried over the activities of the Swatantra Party as well as of Right reaction inside the Congress itself.

This would require a proper approach on our part towards the progressive declarations of the Congress and the Government. While explaining the real content of the declarations of the ruling party which wants to cover up its anti-people policies with attractive declarations,

In the development of the democratic movement, the attitude to be adopted to the small trader and industrialist is of importance. These sections of the bourgeoisie suffer not only from the competition and encroachment of the big bourgeoisie but also from the fiscal and other policies of the Government. The Party should take up their just demands against the big bourgeoisie and Government. It has also to be borne in mind that in matters of trade union demands, this section of the bourgeoisie cannot be treated on the same footing as the big bourgeoisie. It must not be forgotten that in order to defend and strengthen our Parliamentary institutions and fight against reactionary trends, the support and active participation of these sections is very important.

The advance of the democratic movement and the strengthening of the democratic front requires, above all, painstaking efforts to build the mass organisations, particularly among the working class and the peasantry. Amritsar gave the slogan "Turn the face of the Party to the peasants." Little has been done to implement the slogan. This constitutes the greatest weakness not only of the Party but of the entire democratic movement. It should be remembered that the bulk of the peasantry remains the main pillar of support behind the Congress and is liable to be exploited by the Swatantra and other reactionary and communal parties.

Party committees at every level must give utmost thought and attention to the problems of building the peasant movement and work out concrete steps for this purpose. Systematic efforts must be made to overcome the weaknesses in the Party's work among the middle-class and intelligentsia.

Build People's Unity

low political level and has not been transformed into an instrument to intervene politically in the fast developing situation which could bring about a shift among the big bourgeoisie and landlords, already strongly entrenched inside the Congress and Government, will be allowed to carry forward the shift to the Right. In short, our Party has to play its part to bring about a major shift on a nationwide scale in our political life.

In this context, broad-based mass actions and struggles on economic and political issues naturally assume importance. The Party cannot discharge its responsibility without waging sustained battle on policy questions. It will be the task of the leading organs of the Party to evolve key slogans for nationwide campaigns on such policy issues as—

- 1) Defence of foreign policy and non-alignment;
- 2) Nationalisation of banks;
- 3) Effective measures to bring down prices;
- 4) Against increasing tax burdens on the people;
- 5) Immediate imposition of effective ceilings on landholdings and distribution of surplus land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants and State trading in foodgrains;
- 6) For increased dearness allowance for all industrial workers and employees and for fixation of minimum wages for agricultural workers;
- 7) Against corruption;
- 8) For greater powers to the States;
- 9) For decentralisation of administration through

The struggle for defence of democracy and for its expansion is an integral part of the great national-political tasks facing the Party and the democratic movement. The defence of democracy demands sharp exposure of the extreme Right and its slogans. But that is not enough. In order to rally the masses in defence of democracy, they must be made to feel that democracy is worth defending, that through democratic processes and institutions and by popular action, they can better their conditions and changes can be brought about, changes that are in conformity with their needs and desires. Democracy must acquire a dynamic and living content so that the onslaught of reaction against it can be defeated. The task of defence of democracy is inseparably connected with the other tasks—winning concessions for the people through mass campaigns and

The leadership of the PSP and certain other Left groups have been increasingly following a policy of disruption of the Left and democratic forces. Finding that all hopes of its becoming the "alternative" has vanished, the PSP leadership has played a treacherous role during the last two years in relation to the Kerala Government, people's movements in West Bengal, U. P., Bihar, etc. It has joined hands with the Congress to form a Coalition Government in Kerala. Its links with the extreme Right in the Congress have widened. Its role with regard to foreign policy and India's relation with Tibet and China are well-known. A section of the Congress leadership, too, is trying to build up the PSP as the main opposition and disruptor of Left unity.

As for the Socialist Party, its attitude towards the Communist Party has also been one of blind hostility and, thanks to the internal squabbles, it has been in a state of chronic crisis and disintegration. Despite all this, it would be wrong to equate them with the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. It must not be forgotten even today that a considerable number of Left-minded people who broke with the Congress are still in these parties—especially the

NEW AGE

Shattering Blow To Some Economic Illusions

SOME ECONOMIC ILLUSIONS by J. R. Campbell, Lawrence and Wishart, London. Price 2 sh. 6 d.

Quite an amount of interest has been aroused in our country in the developing debate which convulses the Labour Party in Britain.

The Swatantra soothsayers have seized upon it as clear evidence of the breakdown of Socialism. The Congress ideologues, including some pretty high-placed ones, see in the Gaitskell bid to eliminate Clause Four (demanding public ownership) the vindication of "pragmatism," which is the latest device to cover the retreat from the proclamations of Socialism.

Context Of Controversy

To understand the context of the controversy as well as the underlying basic approach which has led to the present Labour ideological debacle, it would be difficult to find a better guide than J. R. Campbell's crisply written pamphlet.

Some Economic Illusions in the Labour Movement is the second in the "Socialism Today" series, now being under-

taken by Lawrence and Wishart. It reminds one of the Socialist offensive that had been launched some 20 years ago by the Left Book Club. Campbell's work—as well as Dobb's which inaugurated the series—needs to be widely popularised in our country, no less than in Britain to give an element of toughness, to supply the holding core, to our own intellectual grappling with problems of our own development.

The crucial thesis advanced by the author is that the "new thinkers" of the Labour Party wish to effect the transformation of their party from an organisation struggling to abolish capitalism to one seeking to manage capitalism. This they feel is now possible because of the growth in size and change in character of the industrial concerns, the growth of a managerial class and the "new and intelligent State", operating in the national economy largely through intricate financial manipulations.

Campbell correctly points out that these all stem from the "new" economics of Keynes. He, of course, makes it clear that what was new in Keynes was already clearly enunciated by Marx, i.e., that capitalism cannot maintain full employment, equilibrium and growth in a smooth and laissez faire manner. This was the repudiation of Say's law, which was starting for bourgeois academicians who never had the guts to read Marx.

Apart from the flaw in Keynes' understanding of the State—a veritable 'deus ex machina' to him—which Marxists have long ago pointed out, our author goes further and with a wealth of logic and facts gives a shattering blow to the Keynesian concept of a "mixed economy." This is what makes the pamphlet so utterly topical for all of us.

Mixed Economy

A mixed economy can mean many things—there can be both Socialist and capitalist variants, in the sense of different economic formations coexisting for a time, under the leadership of one dominant formation. What was accomplished in Britain under the Labour Party and what, in a different situation and with obviously dissimilar implications, is being attempted in India is a mixed economy with private capitalist predominance.

On the difference between this type of economy and a true Socialist economy Campbell writes: "The socially-owned industries and firms (they need not all be owned and operated on a national scale) must create the economic climate in which the economy can expand, and must be vastly

BOOK REVIEW

more important than any enterprises still in private ownership. This is exactly the opposite of the present monopoly capitalist set-up where the big privately owned monopolies set the tone and the nationalised industries function as their milch cows." (p. 60).

Another chapter having immediate lessons for us is "The Illusion of Wage Restraint," which also takes up the problem of economic development with price stability under capitalism.

"The great problem, however, is to secure a rapid expansion of the capitalist economy with stable prices. The Labour Party is really making a tremendous claim when it says that it can do this, for most upsurges in the capitalist economy in the past have been accompanied by rising prices.

"The United Nations Economic Survey already mentioned documents this fully from the closing half of the nineteenth century to the present day. The same survey denies that if we take the period from 1950 to 1956 rising prices were 'always wage initiated. On the contrary it is only during a relatively brief period at the end, that wage costs have been the major causal element in price increases'" (p. 48).

Economic Crises

A special favourite with Social-Democratic theoreticians and their revisionist

compeers is the argument that contemporary capitalism has done away with economic crises. The change in form has been taken to mean that the thing itself has disappeared. Particularly after the 1957-58 downturn it becomes difficult to maintain that violent fluctuations are not a characteristic of the most up-to-date capitalism with all its built-in stabilisers.

This illusion is central to those who attribute magical powers to Keynesian doctrines and Campbell blows it up: "It is one thing to say that the main business decisions can continue to be made by the capitalist groups in industry and if a slump occurs the State can be compelled to do something to fight it.

No Alternative To Socialism

"It is an entirely different thing to say that the main decisions can be left in capitalist hands, but the State can so cooperate with the capitalist as to ensure uninterrupted expansion, full employment, rising wages and steady prices. This is the totally unjustifiable theoretical 'jump' that the Labour leaders are making, and there is nothing whatever in the postwar experience—particularly of the experience of the Labour Movement from 1946 to 1951—to justify it." (pp 13-14).

The breakdown of these illusions is not meant to create despair but simply to state the home truth that there is no alternative to Socialism. Decisive inroads into concentrated private property, working class power and a planned economy are inescapable whether it be Britain or India. Or else confused thinking will land us in the bog.

—Mohit Sen



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A GATHERING OF STOOGES

★ FROM BACK PAGE

vocate and an ex-Minister—to move the resolution. The resolution was scrupulously silent as to who was responsible for the situation in Algeria.

Oyangi moved an alternate resolution which only sought to mention France by name as being responsible for the colonial war and continuing bloodshed in Algeria. Out of moderation perhaps or fear that it might not be acceptable to this convention, even the alternate resolution did not mention the responsibility of NATO and France's allies as the Algerian National Liberation Front has repeatedly done (see for instance CNRA's last declaration of February 2, 1960, quoted in New Age of March 27).

But the brave warriors of the Tibet Convention now set to assume leadership of the entire anti-colonial struggle all over Asia and Africa would not accept a mention even of France alone by name. They said it in so many words that it would spoil the chances of "conciliation." Shamelessly they sought to take refuge behind the Nehru-Nasser joint statement.

The stooge from Jordan went to the extent of claiming that even the UAR delegate agreed with this omission. The lone UAR delegate was not present in the hall to contradict this malicious statement. But the fact that he had hardly attended any session, never spoke at the convention, whether at plenary or at committee stage, together with the well-known stand of the UAR Government and people was sufficient to show up the lie for what it was.

After the Kenya delegates announced their anguished disagreement and collecting all their papers walked out of the hall the rest of the participants unanimously adopted that shameful resolution without a single mention of French imperialism or France by name.

By this single act all of them will stand condemned forever before the people of Africa and Asia and before all those who fight against colonialism anywhere in the world. Never can they claim that they too are fighting against colonialism.

And this was no mere accident. For with the composition of delegations assembled nothing better could be expected. Leaving aside the Indian delegates and the Tibetan Kashag people there were only 40 delegates from abroad.

Of these the largest single delegation of eight was from Hong-Kong, four from the American colony of South Vietnam, four from anti-Chinese establishments in Japan, three from Malays, two from Philippines, two from Turkey (besides two others from that country claiming to represent "Chinese Tukestan").

The Indonesian delegation of two was headed by a former Foreign Minister belonging to the Masjumi Party which was notorious for its anti-national role even before it supported the American-sponsored rebellion against President Sukarno.

The two-man delegation from Lebanon by its conduct over the Algeria resolution

exposed itself as representing remnants of the stooges of the former French rulers of that country.

The two-man delegation from Pakistan by dutifully raising the issue of self-determination for Kashmir and lining up on all issues including Algeria showed itself to be what it was.

The lone delegate from Burma was from U Ba Swe's defeated party and two of the four Ceylonese delegates were Buddhist monks.

Only two Nepalese could be got and they came as representatives of American-subsidised Refugee Relief Society.

With the forty-one Indian delegates, most of them notorious not only for their hatred of Communism and China but also for their rabid opposition

to India's independent foreign policy, they completed the picture of an international mobilisation of stooges of various Imperialisms and dictators and Nehru-hating Indians pandering as patriots and anti-colonialists.

The Swatantra orientation became further obvious when along with the running thread of anti-Chinese and Communist propaganda declarations, the convention's so-called anti-colonial resolution urged Asian and African countries "in the interests of Afro-Asian solidarity (to) settle all their disputes peacefully and amicably, and that the disputes between India and Pakistan including Kashmir to be settled in the same manner."

The only dispute inter se

among the Asian countries that should in no case be settled peacefully and amicably in view of the India-China border dispute. For such a peaceful and amicable settlement would endanger the "Afro-Asian solidarity" that they have set out to build.

Attending the convention at times one felt that despite its being called a Tibet Convention—despite the long pompous presidential address of Chairman Jaya Prakash which dealt almost exclusively with Tibet and closed with the slogan of "Jai Jagat"—a gem of an original contribution to our political vocabulary it had very little to do with Tibet. Tibet and the Tibetans now in India were mere convenient tools for the organisers. Nobody really had any feeling for them.

The usual resolutions alleging genocide and denial of human rights were passed, the call for raising the Tibet issue at the U. N. was repeated.

The Kashag tried once again through the Dalai Lama's message to pretend that the Government of India stand on Tibet is identical with theirs. They have seized upon a sentence in one of the Government of India notes to the Chinese Government to try to show that India recognised Tibet's alleged sovereign status.

This is the old familiar tactic of the Kashag in alliance with the Tibetan patriots in our midst to involve the Government of India further in their game. Such cleverness, however, has failed to pay any dividends so far. One would have thought that after such a "huge" and "highly successful" "international" gathering which

Talks Must Succeed

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

that they have roused among our people to press for a reversal of India's policy of non-alignment.

They are the elements who are today calling for a defence Pact with all Asian countries against China.

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has given birth to an 'Afro-Asian Council', projecting Jaya Prakash Narayan from the much too narrow Indian scene to the wider scene of two continents, the organisers would have at least held a public rally, if not at the Ramlika Maidan at least at the Parade Grounds, at least to introduce the honourable foreign delegates to the Delhi public. They, however, did nothing of the sort. The remote precincts of the Vigyan Bhawan Committee rooms alone were considered safe, so that the assembled rats were not exposed too much to Delhi's bright sun.

FACTS ABOUT FANS



Fans made from palm leaves are used in South India today as they have been for centuries. Simple but serviceable, they often figure in the friezes of ancient temples.

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Collection Of Nagarjun's Poems

SATARANGE PANKHONWALI: by Nargarjun. Publisher: Yatri Prakashan, Calcutta. Pages 64, Price Rs. 3.00.

It is always a pleasure to read good poetry, though much in Hindi that is being put forward today (incidentally by a tiny section of the so-called "modern" poets) as new poetry is dull, insipid and unpoetic.

In fact the term Nai Kavita is being used as a safe garb to couch the morbid, obscure, nihilistic obsessions of a few socially uprooted individuals. However, all Nai Kavita is not like that. In fact, there is much in it which deserves not only close attention but positive encouragement.

Nargarjun's present collection of poems is clear indication of what immense potentialities 'Nai Kavita' has and to what great heights it can reach in truly capable hands. The efforts of orthodox critics to water down all new poetry as worthless and obscure are bound to fail miserably.

The present collection contains 29 poems by Nargarjun and the poet's fancy touches upon varied subjects.

Nargarjun has been praised by foes and friends alike as a great novelist. His famous

novel Balchanna was received universal admiration. But in the field of poetry his reputation has been chiefly that of a political satirist.

The present collection, however, brings him forward as something more than a mere satirist—though to be a successful political satirist is no ordinary achievement either.

Nargarjun of Satarange Pankhonwali is a poet with deep sensibility and compassion, conscious of his role as a tribune of the neglected and the suffering poor, a poet confronted with the task of discovering new modes of expressions, new symbols, new forms for giving proper outlet to the various facets of human experiences and feelings in all their complexity.

His two poems Yeh Tum Theen and Neem ki Do Dalen are a break from the conventional forms. Addressing his beloved the poet says,

You have torn asunder
The mighty breast of
O crescent of light
O yon.

The other poems Kale Kale Bhanvaner, Khuradare Fair, Nak-been Mukh, Hotin Bas

Ankhen Hi Ankhen are unique portraits in verse, pungent in sensibility and moving in depth of compassion. Then the other poems, viz. Akal Aur Uske Bad, Bahut Dinon Ke Bad, Aisa Kya Ab Phir Hoga emanate from the poet's personal experience of pain and misery, joy and happiness. Only the poet breathing, living and suffering with the poorest of the poor could write of the famines. The hearth wept for days and the grinding stones were silent.

His two other poems, Hate Danuj Dal and Kaisa Lagega Tumhe are devoted to the lofty theme of peace:

Let every man be happy
Let every heart be happy,
Let life be livable and worthwhile

Let there be no war
Let there be no stagnation
Let youth be fearless and brave.

Kaisa Lagega Tumhe is no less powerful and more unique for its simplicity.

It Robbers
Treachers and vicious
Dilute poison
In the waters of the Ganges
and the Jamuna
Or gas poisonous
Pollutes the Southern wind
How will you feel?

The last poem of the collection, O Jan-Man Ke Sajag Chitree is a rich tribute to

another Hindi poet. This is a tribute that a poet conscious of the role of a people's poet alone can pay to another person. The other poet here is, of course, Kedar Nath Agrawal.

The review of Nagarjun's poems would not be complete without a few words on his poem 'Tum Kishore, Tum Tarun. I am referring to this particular poem since another poet and supposed to be very high and mighty in his own respects, picturing himself as a superman or perhaps a super-poet had nothing else but contempt for the next generation to offer.

This poet is no other than Agyeya. Says he: "Come, O Come, walking on my footsteps, obliterating them and abusing me to thy mouthful, Come, O come". As against this Nagarjun has only modest assurance and unshakable faith in future to offer to the next generation:

We are cleaning the poisonous weeds for you
Making new paths.
Take this torch and carry light to every house.

And Nagarjun's poems truly bring new light and faith to the next generation.

—Munshi

CENTRAL GOVT EMPLOYEES DECIDE ON UNITED ACTION

THE meeting of the representatives of the All-India Defence Employees Federation, the Confederation of Central Government Employees and Workers, the National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation that was held in Bombay on April 2-3, reported briefly in these columns last week, is a landmark in the annals of the Central Government employees' movement.

The Government of India has been adding insult to the injury inflicted by the Second Pay Commission by refusing "to give thought to the intensity of feeling and frustration amongst Central Government employees."

The Finance Minister's replies in Parliament "reveal an utter callousness towards the conditions of employees and his statement that there will be no negotiation with their organisations is a virtual repudiation of the principle of solving problems by democratic methods," says the resolution unanimously adopted by this Convention.

The Government has been deliberately trying to misrepresent the employees and prejudice their case in public eyes. It cries hoarse about the "financial burdens" that flow from Pay Commission recommendations but conceal the "benefits that

the Government would be receiving both by enhancement of working hours and curtailment of existing facilities," points out the resolution.

The Convention has formulated the following demands:

● Payment of dearness allowance on the basis of the First Pay Commission's recommendations.

● The grant of a national minimum wage for Central Government employees in the light of the principles enunciated by the 15th Labour Conference, and the determination of differentials between Class IV, III, II and I as well as between the unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled and highly skilled categories on a rational and equitable basis.

● The appointment of a Standing Board consisting of equal representatives of organised labour and the concerned Ministries, with a neutral Chairman, to settle disputes relating to scales of pay, and other service conditions commensurate with the diversity of occupation, responsibilities, risks and hazards, connected with the duties of various categories in different departments and Ministries.

● No curtailment of any existing amenities, rights and privileges.

● Reference to arbitration of disputes referred by either parties and the recognition of one union in one industry by

LABOUR NOTES

● BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.
SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

determination of the representative character of a union through referendum held bi-annually.

● Withdrawal of Rule 148 and proviso to Rule 1708 of State Railway Establishment Code, Vol. 1 and Rules 4(a) and 4(b) of C.C.S. Conduct Rules and a judicial enquiry into all cases of arbitrary removal from service under the above rules.

The Convention has decided that Central Government employees would do everything to arrive at a negotiated settlement of these grievances. But failing this up to May 15, 1960, they would give the call for a strike commencing from the midnight of June 19, 1960.

The Convention has set up a Joint Council of Action of Central Government employees with V. G. Dalvi as Chairman and Peter Alvarez as Secretary.

CONDITIONS IN ISCO MINES

OVER 300 workers in the Gua Iron Ore Mines belonging to the Indian Iron and Steel Company are subjected to serious misery and the In-

dustrial Relations Machinery seems to be unable to help them.

Even while the case of workmen under a particular contractor is before a tribunal, workers are being discharged without providing them with any alternative employment. There were 3608 workmen on February 20, 1960. But on March 19, 1960 there were only 3442, the decline within a month being 164.

Five hundred workmen under the contractor at Manoharpur are deprived of provident fund.

Payment of provident fund accumulations is long delayed. Workers who have resigned or are otherwise entitled to receive their provident fund have to wait for months together, and repeatedly come to the company from miles away, or from places in Orissa only to get an answer that they better take another chance.

Burnpur workers get Rs. ten as dearness allowance. But the Gua workers are denied this.

Incidence of tuberculosis among the workers is growing. The hospital that exists is only for name's sake. Workers are afraid to go to the medical officer because detection of T.B. means not treatment but

discharge from work. Pump drivers are not provided with even a helper. They cannot leave the pump even for a minute during their shift of eight hours.

Overtime in neighbouring mines is paid at double the normal rates. But in Gua Iron Ore Mines it is the same old tale of one-and-a-half times the ordinary.

A worker deposited his ration card after drawing his ration as per official procedure. His card is missing, ration is denied to him now, and he and his family are starving.

Workers are abused and insulted. A worker was abused by an officer. When the worker protested against this, he was suspended for five days. On March 30, 1960, the union received a very serious complaint from a woman worker that a welfare officer tried to molest her.

Such are the working conditions under Sri Biren Mukherjee's Martin Burns in these Gua Mines. The United Mines Worker's Union is conducting a campaign against all these miseries.

DELHI VARSITY Vs EMPLOYEES

DR. V. K. R. V. Rao, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University has earned fame in the country as an economist. He wants to earn notoriety now as the executive head of the University.

The University and College Karamchari Union of Delhi had submitted its memorandum of demands and grievances consisting of such modest items as eight-hours duty, medical and recreation facilities, confirmation, seniority, lunch hour, leave facilities, recognition of union, etc. as early as October 1958.

After a lot of agitation a compromise was arrived at in April 1959 and a Personnel Committee was appointed to enquire into the grievances of the employees.

Nothing came out of this and the agitation was renewed.

The University authorities asked the union in August 1959 to give the demands in writing to the Personnel Committee and that they were consulting other Universities and the Central Education Ministry whether such unions existed elsewhere and what the procedure was to recognise them.

Central Education Minister Srimati told the union deputation in May 1959 itself that recognition of the union was entirely the concern of the University.

However, when nothing moved, the union decided to bring out a torch-light procession on February 20, 1960. The University authorities were duly informed.

And now, all the office-bearers of the union have been charge-sheeted, the General Secretary has been discharged and every employee is fined Rs. five for every meeting of the union he has attended.

The union has now served a notice of strike.

* SEE FACING PAGE

WEST BENGAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA CALCUTTA, April 11

All eyes are now turned on the crucial by-election to the Lok Sabha from the Southwest Calcutta Parliamentary Constituency, polling for which takes place on May 1. The seat fell vacant about one-and-a-half years ago when the election of Biren Roy, an Independent, was declared null and void by an Election Tribunal.

THE Communist Party is contesting the seat. Its candidate is Indrajit Gupta, working class Party leader. Opposing him are Asoke Krishna Dutta (Congress) and Adhir Banerjee (BSP).

Indrajit Gupta is a member of the National Council of the CPI and of the West Bengal Secretariat of the Party. He is the General Secretary of the State Trade Union Congress, one of the Secretaries of the AITUC and a member of the Permanent Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Calcutta is justly proud of its glorious tradition of democratic struggles. It repeatedly rebuffed the Congress rulers in the past. In the last General Elections, it decisively rejected the Congress in 18 out of 26 seats for the State Assembly and three out of four seats for the Lok Sabha. The Congress lost one more Assembly seat to the Opposition in a by-election in August 1958.

The New Experiment

The Congress is naturally making a desperate bid now to stage a come-back and to recover some of the ground it has lost in this city since 1957. It is adopting all sorts of underhand means to win the by-election, and then parade to the world that its policies

have the seal of popular approval.

In the first place, the time given for the by-election is unusually short, perhaps, the shortest in the history of elections to the Lok Sabha. The interval between the announcement of the by-election and the date of polling is hardly one month as against the practice of giving at least six weeks' time.

Secondly, 100,000 voters or 30 per cent of the total number are sought to be deprived of their franchise. There are 300,000 registered voters in this constituency, which is made up of seven State Assembly constituencies. For the first time in the country, the Election Commission has introduced the system of photographing voters in this constituency. It is obligatory, and no voter will be permitted to record his vote unless he produces his identity photo at the polling booth.

April 17 has been fixed as the last date for the photographing of voters. But over a lakh of voters have not yet been photographed. Moreover, about 125,000 persons, who have been photographed, have not received their identity cards. Abdul Balim, Communist leader and a member of the State Legislative Council who is a voter, got himself photographed about nine months ago. But he has been just informed that his photo is missing. If this happens in

DESPERATE CONGRESS BID TO WIN CRUCIAL CALCUTTA BY-ELECTION

the case of a leading citizen, the experience of lakhs of ordinary voters can be very well imagined.

Jyoti Basu, Secretary of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party, had drawn the attention of the Election Commission to the inequity and absurdity of the system in the conditions obtaining in our country.

Women who observe purdah will never allow themselves to be photographed. Men in many families do not like the photos of their womenfolk to become public property. A large number of women also resent the very idea of their photos being handled by others.

Moreover, the method of taking photos is repulsive in the extreme. A sash with the

voter's number inscribed on it is tied round the chest of the voter when the photograph is taken. Scores of cases have happened in which even educated and enlightened women have indignantly refused to be photographed in this manner.

Many among the men also, who have to stay out of the city for several days in the month for professional reasons, have not yet been photographed, because they could not find time to wait for their turn at the photographing centres.

The issue of photo-cards to those who have been already photographed bids fair to become another racket. To cite an instance, the manager of a big mill in this constituency is reliably understood to have got hold of about 2,000 photo-cards of worker-voters of the mill, which employs about 8,000 hands. The owner of the mill, one of the top Indian monopolists, is a well-known supporter of the Congress.

There is, therefore, very legitimate grounds for the apprehension that the above photo-cards will be distributed only to those workers whose loyalty to the Congress is unquestioned.

The photo business has thus become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Congress. The more restricted the franchise, the better for it. But the manoeuvre is too crude to deceive the citizens of Calcutta, much less the voters of the constituency.

The Futari Branch Committee of the Communist Party and Robin Mukherjee, Communist M.L.A., have sent telegrams to the Chief Election Commissioner demanding that arrangements be made immediately for taking the photos of 30 per cent of the voters of Behala, who have not yet been photographed.

Bankim Mukherjee, Deputy Leader of the Communist Bloc in the State Assembly, drew the attention of the Speaker to this serious matter and wanted to know if the Chief Minister would make a statement. He said that the Chief Election Commissioner should be informed in case the West Bengal Government was unable to do anything in the matter. He further demanded that the "experiment" regarding identity photographs should be given up in view of the situation that had arisen.

The programme also includes sports and cultural items, the most interesting features of which are a sports meet in which elderly women will participate, and a cultural performance by old and young women artistes.

The festival has aroused considerable interest among the womenfolk in Calcutta as well as in the districts. The festival committee had fixed the target for enrolment of Reception Committee members at 1,500, the membership fee being Rs. two. But, actually 2,500 members were enrolled. Secondly, many local festivals were held and over 15,000 women from all sections and professions participated in them.

Full-scale election campaign has not yet begun, but preparations are underway. The Congress is now engaged in hiring its election workers in different areas. A big amount of money is understood to have been set apart for this purpose. The Congress nominee is from one of the wealthiest families of West Bengal, and it would not

be at all surprising if money flows like water in the election contest.

The PSP has not done much till now except putting up posters in some parts of the constituency.

The election campaign of the Communist Party was launched on April 5 with a mass rally in Behala, which was addressed by Somnath Lahiri, M.L.A., Communist leader, and the candidate, Indrajit Gupta. Two days later, the Party's election office at Allpore was opened by Muzaffar Ahmad in the presence of a select gathering of Hindu and Muslim citizens of the area. Somnath Lahiri, Muzaffar Ahmad and Indrajit Gupta addressed the gathering.

Baithak meetings, posterings and other forms of mass campaigning have just started. The West Bengal State Council of the Party has appealed to all members, supporters and sympathisers of the Party in Calcutta to throw their full weight into the election battle, emphasising that their main political task at the moment is to take an active part in the by-election. Party units outside Calcutta have been asked to launch immediately a mass election fund drive and render help in various other types of jobs.

MADRAS MILL REOPENS

FROM FACING PAGE

THE Buckingham and Carnatic Mills reopened in the morning of April 5, 1960, following a settlement with the union. According to this settlement the management has rescinded the order of dismissal passed on the union representatives and has modified the punishment to one of suspension for seven days and a transfer from the carding department to the workmen's stores.

The workers of the carding department will lose wages for having stopped work and the loss of two days' production due to the lock-out on April 3 and 4 will be made good by the workmen working on two-weekly holidays some time during the year.

But this strike in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills is only one of the many troubles arising out of lack of recognition of legitimate trade-union activity by the employers. According to one source, out of 237 strikes that had taken place in Madras State during 1959 as many as 207 were due to "deterioration of standards of mutual courtesies."

Employers do not recognise unions. Even where unions are recognised, as the B & C Mills, there is no grievances machinery to settle grievances specially at departmental levels. When grievances arise, and management behaves provocatively, a lightning strike is the result.

Punjab Workers' Struggle Against Electricity Cut Wins Concessions

★ From SATISH LOOMBA

DUE to the failure of electric supply from Bhakra during the last three-and-a-half months, the industries of Punjab in most cases have been working only for four to five days a week and for six hours a day. While this has resulted in huge loss in production and put the small-scale industrialists to great hardships, the worst sections hit have been the workers.

Several thousands of them have been rendered surplus and retrenched due to closure of shifts, while about two lakhs have had to suffer severe loss in wages. Most of the industrial units being small even the benefits of lay-off compensation were not available to them.

The workers, under the leadership of the Punjab State Committee of the AITUC, have been fighting a Statewide struggle to mitigate their hardships. A protest week was observed from March 3 to 10 when demonstrations and rallies were held all over the State. This was followed by four-day protest hunger-strikes in 16 different centres. On April 4, a demonstration was held at Chandigarh in which over 400 workers who had come by trains, buses or cycles from all parts of the State participated.

A feature of this struggle was that all workers and unions, whether affected or not by the cut in electricity, participated

in the campaign, hunger-strikes and demonstration at Chandigarh.

As a result of this sustained and widespread struggle, the Punjab Government has now been forced to announce the grant of Rs. ten lakhs as interest-free loans to the affected workers. At first the Government insisted that the loans would be given only to those workers on whose behalf the employers gave a guarantee of repayment. But it has now been forced to accept the workers' demand that loans should be given to any worker on his personal security or on the security of any two persons, or of a Municipal Commissioner, etc. The electricity supply has also been restored to over sixty per cent of normal consumption.

The Working Committee of the State TUC met on April 5 and reviewed the position. It came to the conclusion that though significant concessions had been won, much yet remains to be done.

As a long-term question, it is essential that a standby thermal plant be installed to guarantee against future mishaps. Immediately a census should be taken of all installed and idle thermal capacity in the State and a plan chalked out for its efficient and proper utilisation at any time.

The loan of Rs. ten lakhs, though welcome, is insignificant in the context of the requirements. On a rough estimate, the workers have already lost about Rs. three crores. Already applications for loans in Amritsar

total over 13,000, in Ludhiana over 10,000, in Jullundur over 1,500 and so on. This means that only a small part of the demand can be met and thousands of workers will have to be disappointed. Hence the State TUC has demanded that the allocated amount should be at least doubled as a first step.

The workers have contracted huge debts to live during these months. Apart from those totally unemployed, even those who have been lucky enough to keep their jobs have suffered steep falls in wages—e.g. a weaver in small-scale textiles could hardly earn Rs. 30 to 35 per month instead of the usual Rs. 150 to 160. The State TUC has demanded that grants-in-aid be sanctioned to the affected workers.

The authorities have blamed the failure of normal rainfall for the cut in electricity. The TUC agrees, assuming the correctness of this position, that the problem should be tackled along the lines of relief from flood, drought or other natural calamities and relief in the shape of grants be given.

Another aspect of the problem relates to lay-off provisions in the Industrial Disputes Act. As is well-known, this Act provides for payment of half average wages for lay-off to workmen in all factories employing more than 50 workers and up to a maximum payment equivalent to 45 days' wages in any calendar year.

Most of the factories in the Punjab are small-scale and fall outside the proviso of this Act. Hence the workers have had to endure lay-off for the last three months without a single naya Paisa as compensation. Even in those factories where they are entitled to such compensation, the maximum period of 45 days in a year is over. Now all further lay-off will be unpaid and this means that for the remaining nine months of this year they will be deprived of the benefits of the legislation which was enacted keeping in view "normal" lay-off due to shortage of materials, breakdown of power or machinery, etc., and not such an abnormal situation as has existed throughout the State during the last three-and-a-half months.

The State TUC has, therefore, demanded that at least for the calendar year 1960-61, the State Government should extend the provisions of lay-off compensation in the Act to all factories irrespective of the number of workers employed therein, and should extend the limit from 45 days to 90 days.

A deputation on behalf of the State TUC met the Governor and the State Labour Minister and will shortly meet the Union Labour Minister to present their viewpoint. If however the demands are not conceded before May Day, the State TUC will have to launch a dharna for four days at Chandigarh. Workers all over the State will observe a protest-day simultaneously wearing black badges.

TIBET CONVENTION WAS A COLD WAR SHOW

★ by ZIAUL HAQ

The rabid anti-Communists and the despicable stooges of imperialism that had gathered in the lavishly put up show of the Tibet Convention in the Indian Capital's Vigyan Bhavan last week were shown up in their true colours in the last minutes of their last day's session.

FACED with the gang's arrogant and ham-handed conduct and its refusal to take a clear and straightforward stand against imperialist oppression in Africa—more particularly against their refusal to name French imperialism as the aggressor responsible for carrying on the bloody war against Algeria—the Kenya delegation was forced to announce its withdrawal and dissociation from the convention.

This two-member delegation was the only one at the convention that had come from a movement actually engaged in active anti-colonialist struggle. Jafetha Mbaja Oyangi, its leader is the Organising Secretary and Elijah Mukaya, the other member, is an Assistant Secretary of the People's Convention Party of Kenya whose President is Tom Mboya.

The mask of anti-colonialism and solidarity with the African peoples with which the organisers were trying so hard to cover up their anti-Communist, cold

war show was torn apart when before leaving the conference hall, Oyangi charged them with watering down the stand on Africa and taking a soft and compromising attitude towards French imperialism over Algeria.

Repeatedly he pleaded with the convention's chairman Jaya Prakash Narayan that with such resolutions as the convention was being asked to adopt on Algeria and on colonialism he would not be able to show his face in his country and in Africa. He appealed to the chairman and to the convention not to press those "shameful" resolutions.

Gagged And Heckled

Both Oyangi and Mukaya also pleaded that the inclusion in the anti-colonial resolution of the demand for safeguards for minorities in African territories like Kenya was a misleading demand

which cast aspersion on their national movement, hampered the evolution of a unified nation and weakened the freedom struggle. They explained that in Kenya they had agreed upon a bill of rights for all citizens and this had been accepted by minorities of Asian origin and even by people of European origin.

As they tried to explain their position they were sought to be gagged and heckled by the stooges from Hong-Kong and Malaya which coupled with the peevish, superior and authoritarian attitude of the chairman (Jaya Prakash Narayan) surrounded them with an atmosphere of hostility. Minoo Masani got up to regale them with a long and insulting lecture on how "every civilized country" had provided safeguards for minorities and it was there in the Indian Constitution and he as Chairman of U. N. Commission on Minority Rights knew all about it.

Oyangi was supposed to be the chairman of the Anti-Colonial Committee and it

transpired that in drafting the resolution on colonialism he was overruled and changes made behind his back. He had been superseded and the drafting had been taken over by the gentlemen of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. They considered many of the burning problems of Africa as of little significance, not deserving of even a mention in the resolution.

Shameful Stand

They underplayed the seriousness of the situation in Africa and, as Oyangi suggested, the obvious aim seemed to be to tone down the struggles of the African people and push them into paths of compromise and surrender. (The draft, for instance, appealed "particularly to those Western Powers that have already recognised the march of events of our times and have won goodwill and often, friendship of the dependent people who have had their freedom restored,

not to cling to their colonial possessions. Such a persistence is bound to destroy that goodwill.")

The Kenya delegation was also disturbed and repelled by the attempt to push into the resolution on colonialism extraneous irrelevant and such obvious cold war issues as the alleged "denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese Communist Government and to the people of the Soviet Muslim Republics by the USSR." It made them very suspicious and doubtful about the convention and its organisers and whether they wanted any fight at all against colonialism.

Finally on the issue of Algeria they saw through the game in all its naked shamelessness. Jaya Prakash Narayan had already announced that no agreement had been reached on the issue in the morning's closed plenary session.

He asked the man from Jordan—described as an ad-

★ SEE PAGE 13

Interviewed After Their Walk-Out From Convention Kenya Delegates Say

THE morning after the bubble of the Tibet Convention was burst by them, I along with the representatives of another Delhi weekly called on the Kenya delegates Jafetha Mbaja Oyangi and Elijah Mukaya at an M. P.'s residence in the Electric Lane where they were putting up.

Both of us Pressmen were eager to meet these two courageous fighters from Africa who had rendered what we considered a great service to the cause of the anti-colonial struggle by turning their back on the Tibetan Convention which as an afterthought claimed that it was against colonialism also.

Immediately after their walk-out the previous evening we had to restrain our urge to follow the two young African leaders and to talk over the incident, because we had noticed that another Pressman, from quite a respectable news-agency, who had tried to accompany them in the lift was physically pulled out from there by an Indian employee of the USIS.

Later the two Kenyans were collared in the lounge by that leading ideologue of the Congress for Cultural Freedom Prabhakar Padhye. After a long argument when they disentan-

gled themselves from Padhye, the Kenyans were heard to say: "Ours are two different paths. We can never agree."

Next morning when we called on Oyangi, he told us that they had come to the conclusion that this convention was an anti-Communist affair; it had nothing to do with the fight against colonialism. "We found that we Africans were called here to be used for carrying on the cold war in Asia."

Oyangi was indignant and said that they had been called all the way from their country on false pretences. Some sort of deception and fraud had been played. "We were told that the convention would consider the questions of struggle against colonialism in Asia and Africa."

"They appointed me chairman of the Anti-Colonial Committee but I found that most of them were concerned only with China and Russia and the alleged colonisation of Tibet and Turkestan and the Muslim Republics of the USSR. They were not concerned with the doings of French and British and Portuguese and Spanish colonialists in Africa."

"It appeared to us," Oyangi went on to explain, "that for them bringing in of Africa was just by the

WE WERE CALLED TO BE USED AS COLD WAR WEAPONS

way, something which they thought would draw us to join them in their main business of opposing Communism.

"We in Kenya and in many other parts of Africa," he said in all earnestness and solemnity "are not enemies of anybody in the world. We are friends of everybody and we want to work with everybody who is prepared to work with us. We want to take help from every quarter, provided there are no strings attached."

He then went on to tell us how strongly all Africa felt about Algeria and how determined they were to bring about the defeat of colonialism there. "We have decided to give our fullest support to our brothers in Algeria to gain their independence. If France doesn't listen to world opinion we have decided we will send volunteers from all over Africa to fight against France in Algeria."

Further, he explained how strongly they felt about the struggle against racial oppression in South Africa and against colonial rule in other parts.

"That being the case we were shocked to find that the delegates to this convention would not appreciate our position and

would not support our stand on African questions. On the contrary they wanted and kept on trying all the time that we should change and water down our stand."

This came to a head sharply on Algeria, he said, but it was so on other issues, too, like Kenya and Central Africa.

Oyangi said that he had attended other international conferences before but never a conference so "one-sided". He was referring to the anti-Communist character of the convention. With great conviction and sincerity he said, "Without the existence of the Eastern bloc (he meant the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries) there would have been no question of freedom for Africa." That is why, he said, they were opposed to those issues of Central Asian Republics and Turkestan being raised.

In the closed session, he revealed that the delegates from Hong-kong had called for "liberation of mainland China" and for Chiang Kai-shek's rule being imposed there. "Nobody repudiated them—not even the Chairman, Jaya Prakash Narayan," said Mr. Oyangi adding, "We felt this convention could serve no good purpose."

Explaining further their stand on China he said, "We recognise the fact that China is represented by Communist (People's) China and Chiang Kai-shek is a dictator without any support in the people."

Oyangi said that at one stage in the closed sessions he could not help remarking on the attitude of certain delegates that they looked like American or French stooges. Jaya Prakash Narayan was shocked at this remark and his "mood changed completely."

After further elaborating his stand in the question of minorities and how the bill of citizen's rights served the purpose without harming the independence struggle, Oyangi again summed up his impressions of the convention saying: "We have little hope of any good coming from this convention. We have dissociated ourselves from all its activities and we shall not take part in the organisation it has set up."

Both Oyangi and Mukaya said they would do everything to remove any possible misunderstanding that might have been caused by their attending the convention.

—Z. H.