

hob-4
STAT Per

6 JUL 25 1960
Cont. Copy

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VIII, NO. 18 SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1960 25 nP.



At Palam before departure.

CHOU EN-LAI'S ANSWERS

* BY ZIAUL HAQ

New Delhi's Press corps and many foreign Correspondents who had especially flown in to cover Premier Chou En-lai's visit will long remember the Press Conference he held just a few hours before he took off for Kathmandu. Beginning at 10-45 p.m. of April 25, the Press Conference continued till 1-15 a.m. on April 26 and he left later at 8-10 a.m.

Premier Chou En-lai made it perfectly clear right at the beginning that he was prepared to face the worst from the Press provided they were prepared to face him too. "Don't have any fears, that I would only issue a statement and not say anything else to you," he told them. He was willing, he said, "to listen to any questions raised by any of you," and "answer all that I could answer."

"I would also like to ask all of you," said the Chinese Premier addressing himself to the Press, "that all the questions and answers (at this Press Conference) be published in full in your papers too."

"We hold" that these agreements have a positive bearing on the maintenance of tranquillity on the border and on the continued search for avenues to a reasonable settlement."

"So let us have this gentleman's agreement to show our freedom of the Press," he said.

It proceeded to enumerate the six points on which the Chinese Premier said it was his view that "it was not impossible for the two sides to find common points or points of proximity."

At the outset a statement on his behalf was read out summarising the outcome of the talks. The statement acknowledged that "unlike what we expected no agreement has been reached for the settlement of the boundary question." About the agreement on the officials of two sides meeting and about the understanding embodied in the joint communique that "every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas" the Chinese Premier's statement said:

He made it clear that even in regard to these six points "distances" still existed between the Chinese and the Indian Government's standpoint. "However, I am of the opinion," said Chou En-lai, "that as long as both sides continue consultations, it will not be difficult to narrow down and eliminate these distances."

Both in the statement and in answering questions Chou En-lai declared, "There is no basic conflict of interests between our two peoples."

Case On The Border

Answering questions Premier Chou En-lai made it clear that the "bigger dispute" now related to the Western Sector, i.e. the Aksaichin area. Regarding the Eastern Sector he said, "we are willing to maintain the present state of that sector of the boundary. We will not cross that line and in our negotiations with the Indian Government we have never put forward any territorial claims." As for the Middle Sector he said there were disputes only about individual areas.

Elaborating China's case regarding the Western Sector, Chou En-lai showed how the alignment on India's maps had changed several times, "whereas China has always followed a line which appeared our maps in exercising our jurisdiction."

"This sector of the boundary follows the watershed of Karakorum up to Kongka pass. And then southward to the starting point of the Middle Sector of the boundary."

"The area of the north and east of this boundary line has

* SEE PAGE 13

POSITIVE RESULTS

-CPI STATEMENT

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on April 27:

It will be regretted that the recent talks between the Prime Minister of India and the Premier of the People's Republic of China should not have led to a solution of the border problem.

However, these talks, embodying the sincere desire of the people of India and China to find a way to understanding and settlement have undoubtedly been a constructive step and this cannot but prove beneficial to the future course of negotiations.

Even if the discussions between the two Prime Ministers have not succeeded, it is nonetheless happy and rewarding development that the two Governments have decided to continue discussions at the official level.

Whatever the differences, however difficult of solution the problems may seem at the moment, we are confident that peaceful approach and friendly negotiations will ultimately bear fruit. The continuation of the discussions between the officials of the two Governments will, therefore, be wholeheartedly welcomed.

In view of the great role the friendship between India and China can play in the world of today, it is indeed the desire of all peace and freedom-loving humanity that the dispute be speedily brought to an end through friendly discussions.

Equally welcome is the agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and the People's Republic of China that every effort should be made by the two countries to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas.

These are the positive results of the talks and there is no reason, therefore, to think that the negotiations have broken down.

However, there are powerful forces in the country, backed by the reactionary Press who spared no effort to prevent the talks between the two Prime Ministers taking place. At every stage, these forces have sought to bar the

way to peaceful negotiations and have vehemently assailed India's entire policy of peace and friendship among nations. There is no doubt that these reactionaries will again spare no effort to keep up the tension between India and China and oppose every constructive step in the direction of a peaceful settlement.

It will now be the task of all right-minded people to ensure that these reactionary elements do not succeed in their designs. The positive gains of the two Prime Ministers' talks must be carried forward and everything must be done to further improve the atmosphere so that efforts at peaceful solution may progress unhindered.

Assurance To Pressmen

Not only that. The entire proceedings he said would be released by the Chinese news-agency and "all the questions and answers today will be published in our papers." The English weekly Peking Review, too, would carry it in full. Anyone interested could leave his address and he would get a copy of that magazine.



EXIT RHEE

Editorial

THE SOUTH KOREAN people, insulted and enraged, have risen up in stupendous struggle. With slaughter—they have thrown out of office Syngman Rhee, the hated symbol of corruption and ruthless terror. Glory to them!

Rhee is one of the allies of the Western "crusaders for freedom". He is a fit stooge of these rapacious haters and oppressors of the people having hanged and poisoned his political rivals, shot down his people and brought barbarous war to his country.

In the last five years, the United States has pumped 1,500 million dollars into Rhee's treasury to bolster up this "defender of civilisation." To this day the American troops remain on in South Korea. To this day the United States openly rules the roost in South Korea and prevents the peaceful reunification of the country.

It is significant that the demonstrators tried to overturn General MacArthur's statue along with that of Syngman Rhee and wrecked the exhibition on anti-Communism put up by the Americans in Seoul.

Sensing the doom of Rhee and wanting some sort of pacification before Eisenhower arrives on his State visit, the Americans have put up a show of dislike of the fallen dictator. They are working feverishly to instal in his place another of their puppets.

But the South Korean people have risen not only against Rhee but the entire hated system of which he was the crown and apex. They will not allow the U. S. imperialists to impose on them another of their puppets.

We hail the courage and unity of the South Korean people. We bow our heads in reverence before their martyrs. We send them our most ardent wishes and solidarity for the democratic regeneration of their country, for the peaceful unification of their homeland. (April 27)

MAHARASHTRA

* FROM PAGE 2

the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti which became, later on, the organised symbol of the movement, consisted mainly of the forces of the Left and particularly of the working class and the middle class of Bombay City.

Had it not been for this, it would not have been possible for the Samiti to inflict a defeat on the Congress in the elections in 1957. Those elections were a sort of a plebiscite regarding the fate of Bombay City and the demand of Samyukta Maharashtra. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti won the elections and scored a majority of the votes of the people though it did not secure a majority of the seats in the legislature.

Had the peasantry not sided with the Samiti, such a result would have been impossible.

As a result of these elections and the movement that backed them, the Samiti evolved into a popular front in which the leading force was the working class and the peasantry joining hands. The Samiti's successes were due to this single factor that it was the popular front of the democratic masses.

The struggle which laid the foundations of the movement, i.e., the struggles of November 1955 and January 1956 were led by Action Committees formed on an ad hoc basis by trade unions and political parties. This fact has to be noted and has to be remembered. It was after these struggles that people felt the need for having a permanent organisation to lead the struggle in its future stages.

The PSP leadership was opposed to establishing a permanent organisation or a front, following from its notorious "principle" of not joining in a front with the Communists. But their opposition was blown skyhigh by the movement itself. They had to

join in or be wiped out of the scene of the greatest movement in the history of the Maratha people.

They wisely chose to fall in line with the course of history and saved themselves, and at the same time, enabled the Maratha people to build up a unified movement of resistance to the Congress and its inspirers in the financial world of Bombay City.

I am noting down these facts and these features because if one is not familiar with all the events of these years and the forces that led them, one is likely to be misled as to the contents of this movement and the perspectives of the future.

The Samiti that was born out of them also paved the way for bringing about some amount of unity in the working class movement. Some of the old walls that divided the workers blew into various affiliations and loyalties were cracked down and a movement for united trade unions based on the political platform of breakup of the bilingual State and the democratic and economic demands of the working people gathered strength.

The biggest sector of the working class in Bombay namely the textile workers, established a united union, and drew in its fold the majority of the textile workers in Bombay City. This new feature towards unity drew in its fold not only the Marathi-speaking workers but also workers of other States and became in essence a working class movement.

It also showed another phenomenon. The most exploited and downtrodden Scheduled Caste workers who formed quite a large percentage of the working class in Maharashtra had left the fold of Hinduism and embraced Buddhism were also drawn into the movement for Maharashtra and united trade unionism.

The Republican Party

Calcutta By-Election Scene

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

LESS than a week from now polling takes place in the crucial by-election from the South-West Calcutta Parliamentary constituency. One of the stiffest political battles of recent times is raging over this vast area of the city, comprising seven Assembly constituencies and inhabited, according to the latest electoral roll, by 335,472 voters—but, in reality, by about a lakh more.

Although there are three candidates in the field, Communist leader Indrajit Gupta and the nominee of the Congress and the PSP, the real contest is, for all practical purposes, between the Communist Party and the Congress.

Realising the crucial importance of the by-election, the Congress has thrown its entire resources in men and money into the battle.

Chief Minister Dr. E. C. Roy, has already addressed

an election meeting. Deputy Chief Minister P. C. Sen, several Deputy Ministers and a number of Congress MLAs are actively campaigning for their candidate paying particular attention to Metiabruz, a predominantly Muslim area. In Ekbalpur, it organised a secret closed-door meeting of local Muslims, which was addressed by a Muslim League leader from Kerala.

The Congress in its campaign is resorting to utter falsehoods and the vilest slanders against the Communist Party. Special stress is being laid on Communist "treachery" in relation to the India-China border dispute and the "misdeeds" of the Communist Ministry in Kerala and its "rejection" by the people of that State.

The new system of photographing voters has become a big weapon in the hands of the Congress.

FIRST, over a lakh people are being deliberately deprived by this photo-card sys-

CALCUTTA, April 25

tem of their fundamental right to vote, because a more restricted franchise will suit Congress chances better.

SECONDLY, backward sections of voters who have been already photographed are being told by Congress workers that the Congress Government now has their photos, names and addresses and if they vote against the Congress, "pooja arrangements" are there to take steps against them.

The unprincipled character of the Congress campaign can be seen in the fact that they tell Muslim voters that Indrajit Gupta was a member of the Congress Government and that only recently he joined the Communist Party, while to Hindu voters they slander the Communist Party as the "agent of the Muslim League" and Indrajit Gupta as a supporter of the League.

They ask Bengali voters not

* SEE PAGE 13

harashtra State. It has also laid upon the shoulders of Bombay City the burden of financing the deficit of the new Gujarat State which is quite a novel feature. These matters are bound to prove an irritating factor both to Maharashtra and to Gujarat.

I need not recount here the dissatisfaction which Maharashtra is bound to feel on the question of its border areas, the question of the Ukal Dam. However, these do not detract from the fact that now the Maratha people, having a linguistic State of their own, will take to reconstruction of their economy with the strength of the forces that formed such a powerful democratic front as the Samiti.

But, unfortunately, the united forces of the Samiti are threatened with disruption by the PSP which wants to secede on the plea that having realised the main demand, the Samiti no longer need exist.

All the pledges that they had taken on the platform of the Samiti to build a Socialist Maharashtra in a Socialist India are being given the go-by. All the pledges that they had given to the Maratha people to stick to unity and fight for the demands of the people on a united platform are being given the go-by. All this is being done in the name, again, of the notorious "principle" of theirs that they will not join with the Communists in any front.

The Congress leadership is very happy at this turn of events because the alternative vote to the Congress leadership that was born in this movement—the Samiti—is thus being weakened and disrupted by one of the partners in the front.

One need not speculate on the future. It is possible that when the PSP walks out of the Samiti, the other parties in the Samiti will continue to remain in the front and build it on a new basis: build it in order to reconstruct Maharashtra, in order to lead the battles of the tolling masses.

In order to give a clean administration to the State and to cooperate with all forces who would agree to such a programme.

No doubt the Congress has the majority in the new legislature. The Congress Ministry has a Chief Minister who has not a reputation of being an undiluted reactionary. In fact, as a young man, he has a reputation of entertaining progressive views on some matters, though in loyalty to his leadership, he supported the bilingual State in spite of the opposition of the Maratha people.

Bombay's Ministry was so long afflicted by few Ministers, particularly the Labour Minister who did all in his power to smash the working class which was united under the Samiti and preserve and protect the interests of the monopolists. It is now said that in the reconstitution of the Ministry, the gentleman-protector of High Finance may not get the same portfolio as his policies had once brought out a protest general strike in the City of Bombay on July 25, 1958.

If such trends develop further and the Ministry decides to reconstitute itself in a proper way and adopt new attitudes towards the democratic masses in Maharashtra, the struggle of the tolling people for protecting their standards of living and work and building a better life may evoke less suffering than they did in the last five years, though struggles and suffering are inevitable even in this new State whose main social forces are the workers, peasants and the middle classes of Maharashtra.

The celebrations of the new State significantly begin with the birthday of Shivaji, the founder of the first Maratha State and inspirer of the Maratha peasantry, and end with First of May, the International Day of the Working Class—a happy, militant, democratic and Socialist combination of nationalism and internationalism.

April 26

MORE LOYAL THAN THE QUEEN

BOMBAY witnessed a sickening display of totally unnecessary sycophancy on the Queen's birthday. A select audience had gathered at the British Deputy High Commissioner's residence to celebrate the auspicious occasion on April 21. Some African students also mingled with the spick and span Marine Drive millionaires and other gentry.

Then came the time for speeches. Everybody expected the usual pleasant platitudes and flexed their facial muscles to hide the yawns. But as Sri Prakasa, the Bombay Governor, droned on there was quite a bustle of excitement. People began to wonder whether this was 1960 or 1910 and whether it was a Congress Governor or some old Raj Bahadur saying his piece in front of a white District Magistrate.

He began quite promisingly by referring to the decision to bifurcate bilingual Bombay, adding that the unity of India had, above all, to be maintained. Then came the first salvo—"The unity of India, let us not forget, was the creation of the British." One had been brought up to believe that it was the national movement, directed against the British, that was the foundation of national unity. However,

Then another burst of obsequious remarks about the I.C.S. "Whatever we may feel or say about the I. C. S. we cannot deny that they governed us fairly and well." The shades of our martyrs must have wondered what they had sacrificed their lives for.

Following other highly obsequious remarks about the present Queen—"One of the great Queens of English history"—and the new-born royal infant, he delivered his piece de resistance. He said that our freedom itself would never have been possible had it

SCRAP-BOOK

not been for the "liberty-loving" British!

And these great "liberty-lovers," the Bombay Governor concluded by saying, were now leading "country after country to independence." The Indians present might have felt uncomfortable but can you imagine what the Africans present must have felt and thought? What a comedown or rather going back to the earliest Congress Presidential speeches some 90 years ago were almost as servile!

HITLER'S FRIENDS ARRIVE

A NEW danger looms across the Indian horizon. The Moral Re-orientation movement has decided to make a determined bid to entangle itself in our political life.

The MRA has a long record of service to that Power group which is currently the most reactionary and vicious in the world. Its founder, Dr. Frank Buchman, was quite thick with the fascists in the hey-day of their onslaught against humanity. In a burst of rapture he had even declared, "Thank God for Hitler."

During the days of our freedom struggle MRA had hounded the Indian top officials to save their guilty consciences—even some of them had a few pangs at their role as hangers-on of their own people. They were called the "bridge of service" between the rulers and the ruled.

The other effort was to try to emasculate the more prominent among the leaders of the national movement. Gandhiji was polite but soon enough saw their game of trying to make us docile lovers of the British oppressors. Nehru, as reported in his Autobiography, was not so polite and openly proclaimed that the MRA gave him the creeps.

For a time they concentrated their attention on Africa, asking our black brothers to forget the insults heaped on them and to remember that they had to become "morally worthy" if they were to claim their freedom. Despite all their money and the slick shows, MRA was badly bruised and scampered away from a continent awake, with the glint of anger in its eyes.

With the anti-Communist crusade in Kerala and the hate-China campaign, MRA has decided to move in on India. You all remember how Mannam went off for advice and cash to Caux. You must have all now noticed the full-page advertisements in the leading dailies. Although it claims to be inserted by a "group of Indians" isn't it

strange that these gentlemen are so coy as not to reveal their names? Do they exist? And how have they come by their funds?

One reason for doubt as to the Indian origin of the advertisement is the way in which Adenauer has been brought in as the best advertisement for MRA! Any Indian—even bought ones—would have known that this inveterate foe of peace is not held in any particular esteem here.

Another reason is the glib way it talks of building unity between France and Germany—for the atom bomb tests in Sahara, no doubt! No Indian will think of putting this across as an achievement.

Our so-called national Press which gets so worked up about "imported" ideologies has no compunctions in splashing this advertisement which openly proclaims the need for importing the MRA brand of anti-Communism—"India has no ideology," it insultingly declares. You cannot blame them when so much cash is imported along with the trashy ideas.

One way of getting money from MRA is to pray aloud (open confessions is an MRA feature) in the presence of some MRA big-wig that you will fight your desire for money (better still name a specified sum of cash), that you refuse to sin in order to get it. The hint is taken and the cash is delivered. Perhaps, our Press magnates knew about this—and a full-page advertisement is the answer to their greedy prayers.

Let us hope that the Nehru Government, knowing the past and present of this dangerous outfit, will make a probe into this advertisement racket of these moralising monsters.

NEW FINDINGS

AS the New Statesman editor, Kingsley Martin had earned quite a reputation as a pinkish liberal and also as a friend of India. But his latest travels and his jottings aren't going to help that reputation.

He started off by badly letting down his old friend Diwan Chaman Lall by first privately agreeing to come to the Parliamentarians' Convention for Disarmament and then publicly disconnecting from it.

He has followed up this becoming behaviour with a gushing interview with (and about) the Dalai Lama—the "Divine Realist". Throwing aside his scepticism and rationalism, he swallowed all the tales of Chinese "atrocities." The Dalai Lama had "a modest charm that conquers everyone," it seems. In the end "we parted with

real sympathy and understanding." What a fall, even if the Dalai Lama did not even have to stoop to conquer.

Having sympathised with this symbol of the most thoroughly undemocratic theocracy in the world, Kingsley Martin had little difficulty in being in tune with Ayub Khan—"A Commonsense Dictator." He was quite charmed and thrilled with all that he saw and heard in Martial Law Land. "Dictatorship, of course; but dictatorship at its most constructive, least repressive and most polite." This at a time

when the Chief Justice of Pakistan had made his courageous strictures on the regime.

He was also, in the end, convinced that some variant of the joint Indo-Pak-Defence Pact (condominium) would solve all problems, including the Kashmir dispute—exactly as the American imperialists and the Swatantraites have been saying.

It is sad to see a personality in decline giving in to the latest quackeries, if embellished with an anti-Communist daub or two. If "Critic" abandons his critical sense in a particular direction, we are not so much dismayed as saddened. We had hoped for better things. But new findings are good for all.

—OVLOOKER

April 25.

NORTHERN RAILWAY Concessional Return Tickets To Hill Stations AT 1/2 FARES for First, Second and Third Classes

Period of issue	1st April, 1960 to 31st October, 1960.
Period of Currency	3 months.
Minimum distance Chargeable:	150 miles.
Hill stations for which concession is available.	Fathankot, Simla, Solan, Dharampur (Punjab), Dehradun, Kathgodam, Darjeeling, Kurseong, Shillong, Abu Road, Pipariya, Ootacamund, Coonoor, Kodakalanaul Out agency served by Kodakalanaul Road and Kotagiri Out agency served by Mettupalayam. In case of the last two Out agencies: at 1/2 single journey fares for the rail portion plus two single journey fares for the road portion.
These are issued from a few selected stations on Northern Railway. Over the rail portion, 1-1/3 fares are charged for first, and second class and 1/2 fares for third class.	

SPECIAL CONDITIONS

Break of Journey: Not allowed on outward journey, but allowed on return journey, subject to normal rules. In case journey is broken on outward trip, concession will be forfeited and penalty charged.

Reservation: Reservation for the return journey will be made by the Station Master of the Hill Station for the entire journey. No reservation will be made at stations en route.

Dating of Return Halves: The ticket must be got dated and stamped by the station master of the Hill station falling which it will be invalid.

FURTHER DETAILS CAN BE HAD FROM THE NEAREST STATION MASTER.

CHIEF COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT



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

Phone: 25794
Telegraphic Address: MARKBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.
FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.

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

MAY 1, 1960

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

IN CONAKRY, PLEDGE FOR FREEDOM, UNITY AND SOLIDARITY

The Second Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference closed in Conakry on April 15 after five days of plenary and committee discussions. The Conference, attended by seventy-two delegations and observers' delegations, passed a declaration and resolutions on political, economic, social and cultural matters, including those on unity and solidarity, imperialism and colonialism, peaceful coexistence and disarmament, on atomic weapons and their tests, and on Algeria.

SPEAKING on behalf of African delegations, Algerian delegate Fanon said that all resolutions passed by the Conference demonstrated the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. "The Conference," he added, "has given us greater strength and confidence in fighting our common enemy. We shall not stop our struggle until our objective—Independence and freedom—is achieved."

Against War Manoeuvres

On behalf of the Asian delegations, Japanese delegate Masaharu Hatanaka said that the spirit of solidarity has been predominant throughout the Conference which, he said, was the main power of our success. He condemned imperialist war preparations and pledged to fight these war manoeuvres steadfastly.

The Conference elected a Steering Committee of the Organisation of Afro-Asian Solidarity, which included representatives from Algeria,

China, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Congo, Guinea, India, Japan, the Camerons, the USSR, the Vietnam Democratic Republic, Yemen and Indonesia. The Chairman of the Conference, the Guinea Minister of Public Works, then announced the conclusion of the Conference amidst cheers and shouting of the slogans, "Freedom" and "Independence."

Delegations to the Conference included those from Aden, Algeria, Angola, Basutoland, the USSR, China, Somaliland, Ghana, the Mali Federation, Iraq, Pakistan, Indonesia, India, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Vietnam Democratic Republic, the Korean Democratic Republic, Japan, Guinea, Mauritania, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Libya, the United Arab Republic, Lebanon, South and North Rhodesia, the Camerons, Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, Liberia, Zanzibar, Yemen, Kenya and other Asian and African countries.

A mass rally attended by tens of thousands of people was held on April 15 to celebrate the success of the Conference. The rally took place

in front of the Conference hall. Colourful flags and national flags of the Afro-Asian countries, which had sent delegations to the Conference, flew in the breeze. Big banners inscribed with the slogans, "Long Live Afro-Asian Solidarity!" "Down with Imperialism and Colonialism!" hung over the streets.

Rally And Celebrations

Hours before the rally huge crowds had already gathered in the pavements and streets, singing, dancing and cheering. The delegates and observers from about seventy Afro-Asian countries joined in the celebration.

In a speech delivered at the rally President Sekou Toure congratulated the delegates on the success of the Conference. He said that he was convinced that the resolutions unanimously adopted at the Conference were in conformity with the interests of the Afro-Asian peoples. Their implementation would bring a radical change to the situation in Africa and Asia.

He added that since resolutions had been adopted, action would be of greater importance in future. He stressed that problems of Asia and Africa could not be separated. Their common aims were independence and freedom, solidarity and unity. He

* SEE FACING PAGE

KHRUSHCHOV'S MESSAGE

"Wishes Success In Struggle For Liquidation Of Colonialism"

ON behalf of the Soviet people and on my own behalf, I cordially greet the delegates to the Second Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference who have gathered in Conakry, the capital of the young Republic of Guinea.

Like the previous conferences in Delhi, Cairo, Accra and Tunis, this Conference is another step forward in the struggle waged by the peoples of Africa and Asia against the shameful system of colonialism, for the complete liberation of the entire African continent from foreign domination, for the right of all nations in the world to build and develop their national Statehood, economy and culture, and to be equal participants of the peaceful progress of mankind.

The Soviet people are following with invariable sympathy the successes of the just and noble struggle waged by the peoples of Africa and Asia and sincerely rejoicing at the great creative work now in progress in the already independent Afro-Asian countries. The poverty, destitution and backwardness into which the peoples have been plunged by the long rule of colonialists must be done away with once and for all. In the great undertaking of the revival and development of national economies and cultures as well as in their struggle for freedom, all Afro-Asian peoples have in the Soviet Union a true and loyal friend ever ready to extend a helping and selfless hand.

I warmly wish the Conference successfully to accomplish the tasks facing it in the struggle for the final liquidation of the shameful system of colonialism, for the revival and prosperity of all Afro-Asian peoples.

With hearty greetings,
N. KHRUSHCHOV

MADHYA PRADESH CEILING BILL

New Age readers are aware of the farce enacted by various State Congress Governments in the name of imposing ceiling on landholdings. Here is one more instance, this time produced by the Congress Ministry of Madhya Pradesh in the name of The M.P. Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings Bill, 1959, passed in the last Budget Session of the Assembly and now awaiting consent of the President.

THIS Bill, though it claims credit for providing "for a more equitable distribution of land" and promoting "the economic and social interest of the weaker section of the community," will make little change in the land relations existing in the State.

Standard Acre

The "standard acre" is taken as the basis for fixing ceiling and the standard acre has been defined as an acre of perennially irrigated land or two acres of seasonally irrigated land or three acres of dry land. "Perennially" irrigated land means land which receives water for more than one crop in an agricultural year from any source of irrigation belonging to the Government. Seasonally irrigated land means land which receives or had received water for not more than one crop in each of at least two agricultural years during five years immediately preceding the date of the commencement of this Act from any source of irrigation belonging to the Government.

According to Section 7 of the Bill, no holder is entitled to hold land in excess of 28 standard acres. But if the holder has any of his heirs as (i) son, grandson, great grandson, (ii) widow of a son, grandson or great grandson, (iii) unmarried daughter, unmarried daughter of a son or a grandson, (iv) unmarried sister—all of whom do not hold any land in their own right and are dependent on him, such a holder is entitled to hold land in excess of 28 standard acres to the extent of five standard acres per each such heir not exceeding 53 standard acres in the aggregate.

In other words a holder can hold 53 acres of perennially irrigated or 106 acres of seasonally irrigated or 159 unirrigated acres of land. But this is not the worst part of the Bill's provisions. The real face of this

simple looking 28 acres ceiling can only be seen when one reads the definition of the holder as given in Section 6 of the Bill.

This definition says:

(i) "where certain land is held by two or more holders jointly or as tenants-in-common, the area of land corresponding to the interest of each holder on the appointed day shall be deemed to be held by such holder."

(ii) "where land is held by a joint Hindu family, each member of such family who is entitled to share in the joint family property shall be deemed to hold an area of such land proportionate to his share in the property to which he would be entitled if a partition were to take place on the appointed day."

As is clear, the family is not taken as basis for ceiling, but

ANOTHER LAND REFORM FARCE

By HAR NARAYAN UPADHYAYA
SECRETARY, MADHYAPRADESH KISAN SABHA

of the purview of this ceiling provision. This ceiling limit becomes all the more a farce when one looks at the present land relations in Madhya Pradesh. According to the 1951 census, there were 40 lakh landless agricultural labourers in the State, and their number would be about 50 lakhs now. Taking a family to consist of five members, these ten lakh families along with poor peasants having uneconomic tiny plots up to two acres would constitute at least 25 lakh families, who need to be given some land if land reform is to mean anything. But not even 25 per cent of these landless labourers and poor peasants will get any land through the present legislation.

Secondly, the definition of standard acre is very defective, based as it is on perennially or seasonally irrigated land, which receives "water from any source of irrigation belonging to the Government." It means the ceiling area of a holder holding perennially or seasonally irrigated land from Government source will be 28 acres or 56 acres respectively, while that of a holder holding perennially or seasonally irrigated land receiving water from his private source will be 84 acres. This definition will benefit only the big landlords because it is they who generally own private sources of irrigation.

Thirdly, as many as sixteen categories of land have been exempted from ceiling including such lands as used for sugar-cane farms, orchards, mango groves, specialised farms (for cattle-breeding and similar purposes of animal husbandry), efficiently managed farms, which may be mechanised or otherwise. Thus, it is obvious that full use of these exemptions will be made by the vested interests in land to evade the ceiling.

Foreign Aid

Referring to the two kinds of foreign aids given to the Afro-Asian countries, it says that one type of aid coming mainly from industrially developed countries seems to aim at keeping our Afro-Asian countries as mainly agricultural and raw material producers and hampers our industrialisation. Such aid becomes means of solving economic problems of developed countries at our expense and seeks to shift economic hardships of the great Powers on our shoulders. As against this, disinterested aid from friendly and anti-imperialist countries helps our industrialisation, helps us to make maximum use of our internal resources.

It says that the Conference declares that this new type of relationship which is fast growing between the Afro-Asian and anti-imperialist States is a source of strength and confidence to us and strengthens us in the task of achieving our economic independence.

It says that the World Bank is unwilling to help readily the infant economies of the underdeveloped countries and the Conference wishes to register its strong protest against the activities of the Bank which has repeatedly supported the most infamous projects of imperialist exploitation.

It says that the Conference decides to establish a permanent committee for the purpose of studying Afro-Asian economic problems, disseminating documents on the subject and prepare for an Afro-Asian Planning Conference.

of the purview of this ceiling provision.

This ceiling limit becomes all the more a farce when one looks at the present land relations in Madhya Pradesh. According to the 1951 census, there were 40 lakh landless agricultural labourers in the State, and their number would be about 50 lakhs now. Taking a family to consist of five members, these ten lakh families along with poor peasants having uneconomic tiny plots up to two acres would constitute at least 25 lakh families, who need to be given some land if land reform is to mean anything. But not even 25 per cent of these landless labourers and poor peasants will get any land through the present legislation.

Secondly, the definition of standard acre is very defective, based as it is on perennially or seasonally irrigated land, which receives "water from any source of irrigation belonging to the Government." It means the ceiling area of a holder holding perennially or seasonally irrigated land from Government source will be 28 acres or 56 acres respectively, while that of a holder holding perennially or seasonally irrigated land receiving water from his private source will be 84 acres. This definition will benefit only the big landlords because it is they who generally own private sources of irrigation.

Thirdly, as many as sixteen categories of land have been exempted from ceiling including such lands as used for sugar-cane farms, orchards, mango groves, specialised farms (for cattle-breeding and similar purposes of animal husbandry), efficiently managed farms, which may be mechanised or otherwise. Thus, it is obvious that full use of these exemptions will be made by the vested interests in land to evade the ceiling.

It says that the Conference declares that this new type of relationship which is fast growing between the Afro-Asian and anti-imperialist States is a source of strength and confidence to us and strengthens us in the task of achieving our economic independence.

Partitions And Transfers

And finally, instead of effectively checking false partitions and transfers, now being carried on by big landowners and already made in previous years, the Bill gives two years' additional time to landlords to carry on such transfers and partitions for evading the law, by shifting the "appointed day" from the date of the enforcement of the Act to a date "immediately following the date on which the period of two years from the commencement of the Act expires."

One could not expect a better legislation from the Madhya Pradesh Congress Cabinet and Legislature Party packed with former Rajas, Ranis and all sorts of feudal elements. It was rightly described by Homi Daji, Communist MLA, "as a Bill for de-communiting" because it has removed even the ceiling limit of 50 acres of the old Madhya Bharat Land Revenue and Tenancy Act.

afro-asian solidarity meet

* FROM FACING PAGE

said that relying upon the strength and solidarity of the people, imperialism could be wiped out.

Economic Resolution

THE economic resolution adopted by the Second Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference declares that economic independence alone will enable the Afro-Asian countries to successfully resist the imperialist intrigues.

It says that the Conference, therefore, declares that the struggle for full economic independence is today a cardinal task of the countries of Africa and Asia which have won political independence.

The economic resolution says that the Conference would again emphasise that we Afro-Asian peoples cannot regard our struggle for independence as complete unless we abolish the economic inequality and build up a sound and independent economy.

The resolution says that with a view to achieving economic independence for the Afro-Asian countries, the Conference urges:

To unite the efforts of the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle against imperialism, to energetically support the steps for general disarmament and to strive for elimination of foreign control over the economies of the Afro-Asian countries;

To reiterate the building up of their own economies to the utmost by their own efforts and by intensifying cooperation and mutual assistance among the Afro-Asian countries;

To take measures for advancing agriculture and improving the living conditions of the peasants, taking as main steps, land reforms, the development of cooperatives

and the use of modern implements;

To support the national Governments which plan to develop the State sector of economy and national planning as important means for accelerating economic progress;

To develop to the utmost cooperation of the Afro-Asian countries in the interests of winning the position of equality on the world market;

To extend relations with industrially developed countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs; and

To resolutely combat any attempt to utilise economic and technical cooperation for political and military purposes.

It notes with satisfaction the concrete development of the Bandung spirit for close Afro-Asian economic and commercial cooperation and is gratified to note the determined efforts which are being made by the liberated countries in Africa and Asia to rehabilitate their economy ravaged by imperialist plunder.

Heavy Millstone

The resolution says that the Conference is of the opinion that the baneful heritage of the colonial period is still weighing on Afro-Asian countries like a heavy millstone. Afro-Asian economies remain one-sided and continue to be based on raw material exports.

Foreign capital still possesses powerful positions in the economy of many Afro-Asian countries, the resolution continues.

Well aware of the fact that Afro-Asian countries are out to restore full mastery over their wealth and resources, the imperialists and colonial

Powers are joining hands in close collusion to defeat our efforts and to ensure that countries of Africa and Asia continue to remain as raw material appendages to their home industry and economy.

The European Common Market, International Development Association and the United States Dillon Plan for the aggressive NATO alliance are all aimed at maintaining Afro-Asian economies as raw material producers and for enriching colonialist Powers at our cost, says the resolution. It continues that the Conference would like to alert the Afro-Asian countries of this new danger of collective imperialism which considers the developing economies of the Afro-Asian countries a threat to Western exporters.

It notes with satisfaction the concrete development of the Bandung spirit for close Afro-Asian economic and commercial cooperation and is gratified to note the determined efforts which are being made by the liberated countries in Africa and Asia to rehabilitate their economy ravaged by imperialist plunder.

Objective Is Profit

The objective of this imperialism or neo-colonialism is profit and it seeks control over our wealth, says the resolution. Therefore, the Conference holds that unless Afro-Asian countries vigilantly intensify their efforts to achieve economic independence, our newly won independence may be jeopardised, the resolution goes on.

The resolution says that the Conference reiterates the Cairo Conference resolution that we have no objection to investments of foreign capital and foreign loans, provided that they are not subject to political conditions or special privileges.

It says that noting the fact that foreign capital investments in Afro-Asian countries have often tried to usurp our sovereign rights, this Conference advances and supports the demand for nationalisation of foreign capital in all cases, as it is the only means to counter unyielding

Peoples of Africa and Asia Declare...

THE Declaration issued by the Second Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference reads in full as follows:

The peoples of Africa and Asia, whose representatives have gathered here in this Second Conference at Conakry from April 11 to 15, declare our firm confidence in our moral and spiritual strength arising from our solidarity and our determination to continue unceasingly the struggle for our national independence.

No imperialist machinations can destroy the unity of the African and Asian peoples in the struggle for national independence, freedom and progress. At this vital juncture in world history, we proclaim our unshakable resolve to play our positive and decisive role in shaping the destiny of the world, of which we constitute the majority, taking mankind along the high road of independence, liberty, prosperity and peace putting an end to co-

lonialism and imperialism which have brought about injustice, destitution and ruin.

The peoples of Africa and Asia have chosen their way to the realisation of these aims, a way which is clear and precise. The first step along this way is the achievement of national independence. We are determined to destroy all obstacles along this road of freedom and ensure that there shall never be return to the past.

The Second Conference hereby reaffirms its adherence to the great spirit of Bandung and reiterates here the ten principles of Bandung:

FIRST, respect for the fundamental rights of man and principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

SECOND, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

FOURTH, abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

FIFTH, respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

SIXTH, (a) abstention from use of arrangements of collective defence to serve particular interests of any of the big Powers; (b) abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

SEVEN, refraining from acts or threats of aggression or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

EIGHTH, settlement of all international disputes by peaceful methods such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the

United Nations.

NINTH, the promotion of cultural interests and cooperation.

TENTH, the respect for justice and international obligations.

We extend our hands of friendship to all men. Nevertheless, long and bitter experiences have taught us to discern our friends from our foes.

We, peoples of Africa and Asia, declare that we shall never at any price permit our national independence to be made a matter of bargaining. The heroic resistance of the Algerian people is a most eloquent example of this.

National independence implies the fullest control of our own rich resources and potentialities and an end to their exploitation by foreigners and a handful of monopolists. It means an end of domination of colonialism over the Afro-Asian peoples, an end to misery, discrimination and poverty and the beginning

of a period of equality for all.

Our struggle for independence and prosperity is at the same time a struggle for world peace. The Afro-Asian peoples, who stand out as a solid force for peace will fight with all our might and resources against military pacts, alignments and all other efforts which seek to destroy through a nuclear holocaust, all that the genius of man has created for the well-being and prosperity of peoples.

We have faith in the future of humanity. We have faith in the intelligence and wisdom of mankind. We are confident that a great era of peace and progress for humanity shall dawn despite all obstacles. In realisation of this new era of fraternity and peace the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples in the struggle against imperialism and for the building of a new world shall play a more and more decisive role.

a day that began with the workers' blood that flowed in Chicago

MAY DAY—the international holiday of the workers of all lands—symbol of worldwide struggle, was itself born out of grim battle. It is not always remembered that this day of celebration and pledge grew up out of the furious strife between the workers and capitalists in the United States of America.

The struggles which directly gave birth to May Day were initiated in the United States in 1884 in the movement for the eight-hour day. The decision for the eight-hour day had been made by the National Labour Union in August 1866. In September of the same year, the Geneva Congress of the First International went on record for the same demand.

This movement around the demand began to gather momentum and found sharp expression in the clarion call given by the American Federation of Labour at its Fourth Convention in October 1894.

Although nothing was said in the resolution about the methods of struggle to win this demand, it was clear that a nationwide strike was contemplated.

At the Convention in the following year, it was finally decided that on May 1, 1886, there would be a walk-out by all the workers the American Federation of Labour was able to contact and organise.

The Federation, first to inaugurate the movement and definitely to set a date for the strike for the eight-hour day, grew tremendously in numbers and prestige. Eight-hour leagues and associations sprang up in various cities and an inspiring militant spirit swiftly spread among the vast masses of the workers.

Not only were the workers preparing for action on May 1, 1886, but in 1895 itself there was an upsurge of strike actions.

The heart of the strike movement was in Chicago but New York, Detroit, Washington, Pittsburgh and other cities also saw determined action by the workers. The spirit of rebellion and feeling of solidarity of all workers were abroad in the land.

On May 1, 1886, the strike was most aggressive in Chicago, which at that time was the centre of a militant Left-wing labour movement. On that day the city witnessed a great outpouring of workers, who laid down tools at the call of the organised labour movement in the city.

The employers and their Government took alarm and hastened to deal what they hoped was a death-blow to the incipient workers' movement. They began with a provocative and brutal police attack on a meeting of striking workers at the McCormick Reaper Works, where six workers were killed and many wounded.

The next day, a meeting was held by the workers at Haymarket Square to protest against this unprovoked attack. The meeting was completely peaceful and about to disperse when the police suddenly launched an attack. A bomb was thrown into the crowd, killing a sergeant.

Thereupon the police unleashed an orgy of violence and a regular bloodbath ensued. Militant leaders of the Chicago workers were arrested and on framed charges four of them were sent to their death. This was the signal for an all-out offensive by the employers.

The workers rose up manfully to meet this attack and, in 1888, the American Federation of Labour voted to rejuvenate the movement for the eight-hour day and May First was again chosen as the day on which to inaugurate the struggle. It was decided that on May 1, 1890, would witness again a nationwide strike for a shorter work day.

On July 14, 1889—the centenary of the Great French Revolution—the founding Congress of the Second International assembled in Paris. Inspired by the example of the American workers, the Paris Congress issued the following call:

"The Congress decides to organise a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities, on the appointed day, the toiling masses shall demand of the State authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of other decisions of the Paris Congress. Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its Convention in St. Louis, December, 1888, this day is accepted for the international demonstration."

Thus was May Day born. And since that time some 70 years ago, the workers have marched with firm and united tread throughout the world to demonstrate that they are the force of renewal of life, that they are the spring of Man's history.

MAY DAY, 1960

message from WFTU

UNDER the symbol of unity and international workers' solidarity, May Day, 1960, will mark a new and favourable stage in your long and bitter struggle for a lasting peace, the ending of colonialism and for better living and working conditions.

You will welcome with satisfaction the first steps made towards a relaxation of international tension to which your campaigns in recent years have greatly contributed.

While deploring the intrigues and obstructions by those political circles and armaments monopolies who are still anxious to continue the cold war, you will make known your desire for a successful conclusion of the Summit talks and the negotiations on the plan for universal and complete disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union. The application of this plan would make it possible to bring about a definite improvement in the conditions of the labouring masses.

In this year of African independence, you will hail the victories won by the peoples against colonialism which is tottering to its end. You will express stronger solidarity with the suffering workers of Algeria, the Union of South Africa and all other territories still in shackles.

Together you will celebrate the consistent and magnificent economic, social and scientific successes won by the workers in the Socialist countries which open up splendid perspectives for unlimited social and human progress.

Together you will seek ways and means of strengthening your unity and solidarity in the unparalleled struggle which the working class is conducting against the economic offensive of the monopolies and their repeated attacks against your trade union liberties and social amenities which you have won at great cost.

Under the banner of proletarian internationalism, increase your victories for peaceful construction and

In the Socialist countries, for the fulfilment of your magnificent Plans which are continuously raising your living standards and which are giving invaluable encouragement to your brothers and sisters in those countries still fighting exploitation and colonialism.

Increase fraternal exchanges of delegations, contacts and agreements between your organisations of all shades of opinion, make further progress towards the essential trade union unity which you forged 15 years ago by forming the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Under the banners of May Day, build Unity and Solidarity for universal

and complete disarmament to free the world from wars and military budgets and improve the conditions of the people, for the final defeat of colonialism and independence of the peoples!

Unity and action for higher wages and shorter hours of work without loss of pay, for the right to work and the protection of jobs and of the unemployed, for the defence and extension of trade union rights.

LONG LIVE LABOUR DAY AND PEACE!

LONG LIVE MAY DAY!

LONG LIVE UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' SOLIDARITY!

YEAR OF STRUGGLES

January 6: All the 1,300 workers of AID Ltd., Shyamnagar, W. Bengal, struck work to protest against the management's recruiting policy. The management declared a lock-out which was lifted in March. Total mandays lost: 80,600.

January 15-31: 1,800 workers of Simon Carves Ltd., Durgapur Steel Project, Burdwan, struck work demanding increase in wages. Mandays lost: 27,000.

January 16: 47 workers in the Nundydroog Mine (Kolar Goldfields), Mysore, struck work demanding lay-off compensation. The management declared a lock-out from January 19, affecting 4,349 workers. The lock-out was lifted on January 27 as a result of mutual discussions. Approximately 30,000 mandays lost.

January 22: Six-hour token strike of more than 8,000 employees in 21 different hospitals in W. Bengal to press for increased wages, revision of pay scales, etc.

January 23-31: More than 10,000 workers of Dalmia Cement Factory struck work, demanding bonus and increase in wages. Mandays lost: 10,280.

January 31: Strike began of 3,400 workers engaged in the Ganga Bridge Project, Hathidih, Patna for alternate work for surplus workers after completion of the project, 44,200 mandays lost.

February 2: 1,180 workers of Raza Sugar Co. Ltd., and 1,082 workers of Buland Sugar Co. Ltd., both in Rampur, struck work, demanding

among others, the withdrawal of the cut in holidays which the INTUC union had agreed to by a backdoor agreement with the employers. On February 4, the management declared lock-out, which was lifted on February 26, but the strike continued till March. The time loss estimated at 35,712 and 37,492 mandays respectively.

February 8: Nearly 4,500 tannery workers in Ranipet (Madras State) struck in sympathy with their union President who was convicted.

March 2: Post and Telegraph employees all over India observed "Pay Strike" by refusing to accept their pay, protesting against the failure of the Government to award a second instalment in interim relief, early publication of Pay Commission's Report and withdrawal of Rules 4(a) and (b) of Service Conduct Rules.

March 4: Over 8,000 workers in 14 beet manufacturing establishments in North Arcot District, Madras State, struck work demanding increased wages.

March 11: Motor transport workers of Ajmer District in Rajasthan observed a token strike, protesting against police and owner ill-treatment and harassment and against the delay in granting increased wages, D.A., etc.

March 16-31: 1600 workers of Bhagaband Colliery, Dhanbad, struck work demanding assurances against deduction of tubs at the pit top, 22,400 mandays lost.

March 19: About 3,000 domestic workers of Delhi ob-

For workers in all industries and middle class employees, the period since last May Day has been one of struggles to protect their rights and meagre standards. Here we give a diary of strikes and actions, by no means exhaustive.

served a token strike. Their demand: legislation regarding working hours, minimum wage, etc.

March 19: More than 600 workers of Brajpur and Bichalkar mines in Bihar on strike demanding increase in wages and profit-sharing bonus, reinstatement of victimised workers, etc. The strike was called off on May 24, following a settlement.

March 19: 472 trained and skilled technicians of Hindustan Steel, Rourkela, on strike demanding revision of pay scales.

March 20: Over 20,000 employees of 86 municipalities throughout West Bengal observed a one-day strike to protest against non-implementation of recommendations of the Minimum Wage Advisory Committee.

March 20: Nearly 1,300 workers of the Andhra Cement Company, Vijayawada, struck protesting against retrenchment of 314 workers. Strike called off on April 16, when dispute was referred to adjudication.

March 23: Workers of Kirken Colliery and New Marine Colliery in Bihar, went on strike protesting against violation of statutory provisions and victimisation of workers. New Marine Colliery strike called off on May 6,

mill. On April 24, the management declared a lock-out.

April 18: 169 workers in Valkuntam Rubber Estate, Marthandom (Madras State), went on a one-day strike, protesting against introduction of contract system in field work.

April 20: 1,030 workers employed by the Salt Merchants and Dealers' Association, Morwa (Bombay), went on strike demanding increase in pay and bonus for the years 1956-57 and 1957-58.

April 21-28: About 3,000 workers of Chinese Tanneries, Dhapa and Tangara, Calcutta, struck work over non-implementation of minimum wages. Strike terminated through direct negotiations.

April 27: 700 employees of Express Newspapers (P) Ltd., Madras, went on strike, protesting against transfer of printing and publication of Andhra Prabha from Madras to Vijayawada and move to shift machinery. Management declared lock-out the same day.

April 6-16: About 1,300 workers in Century Rayon Mills, Bombay, went on strike, demanding reinstatement of eight victimised workers.

April 7-9: 2,150 workers in the Mahalakshmi Mills, Bhavnagar, went on strike, demanding 14 festival pay for all workers.

April 10: 543 workers of Jafab Rayon Industries, Bombay, went on strike, demanding reinstatement of 13 discharged workers; 120 workers were arrested for demonstrating in front of the



Pictures here are of the Italian Seamen's strike (above) and of workers in the Galileo Plant in Italy during their strike against dismissals. Such big working class actions have taken place in all parts of the world since May Day last year. Due to reasons of space we have not been able to list them all here.

actions abroad

ONE of the biggest struggles waged during last year by workers in different countries, was the eight-month strike of the five lakh U.S. steel workers, which ended on January 4 this year, in success for the workers.

The agreement ultimately reached between the United Steel Workers and representatives of the eleven biggest U.S. steel companies, shows that the monopolies have failed to implement their anti-labour policy, and the U.S. steel workers and their unions have emerged stronger from this trial of strength.

The steel monopolies wanted to bring the unions to heel. They did not succeed, and were even compelled to abandon many of their intentions. Contrary to what they intended, they were forced to negotiate with the union, to take into consideration seriously the legitimate demands of the workers and to concede a large part of them.

U. K.
For nearly two months 100,000 British printing trade workers waged a

sharp struggle with their employers in support of their demand for a 40-hour working week and a ten per cent wage increase.

The outcome has been a return to work under an agreement that reduces the working week from 43½ hours to 42 hours and increase wages by 4½ per cent.

These gains were achieved in face of the employers' initial stubborn refusal to concede anything at all.

Belgium
Touched off by the February 9 decision of the National Coal Board to close down general pits and to dismiss about 7,000 miners, a powerful strike movement had swept over Belgium last year, involving more than 250,000 workers.

Throughout the campaign, the miners and the workers, their wives and the entire mining population, particularly the tradesmen who closed their shops in sign of solidarity, showed great courage and an exemplary fighting spirit. The main target of the

campaign was to prevent the closing of mines and dismissals. In 1959, the workers further demanded a re-examination of the coal problem as a whole, structural reforms in the coal concerns, no more foreign coal imports, rationalisation of the mines and rejection of the EEC (European Coal and Steel Community) demands.

Italy
The greatest strike in the history of Italian shipping took place between June 6 and July 18, 1959.

The major demand advanced by the seamen was a substantial wage-increase and the normalisation of the section of the collective agreement governing labour relations.

This struggle and its results are considered as a substantial contribution to the campaign all Italian workers are waging at the moment to protect the trade unions' power to negotiate and its right to take advantage of all means guaranteed by the constitution when defending their living and working conditions.



TOGLIATTI REPORTS...

Since February 1960, Italy has been in the grip of a Governmental crisis, which till today has not been resolved. The ruling Christian Democratic Party bent on maintaining its political monopoly of power is itself in a crisis. In his speech to the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, P. Togliatti analyses the situation:

WE are facing a very confused political situation, particularly with regard to the problem of the Government, of the crisis and of the formation of a new Government. It is a situation filled with danger....

The problem of the positions of bourgeois groups has been presented as something new, and it has been asked whether a split exists today among them. But this is not a new problem. Traditionally, a differentiation in the political position of the Italian bourgeois groups has been existing for quite some time and exactly on the lines along which it has been taking shape in the last weeks....

Two New Elements

Today, though, we must take into account two new elements which did not exist to the same extent and did not act in the same way in the past.

The first of these is anti-Communism, which is common to Salvatorelli and to Missioli, and which is still an element of unity of the bourgeois forces.

The second element of unity not existing in the past, is the position assumed in the Italian political scene by the Catholic Church, which has become the great organisation providing the basis for the unity of the bourgeois ruling classes in their resistance to the toiling masses, to the Socialist and Communist Parties, to all significant democratic forces.

These two elements tend to make the different groups of the bourgeoisie overcome the existing differentiations among them. These differences, nevertheless, do exist. But can we speak already of an actual split? I believe that it might not be right to use this term at present. However, a differentiation does exist, which might certainly widen according to the way in which the mass movement will develop, and how we shall intervene in the situation.

The political situation, I repeat, is confused and full of danger. It was correct to say, as we said, that we are facing an attack coming from the most reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie, and that this attack is the answer to, or an attempt to answer, the slow leftward shift of the toiling masses, of public opinion, of the working class and of middle class strata.

Complex Process

A complex process of action and reaction is going on, then, in which it would be a mistake to stress one of these aspects alone forgetting the close relation existing between the

two of them. It is difficult, therefore, to foresee future developments, unless on very broad lines....

Our position as regards the danger of this situation is clear. I do not consider that an analogy exists between the present situation and that immediately preceding the advent of fascism to power, that is to say the 1922 situation.

Difference With 1920-22

The 1920-22 situation was characterised by the existence of squadristism, that is to say by the spread of an illegal movement, organised and armed and bent on violence, which trampled not merely on the constitutional order but on the elementary liberties of the citizens.

The development of such a movement was possible owing to precise political causes: the working class had suffered a heavy defeat at a time when it had launched a frontal attack, an ill-directed and

confused attack against the bourgeois fortress; an effective policy of the working class parties was lacking and as a result the organised force of the working class and of the toiling masses was dispersed and the fascist armed movement succeeded in defeating it almost totally.

But this is not all. The urban middle class strata were orientated towards the big bourgeoisie, its slogans and its themes of agitation. All this made possible the merging of squadristism and the advent of fascism to power. Which of these objective factors, preceding immediately the fascist advent to power, exist today? A comparison will show that there is no analogy in this situation.

Alignment Of Forces

It is quite true that in the leading groups of the Right wing of the big bourgeoisie, in the clerical field and among Church hierarchies, there is the intention, declared or not, to achieve a deep modification of the Italian political order in a reactionary sense, both by denying the equality of citizens by the Constitution.

On the other hand,

News from brother parties

though, there is the fighting potential and the capacity of democratic struggle of the working class and of the vanguard sections of the toiling masses and, moreover, the tendency of the urban and rural middle class strata to shift, albeit amidst contrasts and difficulties, towards positions which are shared by the most advanced groups of democracy, by the Communist and Socialist Parties, by the consistent democratic forces.

What objectives are being pursued by those who, spreading confusion, wage a campaign against the so-called "parliamentary" campaign of denigration of the current political order, a campaign in which the starting point is the denunciation of the faults, deceptions and evils of the Christian Democratic regime, without linking them, though, to their true origin? What is all this leading up to?

The purpose of this manoeuvre is to wear down the potential of resistance and of democratic struggle existing in the broad masses, that is on the urban and rural middle class strata.

Gravest Danger

Here lies, in my opinion, the gravest danger, namely that through a series of episodes, purposely brought about and handled, an attempt is made at discredit-

ing the democratic parliamentary regime as a whole and the entire political life as it has developed since the Liberation to the present day, and thus at wearing down the democratic spirit of the working people, and at opening the way to reactionary adventures.

This might even happen without the intervention of a fascist armed movement on the scene, if the result was successfully achieved of tiring and demoralising a significant section of the Italian population. The tendency itself to further the Governmental crisis contains, in my opinion, some danger in this sense.

The people in seeing that time is passing, without a Government being formed, without a new executive being set up, might be led to the dangerous road of political scepticism and reactionary denial of democratic institutions, of the abandonment of democratic struggle, of weariness or even of mere indifference towards the future and the events of the political struggle.

ing the democratic parliamentary regime as a whole and the entire political life as it has developed since the Liberation to the present day, and thus at wearing down the democratic spirit of the working people, and at opening the way to reactionary adventures.

This might even happen without the intervention of a fascist armed movement on the scene, if the result was successfully achieved of tiring and demoralising a significant section of the Italian population. The tendency itself to further the Governmental crisis contains, in my opinion, some danger in this sense.

The people in seeing that time is passing, without a Government being formed, without a new executive being set up, might be led to the dangerous road of political scepticism and reactionary denial of democratic institutions, of the abandonment of democratic struggle, of weariness or even of mere indifference towards the future and the events of the political struggle.

The people in seeing that time is passing, without a Government being formed, without a new executive being set up, might be led to the dangerous road of political scepticism and reactionary denial of democratic institutions, of the abandonment of democratic struggle, of weariness or even of mere indifference towards the future and the events of the political struggle.

Events In Sicily

In analysing the Sicilian events, one gets the impression that when we were urging the fulfilment of certain parts of the common programme, and, above all, the parts in favour of the working classes which we represent, we did not always carry

out an adequate action towards the masses behind the men who cooperated with us, which consist of groups of middle class strata, and also of producers' strata.

Before the fall of the Government, a split seems to have taken place at the basis itself of these convergences, which had given rise to the Milazzo Government....

This is the basis of our position in the present crisis. We said that we did not raise the problem of a new formula but of certain concrete, limited demands, all of which bear on movements already under way, and some of which even to certain parliamentary questions, over which the confluence on common positions has already brought about some agreements and unitarian movements.

New Political Majority

Why did we take up such a position? Because this is the position which can give us the greatest help in leading the movement forward, whatever Government may arise from the present crisis, inasmuch as it enables us to keep up the contact with all those forces with which we have established some bonds, to extend these contacts, to strengthen what we have achieved and to go forward in the struggle—a long and difficult struggle—to lay the basis for a new political majority.

Thus, we stress two points: the programme and the democratic nature of the new Government. That is to say, we ask for the return to normal relations in parliamentary and constitutional life, so that it shall no longer be possible to form Governments on the basis of preclusions and political discrimination. We are not taken in by formulas, instead.

Actually the Christian Democratic Party has reached such a depth of political cynicism as to present a man like Segni, who ruled up yesterday thanks to the support of monarchists and fascists, as the candidate for a Centre Left formula. It is this political cynicism which lies at the basis of the corruption of the democratic parliamentary regime in Italy.

Christian Democrats

The Christian Democratic Party is capable of presenting all possible formulas as long as its political monopoly remains intact, as long as the camps of clerical forces preserves its unity. Segni resigns in order not to have a majority vote determined by fascist and monarchic votes, but at the same time in Sicily Christian Democracy sets up a Government, in which monarchists and fascists take part side by side with the most influential representatives of the Christian Democratic Party in the island. This is why it is the political content and the programme which matter, and not formulas.

Events In Sicily

In analysing the Sicilian events, one gets the impression that when we were urging the fulfilment of certain parts of the common programme, and, above all, the parts in favour of the working classes which we represent, we did not always carry

Fresh knowledge, new understanding

G. Plekhanov: UTOPIAN SOCIALISM OF THE 19TH CENTURY. Foreign Languages Publishing House Moscow. Price 31 nP.

Wilhelm Liebknecht: ON THE POLITICAL POSITION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Price 31 nP.

THE originators and editors of the "Books for Socialism" series deserve the gratitude and congratulations of all eager students of politics and of Socialism. Attractively produced and cheaply priced, the four books already available (the other two are the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels and the Three Sources and Component Parts of Marxism by Lenin) make the heart leap and the mind race to gather the fresh knowledge and win the new understanding.

Introductions And Notes

Another piece of hard work done by the editors, of invaluable assistance to the reader, is the extraordinarily able introductions and ample notes. It is a very welcome feature of the present series that a critical approach is taken to various formulations made. For instance, Plekhanov's over-enthusiasm for Rodbertus (calling him the German Utopian Socialist with a grasp of political economy) and Liebknecht's unnecessarily high regard for Lassalle (bracketing him with Marx and Engels) are criticised and put in the correct perspective. This in no way interferes with the warmth, love and regard for these two outstanding figures of the world working class movement.

Here, too, we have a sample of this gripping style in the last item, "The Spider and the Fly," brilliant agitation without the false glitter of oversimplification. It is in its way quite a model of writing for the ardent, fresh recruits to the struggle with all its promise and its trials.

But the grandeur of this great German Marxist stands fully revealed in his pamphlet "No Compromises, No Election Deals". Here with science and with all the strength of

aroused passion he inveighs against the cowardly revisionism of Bernstein.

He makes here a point which Lenin also made in 1908 and which strikes any perceptive student of modern revisionism—it is the revisionists who bring forth antiquated ideas in the name of new conditions. And as always, the revisionist fire is mainly concentrated on the concept of class struggle. It is this idea that Liebknecht defends with ardour and with logic.

"Bourgeois economists and politicians direct all their efforts against the class character of the modern labour movement. If they were to succeed in effecting a breach in this bulwark, this citadel of Social-Democracy, then Social-Democracy would be vanquished, and the proletariat subjected to the rule of capitalist society. However small the breach to begin with, the enemy has the means to widen it and is certain of final victory. And the enemy is most dangerous when he approaches the fortress as a friend; and as a friend slips in. As a friend and ally" (p. 84).

Time and again he returns to the theme that Social-Democracy must avoid the pitfall of converting itself into the Left wing of bourgeois democratic politics.

His words which we reproduce are a call to us today across the sea and the years.

"Just as Samson's strength disappeared when his hair, which signified manly honour, was cut off, so our Party would lose its strength were we induced by the flattery of bourgeois Deputies to give up our most precious possession, and the source of our victorious strength—our Party's purity, our Party's honour" (p. 89).

—ROHIT SEN

Chekhov Special Number

VISHAL BHARAT (Chekhov Special Number), March 1960. Editor of the Special Number: Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi. Price 1.25 nP.

ON the call of the UNESCO, the whole world is celebrating the 100th Birth Anniversary of A. P. Chekhov. The Vishal Bharat has devoted a special number to the great Russian writer whose name is always associated with the greatest story writer of the world.

Edited by the veteran Hindi journalist, Pt. Banarsidas Chaturvedi, the special number contains rich material. These include twelve stories of A. P. Chekhov and an album of some rare photos of Chekhov, his family and friends.

Besides these, there are

good studies of the writer's art and ideas by Mamath Nath Gupta, Prof. Vladimir Yermilov and Z. Paperni. Gupta has rightly stressed that Chekhov is different from so many other eminent artists in that he is always occupied with some social question or other in his stories and plays. Unlike Maupassant, with whom Chekhov is often compared, he shows no obsession for the obscene or the aphrodisiac.

The most refreshing contribution in this issue is the editor's account of his recent visit to the Chekhov Estate — Malykhov. What

impressed him most there besides the idyllic beauty of the place, is the devoted care with which the Socialist State is trying to preserve for the whole of the world this centre of literary pilgrimage.

"The thought," he observes, "which was uppermost in my mind while leaving Malykhov, was this: 'Shall we in our country ever be able to do something to preserve the glory of our great litterateurs?' I was particularly reminded of Satyanarain Kaviratna whose house at Ghaghur Tajganj stands in a pitifully tumbledown condition...."

The issue contains an interesting interview with Madame Chekhov by Sri Kan Singh Sankha. It is revealed that Madame Chekhov does not regard Death of a Clerk as one of the very good stories of the master. It is significant, therefore, that this and other stories like the

are the masters of the villages and have been emboldened by the support they get from the State apparatus—the police and the bureaucracy. No progress is possible unless the villages are emancipated from the grip of these unscrupulous criminals.

But there is no political party, no Kisan Sabha to organise the poor and lead them in the struggle for the defence of their human rights. It is the story of a backward village but unfortunately there are many such villages in the Hindi-speaking region.

Jaggu is a man of good intentions but has neither a strong will nor tact. He is outmanoeuvred by his enemies. His friends are a somewhat irresponsible lot and cannot fight with determination and consistency. The helplessness of the peasants is depicted with great force but the author is wrong in identifying the village as such with conservatism and reaction. The forces capable of bringing about a new life are there among the people themselves. They are helpless only so long as they are unorganised.

Political workers interested in the welfare of our people should particularly read this novel. It courageously lifts the veil of propaganda and shows the brutal reality of class oppression beneath the fine phrases of cynical or stupid politicians. Incidentally it leads the reader to the implicit conclusion that without a political party of the labouring people and their own mass organisation there is no freedom for them even in independent India.

It is a grim tragedy but it tells the truth about a major part of our countryside. The reactionary forces

—R. B. SHARMA

BOOK REVIEW

impressed him most there besides the idyllic beauty of the place, is the devoted care with which the Socialist State is trying to preserve for the whole of the world this centre of literary pilgrimage.

"The thought," he observes, "which was uppermost in my mind while leaving Malykhov, was this: 'Shall we in our country ever be able to do something to preserve the glory of our great litterateurs?' I was particularly reminded of Satyanarain Kaviratna whose house at Ghaghur Tajganj stands in a pitifully tumbledown condition...."

The issue contains an interesting interview with Madame Chekhov by Sri Kan Singh Sankha. It is revealed that Madame Chekhov does not regard Death of a Clerk as one of the very good stories of the master. It is significant, therefore, that this and other stories like the

A NOVEL ON RURAL INDIA

DOOB JANAM AYI by Shiva Sagar Misra. Atmaram & Sons, Delhi. Price Rs. Four.

THE hero of this novel is an ordinary railway worker. Like his father, he has passed most of his days opening and closing the gates of a railway crossing. He is partly a peasant and continues to augment his income by tilling his ancestral plot of land.

He gives shelter to a fugitive girl from Rajasthan who has been seduced by her unscrupulous lover. He has been accustomed to passing days in quiet isolation but now there is no peace for him. Almost the whole village is against him for his sheltering that unfortunate girl.

His real enemy is Bisesar Singh the dispossessed landlord who poses as a kind friend and is still the most powerful man of the village. He organises dacoities, gets people murdered in cold blood. Everyone knows what he is and what he does and yet nothing happens to him. The forces of law and order, from the district police inspector to the State Minister, are ranged behind him.

A young enthusiastic government official Rampal who is in charge of rural reorganisation work tries his utmost to rid the village of Bisesar Singh but the latter is able to pull strings and it is Rampal himself who is transferred from the district.

A young widow, Anuradha, the childhood friend of the hero Jaggu, escapes with difficulty from the clutches of Bisesar Singh, gets herself trained for rural uplift work at Patna but she becomes the target of all the conservative forces of the village and in the end is burnt alive in her house.

It is a grim tragedy but it tells the truth about a major part of our countryside. The reactionary forces

Chameleon which satirise bureaucracy, officialdom and sycophancy, enjoy the great popularity in our country.

The Vishal Bharat has really done a fine job in bringing out this number. The publication becomes particularly gratifying when one remembers that the editorial columns of this once great Hindi literary magazine have in recent years been in the hands of cold war experts for whom the cause of international amity, good neighbourliness and all the good and great values which mankind has learnt to cherish from artists like Chekhov are anathema. This issue of the magazine, brought out under the temporary stewardship of its former editor, presents a refreshing contrast. It successfully highlights the great social values of Chekhov's art and ideas.

—G. K. S.

STRIKE DIARY

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

work-loads. Lock-out lifted on July 21, following a settlement; 176,504 mandays were lost.

June 4: Nearly 3,000 clerks working in the Bombay Municipal Corporation went on strike demanding higher wages, housing facilities, etc. Strike called off on June 9, following settlement.

June 14: 2,500 workers in the Indian Tinplate Company, Jamshedpur, went on token strike protesting against management's attitude of not paying any need to workers' demands.

June 29 onwards, over a thousand workers of the Machinery Manufacturers Corporation Ltd., Calcutta, went on strike demanding reinstatement of 249 retrenched workers. The factory was closed down.

Employees of the National and Grindlays Bank Ltd., at its offices throughout India went on strike protesting against dismissal of six employees. The strike continued till July 20, when the union and the management agreed to mediation.

June 9: Strike by 1,009

LIC EMPLOYEES FRAME NEW CHARTER OF DEMANDS

A four-day session of the General Council of the All-India Insurance Employees' Association, held in Bombay in the second week of April, finalised a new Charter of Demands for the Life Insurance Corporation employees. The minimum starting salary for the lowest grade of employees (sweepers) demanded by the Charter is Rs. 130 per month broken up as follows: basic pay—Rs. 100, dearness allowance—Rs. 20; and house-rent—Rs. ten.

This minimum has been reached on the basis of the norm fixed by the 15th Labour Tripartite for a need-based minimum wage. The basic pay has been computed on 100 points of the cost of living index (1949-100) and the de-

arness allowance at 120 points. The different pay scales of different categories of employees vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 190 for sweepers, Rs. 180 to Rs. 430 for assistants and Rs. 320 to 650 for superintendents.

The dearness allowance demands Rs. 20 up to a pay of Rs. 199 and thereafter Rs. five increase for every hundred rupees of basic pay, so long as the cost of living index is below 120 (1949-100). Thereafter for every point of rise, the dearness allowance should be increased by one rupee for all categories of employees.

House rent is demanded at ten per cent of basic pay.

The Charter also includes demands for retiring

benefits, staff regulations, housing and other service conditions and trade union rights including recognition of the Life Insurance Employees' Association as the only bargaining agent for the LIC employees.

The General Council has demanded Rs. 25 as interim relief pending final settlement on the Charter. The General Council has also decided to observe June 1 as the Charter of Demands Day throughout India.

The meeting also discussed the present position of the general insurance industry and decided to observe a week from May 25 to June 1 next to protest against closure and retrenchment, to focus attention on the malpractices in the industry and to demand its nationalisation.

It was decided to hold a convention of the general insurance employees to devise ways and means to enforce the demand for nationalisation and to secure standardisation of wages and service conditions in the industry.

These decisions of the General Council meeting, held from April 4 to 8, were announced in a mass rally of insurance employees held in the evening of April 8 in the Cama Hall, Rajni Patel, President of the All-India Insurance Employees' Association, presided over the meeting and Saroj Chaudhuri, General Secretary of the Association, explained the decisions.

The Charter of Demands will soon be submitted to the Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation.

workers of Swadeshi Cotton Mills Co., Naini. Management imposes lock-out which was lifted on July 31. Total man-

days lost: 41,522.

June 25: Over a million workers in West Bengal observed a General Strike in response to the call given by the Famine Resistance Committee and the Trade Union Action Committee to protest against Government's food policy.

June 26 and 27: Bank employees in Delhi went on a sympathetic token strike for two hours on both days. Similar token stoppages were also organised by the bank employees' trade unions in Calcutta and other centres.

June 29: FWD workers in Dehri-on-Sone (Bihar) on strike to press their outstanding demands relating to service conditions. Strike called off on July 2 following settlement.

July 7: Thousands of workers in Delhi joined in a 'Protest March' organised and sponsored by the Delhi Trade Union Action Committee to voice protest against mounting 'offensive' of employers. The marchers went to the Prime Minister's house and submitted a memorandum.

July 14: Workers of East Bastacolla Colliery on strike protesting against the high-handedness of the management and its refusal to concede workers' demands.

July 21: More than 80,000 workers in all centres in Andhra Pradesh observed one-day general strike, in "defence of Kerala Government, democracy and the Constitution of India" in response to Andhra PTUC's call.

August 1: Operational staff workers in Rourkela, Durgapur and Bhilai Steel Plants refused to accept their pay, protesting against wage-cut.

August 1: More than 100,000 workers in Kerala on spontaneous strike to protest against Central intervention in Kerala. All the main indus-

trial centres throughout Kerala affected by the strike.

August 10 - September 6: About 4,000 workers of Nagarjunsagar Dam Project on a strike demanding increase in wages. Total mandays lost: 92,000.

August 23-28: About 9,800 workers of Vishnu Cotton Mills and two other textile mills of Sholapur went on strike protesting against adverse decisions of Industrial Court regarding dearness allowance; 35,937 mandays lost.

August 25: Workers of Municipal Committee, Jalpur, struck work demanding fixation of wages, supply of uniforms, etc.; 25,000 mandays lost.

September 3: Lakhs of workers in West Bengal struck for the day in protest against rising food prices. The Industrial belts were completely paralysed. The call for strike was given by the Price-Increase and Famine-Resistance Committee.

September 8-18: About 1,000 Class IV employees of Lucknow University struck work demanding a wage-rise of Rs. five. Strike called off following assurances by Vice-Chancellor.

September 21: About 38,000 workers of the Indian Iron & Steel Company's factories at Burnpur and Kulti went on a 24-hour sit-down strike in protest against management's refusal to accept demand for three month's wages as profit-sharing bonus. Workers of IISCO iron ore mines at Gua and Chiria joined the strike.

September 24-28: About 1,699 workers of Western India Match Co., Thiruvottiyur, Chinglepet, went on strike in protest against lay-off; 6,796 mandays lost.

November 6: Workers of Hindustan Cables Co., Burnpur, went on strike demand-

ing bonus, revision of wage structure, etc.

November 10-20: Employees of Madhya Pradesh Government went on strike protesting against victimisation; Strike declared illegal by State Government, widespread arrests were made; Strike called off in response to appeal by Chief Minister.

December 14: Over 200,000 jute workers on token strike in response to separate calls given by all the four central trade union organisations to protest against rejection of demand for interim relief.

December 17: Over 3,500 workers of the Godrej Company's engineering factories in Bombay went on a token strike protesting against management's and-labour policy.

January 31-February 16: Employees of the oil refinery of Burmah-Shell in Bombay struck work following failure of negotiations on demand for 4½ months' bonus for 1950 and nine other demands. Strike called off after Bombay Chief Minister's intervention.

March 19: 85,000 bank employees throughout India participated in nationwide token strike to express solidarity with State Bank employees' strike to press an immediate settlement of disputes in the banking industry. The 21-day strike in the State Bank of India was called off on March 24, following discussions in Delhi between the leaders of the All-India State Bank Employees' Federation and the Union Labour Minister.

When another Correspondent asked whether in his talks with Indian leaders, Chou En-lai had received any suggestion that China had committed aggression against India and if so, how could he hope for the removal of such a fundamental difference, Chou En-lai said:

"This hope is cherished by Western imperialists. In my

Chou En-lai's Press Conference

* FROM FRONT PAGE

been under China's jurisdiction throughout history. "As a matter of fact, the area called Aksaichin has become an important thoroughfare to Sinkiang in Ladakh regions of Tibet....

"We have asked, we have requested the Indian Government to take an attitude towards this sector of boundary similar to the attitude which the Chinese Government has taken towards the Eastern sector of the boundary. We have said that the Indian Government can keep its stand and enter into negotiations with us....

Asked to clarify the position regarding Chinese maps and whether China was insisting on recognition of its pre-liberation maps while asking India to forget everything that happened during the British period, Chou En-lai said:

"China's map is prepared according to conditions which have prevailed throughout history. We have a number of times frankly said there might be some minor divergences between our maps and the actual situation of administration.

"There are difference between China's maps and India's maps. There are difference between China's maps and maps of other countries too.

"We have told Prime Minister Nehru several times that after a survey is made and after the boundary is delimited through negotiations, the maps of our two countries will have to be revised according to agreements reached between the two countries. Of course, China will have to revise these maps according to the agreement.... Friendly countries should negotiate for the final delimitation of their boundary and then revise their maps accordingly.

"Before a survey is made, before the boundary is delimited through negotiation, neither side should impose its maps on the other side, neither side should ask the other side to follow its wishes in revising maps. If such a demand is made, then it is unfriendly and inaccurate. Of course, we cannot agree to such a map."

The Correspondent of the Daily Mail, London, asked Premier Chou En-lai whether China was willing "to vacate aggression" as, according to him, that was the basis of India having these talks. The Chinese Premier said in reply:

"I am happy to say that in the talks between the two Prime Ministers it was unanimously agreed that no territorial claims should be put forward by any one of them. This shows that China and India have carried their negotiations on the basis of friendship."

When another Correspondent asked whether in his talks with Indian leaders, Chou En-lai had received any suggestion that China had committed aggression against India and if so, how could he hope for the removal of such a fundamental difference, Chou En-lai said:

"This hope is cherished by Western imperialists. In my

aggression committed by other people against us. We are sure that the dispute between China and India on the boundary question will eventually be settled in a friendly manner. That is our firm conviction."

He said that what his delegation could do in the last seven days was limited. But the great friendship remains in the hearts of one thousand million Chinese and Indian people.

Chou En-lai was asked about Dalai Lama and his activities in India and he said: "The Dalai Lama and his followers started a revolt in Tibet in an attempt to keep the serfdom in Tibet but that revolt failed and after that the Dalai Lama and his followers fled to India. In India they are given political asylum. That is a normal international practice. We have no objection.

"But the activities of the Dalai Lama and his followers ever since they came to India have far exceeded the limit which the Indian Government has promised the Chinese Government, that is to say the Indian Government has promised that it will not allow the Dalai Lama and his followers to carry out any political activities in India against New China. But the Dalai Lama and his followers, both in India and without, have on a number of occasions carried out political activities against New China. This is a matter of regret to the Chinese Government...."

CALCUTTA BY-ELECTION

* FROM PAGE 4

to vote for Indrajit Gupta saying he is a "non-Bengali" and in the same breath, Hindustani-speaking people are being asked to vote against him as he is a Bengali! Money has already started flowing like water to help the Congress campaign. Thousands of two-colour posters and hundreds of festoons have already appeared. A considerable number of "volunteers" have been hired on a daily wage basis.

The PSP's decision to contest the seat is not fortuitous—it is an integral part of the PSP leadership's policy of increasingly closer cooperation with the Congress. The latest example of this policy was the election of its candidate, Sudhir Ghose, to the Rajya Sabha with Congress votes.

This is why the PSP has not protested against the arbitrary disfranchisement of nearly 140,000 voters, why PSP leaders and workers are going about asking the voters, particularly Hindustani-speaking workers, to cast their votes in favour of the Congress and why their squads on April 24, was "Don't vote for the Communist Party" and not "Vote for the PSP".

The Communist Party's election campaign has been steadily growing in sweep and tempo. The main emphasis in the campaign has been on mass and bathak meetings and house-to-house approach. Several processions also have been taken out.

Apart from concretely exposing the anti-people poli-

cles of the Congress and answering the slanders of the Congress, specially about the India-China border problem, Communist leaders in their speeches put across the positive policies of the Party about the various problems facing the country, and particularly West Bengal.

They have repeatedly stressed that the disfranchisement of a large number of voters is a part of the Congress Government's offensive against democratic rights and the parliamentary form of Government.

Jyoti Basu told a Press Conference in Calcutta on April 20 that this disfranchisement had turned the by-election into a huge farce.

He said that the position now, according to the Electoral Officer, was that the list of photographed voters, i.e., those entitled to vote, would not be available till polling day!

Again, according to the Electoral Officer, only about 50 per cent of the voters had been photographed while only about 50 per cent of those photographed had actually received their identity cards.

The process of disfranchisement, he said, had started with the preparation of the voters list itself. The number of voters on the revised roll of this constituency had been reduced by 70,000 though the number of voters should have gone up in the three years since the General Elections.

"Would you then boycott the by-election?" a Pressman asked. Jyoti Basu replied: "I can't say anything at this stage."

GROUP RIVALRIES IN KERALA COALITION

* FROM BACK PAGE

a period of trial for the community.

This became the signal for an open war of words between the organs of the Press controlled by the Nair and Ezhava communities. The former denounced Sankar's speech as a shameless incitement to communal passions, unworthy of one who is the leader of the national organisation and occupies the position of the Deputy Chief Minister of the State. The latter, on the other hand, justified the Deputy Chief Minister's speech and denounced the leaders of the Nair community as communal leaders who adopt a typically feudal attitude to the newly-rising, formerly backward communities. Among the newspapers which indulged in such a war of words were those which were founded by Fattom Thann Pillai and by Sankar respectively.

This controversy brought to the people's minds memories of a decade-old campaign jointly organised by Sankar and Mannath Padmanabhan. Both of them had then left the Congress as they found it a "Christian dominated" organisation. The Statewide campaign organised by them had as its objective "burying the Congress six fathoms deep." The two leaders were then in the same camp; they are now the leaders of two rival camps. They were then jointly fighting as Hindus against Christians; they are now fighting against each other, one as Ezhava and the other as Nair. It is, however, significant that both then as well as now, their effort is to divide the people of our State into caste or communal groups and give a caste or communal complexion to the politics of the State.

Even as such blatantly communal controversies were going on in the open Press, the leaders of the triple alliance, including the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister, assured the people that the Ministry was a happy family. They did not, of course, forget to accuse the Communists of trying to incite quarrels among them!

The people began gradually to get disgusted at this whole state of affairs. If such public controversy can be indulged in by these leaders within a couple of months of the formation of the Ministry, they asked, what would be the fate of our State for the remaining period of the present Ministry's term of office?

Reports are, meanwhile, appearing of differences between the Chief and Deputy Chief Ministers in matters of appointments, promotions, extension of service, etc.

Everyone of these is naturally assuming a caste and communal complexion: the Chief Minister and his group, with the support secured for them from the leaders of the Nair Service Society are accused of championing the cause of Nair officers and Nair candidates seeking appointments, while the Deputy Chief Minister and his supporters are accused of championing the cause of the Ezhavas. Both the Nair and Ezhava caste groups try to secure the

support of the leaders of other communities, especially Christians and Muslims, since these communal groups can tilt the balance in favour of those who secure their support.

It is against this background that the KPCC has appointed a Committee to try to find the solution to the controversial question of the Education Act, Section 11 of that Act, as is well-known, provides for reservation of posts for backward communities in the matter of selection of teachers and is, therefore, stoutly opposed by the Nair and other advanced communities. It was the combined opposition of the Christian managers of private schools who want a completely free hand in the selection of teachers, and of the Nair Service Society who had declared a war against the very principle of reservation for backward communities, that brought about the campaign against the Education Act. Having used this campaign in the political struggle against the Communist-led Government, the leaders of the triple alliance now find it impossible to do what they had asked the Communist Government to do. Even the combined might of the Christian-dominated School Managers' Association and the Nair Service Society would be powerless against the demand of Ezhavas and other backward communities in relation to reservation.

The Muslim League is, meanwhile taking a hand in the group rivalries. In several speeches delivered by them the leaders of the League showed their displeasure at the high-brow attitude taken by the Congress High Command in denying them a share in office. Referring to the characterisation earlier made by Prime Minister Nehru of the Muslim League being a "dead horse", the Muslim League leaders now remind him that "it was on the back of that dead horse that Sankar travelled from his home district of Qullon to Cannanore for a safe constituency, and then travelled back from Cannanore to Trivandrum to become a Minister."

They are throwing challenges to the Congress leaders that they would have to learn a lesson from the forthcoming panchayat and municipal elections. One of them actually challenged the Prime Minister to ask Deputy Chief Minister Sankar to resign his seat and contest any seat in Kerala without the support of the Muslim League.

This is the actual state of affairs when the leaders of the triple alliance go on giving us assurance after assurance of a stable Ministry which would last for five years, if not more. The question is: even supposing the Ministry lasts for such a long time, even supposing the actual disputes that arise from time to time are temporarily resolved, will the Ministry be in a position to devote its full time and energy for the study and solution of national problems? This has become an exasperating question for all those who are interested in the development of the State.

April 23.

NEW BOOKS FROM CHINA

- A HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHINESE REVOLUTION: by Ho Kan Chih. Detailed account of the Chinese Communist Party in the different historical periods, and the way the Party and its leader Mao Tse-tung applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete problems of the Chinese Revolution. 627 pp. Rs. 6.00
- A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE: by Ting Yi. A brief narrative of the birth and growth of Modern Chinese Literature from May 4 Movement in 1919 to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. 310 pp. Rs. 3.50
- A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHINESE FICTION: by Lu Hsun. The characteristics of the novels and romances of various dynasties, the development of the works of fiction in various periods of time as well as their mutual influence on each other, are all shown with great lucidity. 462 pp. Rs. 5.00
- A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY: by Hou Wai-Lu. The book outlines the development of Chinese philosophy from the ancient to the modern times. It describes the controversies between materialism and idealism, and between dialectics and metaphysics, which run through the history of Chinese philosophical thought. 177 pp. Rs. 2.20
- A SHORT HISTORY OF CLASSICAL CHINESE LITERATURE: by Feng Yuan-Chun. Gives brief introduction to classical Chinese literature and a general survey of the chief writers and their most important works. 132 pp. Rs. 0.90
- TIBETAN INTERVIEWS: by Anna Louise Strong 210 pp. Rs. 2.00 (Postage Extra)

Available with— People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., M. M. Road, New Delhi. F. F. H. Bookstall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay-4. NCBH (Private) Ltd., No. 6, Nallathambi Chetty St., Madras-2. Visala-Andhra Publishing House, Buckinghampet P.O., Vijayawada-2. National Book Agency (P) Ltd., 12, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta-12.

YOU NEED MORE MONEY
Earn handsome commissions in your spare time by enrolling subscribers for Soviet periodicals. Write for subscription plan to: MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY, 91 Warden Road, Bombay 26.

OUTDATED MR. MASANI

The Open Letter to C. Rajagopalachari by seven Congress Members of Parliament has been the occasion for Swatantra General Secretary M. R. Masani to give his verdict on Socialism: It is on its way out.

UNION Minister K. D. Malaviya and six other M.P.s had, in their Open Letter, declared their faith that Socialism as the ultimate goal of the country had come to stay.

They had charged Rajaji with attempting to win all sections of "exploiters" on his side and said: "You are welcome to do so but many of us believe that this is a class which by itself has created many problems for the poor exploited masses of India."

The signatories to the Open Letter had added: "The fact is you know nothing of the condition of eighty per cent of your masses. Your party does not exist for them. Let us tell you that if the so-called 'free trade' is allowed to go on unhampered, there will be famine and starvation."

Further, "The hungry people want something more than your dialectics. They want food, comfort and they are willing to submit to laws and a life which will give them greater social justice."

This criticism of Rajaji and the attack on Swatantra policies coming as they did from responsible Congress Members of Parliament, including a Union Minister, were a welcome development since there was a justified feeling that large sections of Congressmen were not aware of the challenge from the Swatantra Party while the Right inside the Congress was actually encouraging it. Masani's reply to the Open Letter is a negation of everything for which large sections of Congressmen themselves stand—planned economic advance and Socialism as the country's goal.

What Swatantra Stands For

In his effort to help "open the eyes of Mr. K. D. Malaviya and his six fellow-Leftists," Masani has declared, "Socialism is on its way out," "the debacle of world Socialism is spreading from country to country and its approach in our midst is creating a panic among Marxists whether they are of the Congress variety or the CPI brand," "in the minds of enlightened Socialists, the bond is being broken between a free and just society and the out-dated techniques of ownership and management which Karl Marx and other 19th century thinkers advocated, and the dead weight of State Socialism is being jettisoned by them from their ideological baggage," etc.

In the name of opposition to Socialism, behind the defence of the individual, "is liberty and incentive, a 'free society', 'free endeavour', etc., what the Swatantra stands for has become crystal clear, through its policy statement and the speeches of Rajaji and other leaders.

The Swatantra wants Planning and the public sector to be given up, it does not like to hear the

mention of State trading in foodgrains, agrarian reforms and cooperatives are anathema to it. It wants India to give up its cherished policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel in foreign affairs and line up in the military blocs of the Imperialist Powers.

What the Swatantra thus advocates is the unbridled right of private property and private enterprise to continue to exist and exploit the vast masses of our people.

• The freedom the Swatantra defends is the freedom of the big landlords and big traders and the speculators and profiteers to hoard foodgrains, push up their prices and starve our people.

• The freedom the Swatantra defends is the freedom of Big Business—the textile, sugar, coal and other magnates—to deny a living wage to the workers, while both labour productivity and the cost of living have gone up and work-load on them is sought to be intensified still

Socialism Advances

further, the freedom at the same time to fleece the consumers with exorbitant prices and to evade taxes and rob the exchequer.

What the Swatantra thus really defends is the right of a handful of the vested interests to rob the vast majority of the people, to sacrifice the interests of the nation and national development for the coffers of the landlords and moneylenders, of the capitalists and traders.

When more and more people the world over are realising the need for a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced by society, when one-third of the world has shown in practice what miracles can be wrought by such a distribution, the Swatantra upholds the right of the capitalists to appropriate the wealth produced by the workers, the right of the landlords to enjoy rent wrong from the labour of the cultivating peasants.

What has enabled the Swatantra Party to put itself forward in our national life with such a patently projected interest ideology?

The reasons are not far to seek. The Swatantra Party exploits mainly the failures and the shortcomings of the Government of India's Planning, the corruption and mismanagement prevalent in the public sector to attack Planning and the public sector themselves.

Masani & Co. attack them in the name of attacking Socialism. But whatever the spokesmen of the Government and the ruling party might say about it, it is a misnomer to call the present

planning in India Socialist planning.

Socialist planning would mean giving the commanding heights in the economy to Socialist elements and increasing their role to ensure their victory over the capitalist elements. This can be done only by a working class State which aims at the abolition of classes and class privileges and the building of the foundations of a Socialist economy. Far from this is the position in India, ruled as it is by a bourgeois-landlord Government.

Progressive Features

But while denying it any pretensions to Socialist planning, it is yet a fact that there are certain progressive features in Indian planning. The policy of building a public sector, strengthening of the industrial base of our economy by the establishment of steel plants and expansion of cement, engineering, chemical and other industries, the consequent re-

Debacle Is Of Free Enterprise

duction, to some extent, of our economic dependence and the possibilities of further progress, the expansion of irrigation and electricity, the declarations for State trading, etc., constitute some of these features which go to strengthen the national economy.

Shortcomings And Failures

Even while noting these progressive features, nobody denies there is mismanagement and corruption in the public undertakings. But that is no reason why the baby should be thrown out with the bathwater as the Swatantra leaders want to when they argue for the abolition of public ownership and control because there is corruption and mismanagement—as if corruption and mismanagement did not exist before the public sector came into existence, as if they do not exist in the private sector today.

By the same logic, the Swatantra leaders might tomorrow say that Indian Independence itself was wrong because, if we had continued as a British colony, there would not have been any planning or the public sector and it is freedom that has curtailed individual liberties and is curbing individual incentive!

If there are shortcomings in our public undertakings, it is far from due to public ownership and control, it is really due to too little con-

trol and because even in that the Government goes on vacillating.

• The Government has often declared that the public sector should have the commanding positions in our economy, but in practice this eminence is given to the private sector.

• The Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government laid down that steel would be entirely in the public sector, but Prime Minister Nehru tells Pressmen: "We shall gladly welcome it" when he is asked about private capital starting steel plant.

• Similarly, the Industrial Policy Resolution laid down that oil-prospecting would be done exclusively in the public sector, but now it is known that private foreign monopolies are being invited into this field.

• State trading in foodgrains is the Government's declared policy, but Food Minister S. K. Patil says he would prefer to give up State trading and build up buffer stocks with imported grains from the USA. If the food policy of the Government has not been able to solve the crisis, it is not State

Governmental policies and the consequent discontent among the people to attack even these progressive features of the policy and put themselves forward as the unshamed spokesmen of private property and profits.

Hence whatever be the good intentions of the Congressmen when they defend their Government's policies, the truth remains that shortcomings and failures in these policies generate discontent in the people and that these shortcomings and failures have to be removed, if the Swatantra is not to get a base from which to operate among the people.

It is obvious then that Congressmen who want to fight the Swatantra challenge politically and ideologically cannot remain content with voicing criticism of Rajaji, that they cannot successfully fight this battle unless inside their own organisation, they strive to remove these failings and shortcomings.

The importance of this was underlined by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in its resolution it adopted at its recent Delhi session calling for "every effort" "to raise all democratically-minded people, including those inside the Congress, to the danger posed by these slogans (of the Swa-

tantra Party) and draw them into the campaign."

Masani talks about Socialism being on its way out, about the debacle of world Socialism. One wonders whether Masani who derides "slogans based on obsolete Marxist thinking which has lost all meaning in the rapidly changing world of the second half of the twentieth century" does really live in the second half of the twentieth century and know the rapid changes that are taking place in the world of this period. Even the U. S. Imperialists, whose voice Masani faithfully echoes, are quite worried about the tremendous technological advance and economic leap-forward of the Soviet Union and the Socialist world.

One wonders whether Masani is aware of this breath-taking advance of the Soviet Union, People's China and other Socialist countries, whether he knows that in a few years' time the Socialist world with only one-third of the world's population and one-fourth of the world's area will be responsible for more than half of the world's total output.

During 1959, industrial production in the Soviet Union rose by more than 11 per cent, instead of 7.7 per cent provided for by the Plan.

They exploit the shortcomings and failures of

* SEE FACING PAGE

More About The Wise Men

LAST week reference had been made in this column to the Report of the International Economic Mission on India and Pakistan which had then not been officially released. But now that it has been made public, it is necessary that some of the points made in it—and not available earlier—are also mentioned here.

The first of these points concerns the proposed size of the Third Plan. The Mission does not term it as "over-ambitious". In fact, it even finds some of its targets quite modest. Still, it urges a "re-examination of the importance of the marginal projects", since, in its view, abandonment of a few of them can only "be worth doing."

While the reason for this advice is ostensibly the need to maintain "flexibility", the purpose is to effect some "pruning" of the Plan. As to where the axe should fall the Mission does not specify, though its reference to "the desirability of achieving the most efficient utilisation of existing (steel) capacity... when deciding upon the desirability of expanding capacity further" can be indicative of what it really has in mind.

Another point, which the Mission makes, is about the form in which foreign aid to India should be routed. It dismisses the Marshall Plan type of assistance as ill-suited, since the problem here requires

long-term help. It has, however, not suggested any other mode excepting the need for coordination to avoid friction. As to how this coordination should be attempted—whether through the U. N., or some other agency—it does not clearly. Perhaps it had its own doubts about it, as even it could not have forgotten the Western capitalist countries' opposition to the creation of the SUM-FED.

AID PROSPECTS

The Mission is also understandably sombre about the prospects of such aid. In fact, at one place it even cautions the Government that "there can be no assurance that the Governments of the more highly industrialised countries will be in the position to provide aid over the period of the Plans to the full amount requested." Obviously, knowing the prevailing mood of their countries' financiers, as they did, the three members of the Mission had no illusion about their "intention" to give low interest aid.

As for the "aid" which they have so far been giving, the Mission knows that it involves an "intolerable strain" of debt service facilities. Hence its plea for a substantial aid to take the form of "Government - to - Government" assistance.

Here, too, however, the

Mission's sympathy is qualified by a proviso which restricts India's freedom to utilise the aid in the way she likes. "The legislation" (of the aid-giving country), it says "will require to be assured that the aid receiving countries' methods of handling their policies are realistic", and "that aid provided is spent on the purpose contemplated by the aid-providing countries." Obviously, these being not always as "disinterested" as made out by the donor-country, it is the interests of the taker that such aid will very often be serving.

"Government - to - Government" assistance has, however, been suggested by the Mission only as an interim measure. In course of time "as the economic structure of these two countries (India and Pakistan) is brought nearer to viability... it is possible to substitute the ordinary flow of private investment for the more exceptional forms of aid." To accelerate the process, therefore, it is suggested that steps "create conditions which will attract private capital" should be taken in right earnest.

The Mission's concern for indigenous capital is no less intently expressed. It should be remembered, it says, "that intervention in the form of extraordinary taxation or price controls designed to protect the general public (emphasis ours) may some-

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

times frustrate the normal market process." With a Socialist pattern such a "process" has obviously to be modified—but how very like S. K. Patil's view is the Mission's standpoint in this respect!

The Mission has also underlined the importance of improving agriculture, but the means, it suggests, bespeak of its hide-bound approach to the subject. Among them it includes greater availability of fertilisers and irrigation facilities, but not land reforms to enable the peasant to utilise them.

The Mission also speaks about the need to increase exports. It even makes the welcome suggestion that Western countries should remove "the kind of barriers which restrict the export opportunities of developing countries." Its appeal in this behalf may not even have a symbolic effect however, since none of the countries from which its members were drawn has been known for eagerness to increase imports from India.

All in all, therefore, the Mission's has been a hackneyed reiteration of Western capitalist circles' standpoint apropos the way India should go about

planning her economy. As for the aid its labours might bring, even the Hindustan Times estimates it to be no more than "a poor little mouse."

STC: GOOD RECORD

THE Mission has suggested respect for the "normal market process"—a term which implies leaving things as they are in respect of prices as well as trade, both internal and external.

The one attempt made by the Government some time ago in the sphere of trade in "convention with this 'process', however, has borne good fruit. The reference here is to the State Trading Corporation (STC), whose latest report shows significant gains not only in turnover, both in exports and imports, but also in profits. The turnover increased to Rs. 36.0 crores in 1958-59 from Rs. 28.6 crores in the previous year. Of this, exports accounted for Rs. 22.4 crores and imports for Rs. 13.6 crores. The profit (net) during the year amounted to over Rs. 1.28 crores as against Rs. 1.05 crores in the preceding year.

The Corporation has infused a new life into the depressing state of export trade, especially of mineral ores. In 1958-59, too, trade in iron ore accounted for more than 50 per cent of the export trade. Among other items figuring on its export list were shellac, jute, tobacco, gunnies, manganese ore and woolen fabrics, while among imports it handled "non-ferrous metals, caustic soda, newsprint, insulating paper, Government projects and sodium sulphate."

In importing and regulating the distribution of some scarce commodities the STC has only been helping the consumer and the industry. The sale of caustic soda, etc., and also of non-ferrous metals, by it has been recognised as "beneficial" even by a capitalist journal like the Indian Finance. Still, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has been periodically demanding an end to its "intrusion" into internal trade.

What beats us, however, is the virtual concurrence with this view by the Estimates Committee of Parliament, which, in its Report to Parliament last week, has suggested the handing over of internal distribution of cement to an organisation of cement producers. The Committee has also stated that the object of the STC "is primarily to organise foreign trade. It may handle internal trade only to the extent it is necessary for that purpose."

Obviously, if this understanding of the scope of the STC's activities is accepted by the Government, it will be losing a strategic lever to not only promote exports, but also to help the private manufacturers get scarce imported goods on which their production depends.

—Essen

—RAHDASS

APRIL 26.

(April 26)

MASANI'S FRIENDS ABROAD

* FROM FACING PAGE

Nearly 50 billion roubles worth of goods were produced over and above Plan (in comparable prices more than the entire industrial output of Russia before the revolution when free enterprise and private initiative ruled unchecked).

The output of the means of production rose by 12 per cent during the year as against 8.1 per cent provided for by the Plan. The overall industrial output of consumer goods which was to have increased by 6.8 per cent under the Plan, actually rose by 10.3 per cent.

Despite the drought which affected some areas, the Soviet Government was able to purchase 2,846 million pounds of grain, enough to meet the needs of the population and other requirements of the State.

Over a thousand large industrial establishments were put into operation in 1957, the volume of capital investment by the State and co-operative organisations, exclusive of collective farm investments totalled 275 billion roubles—a 30-billion increase over 1956.

Labour productivity rose 7.4 per cent in industry and nine per cent in construction work. And this despite the fact that over thirteen million factory workers and employees had been put on reduced seven and six-hour working days by the end of 1959.

This staggering advance in industrial and agricultural production has naturally meant tremendous improvements in the living standards of the people. More food,

more houses, increased educational, cultural, health and other facilities—this is what the Soviet people enjoy at the same time as they have a shorter working day.

As against this picture of the Socialist world, what has Masani's "free world" to offer?

"Free World" Picture

Gross industrial production in the USA increased in five years from 1953 to 1959 by 11 per cent (while in the same period it was 90 per cent in the USSR). In recent years, the gross national product in Britain has been increasing at a rate of between one and one-and-a-half per cent per annum.

While it is computed that the subsistence minimum of a working class family of four living a modest life in the USA should be 5,593 dollars, 20 per cent of the families have an income of less than 2,000 dollars and 12 per cent between 2,000 and 3,000 dollars.

According to the Chairman of the National Committee of the U. S. Democratic Party, over 15 million Americans live in slums.

In France, the total purchasing power of a skilled metal worker in the Paris District fell 38 per cent though he worked 15 per cent more time.

The same is the position in the capitalist world as a whole. Whose then is the debacle—of Socialism or of free enterprise and private in-

terference which Masani extols so much?

Betrayal Abounding

The only recourse Masani has to brush aside this reality is to hang on to the programmes of some Social-Democratic Parties in Europe and elsewhere.

In his letter, he approvingly quotes from the programmes of the Dutch Labour Party, the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, the Austrian Socialist Party, etc. He is unfortunate in that he cannot quote from the programme of the British Labour Party also. If Gaitskell had not been rebuffed in his efforts to give up public ownership from the Labour Party's programme, Masani could have added the British Labour Party, too, to his list.

He had a special word to say about the new German Social Democratic Party's Manifesto which "echoes the Swatantra Party's statement of policy to a remarkable extent."

It is good that Masani pays these tributes to the German Social Democratic Party—one of the oldest and most influential of the Social-Democratic Parties. Masani is in proper company here because the new programme and activities of this party have confirmed what has been evident to all Socialists about Social Democracy's role of betrayal of the working class and the Socialist movement.

The split in the working class for which Social Democracy was responsible, brou-

—RAHDASS

(April 26)

NEW AGE

MAY 1, 1960.

EXASPERATING QUESTION

★ by E. H. S. NANBOODIRIPAD

The people of Kerala have been repeatedly assured by the Chief Minister, the Deputy Chief Minister and other leaders of the triple alliance that the story of the pre-1957 Congress and PSP Ministries would not be repeated, that all group rivalries within the Congress as well as between the various component units of the triple alliance have been put an end to and that the present Government will continue to rule the State for its full term of five years.

ALL those who are interested in the development of Kerala would fervently wish that these optimistic forecasts of the leaders of the triple alliance were translated into practice. For, the instability of successive Ministries which came and went out of office in the pre-1957 period proved to be the biggest factor which prevented Kerala from securing its due share of the developmental projects of our country in the post-Independence years.

All the major industries existing in our State now were established in the pre-Independence years. The Fertilisers and Chemicals, Aluminium, Glass, Paper, etc., about which the people of Kerala think and speak with a certain amount of pride were set up not by the democratic Governments which came into existence after 1947, but by the Dewan's administrations in the former States of Travancore and Cochin and during British rule in Malabar.

Precious little has been done in other fields of development either. The extent to which Kerala lags behind can be seen from the fact that our State which occupies a place of pride in India in the matter of general education shows a lower percentage of population attending schools for special and vocational education than the all-India average: the Economic Survey for the year 1959, published by the Government of Kerala, shows that while the all-India percentage for special schools is 0.46, that for Kerala is 0.32. The corresponding figures for vocational colleges are 0.03 and 0.02.

People's Desire

The sorrow and pain at this backwardness of Kerala in economic development are finding increasing expression in the Malayalam Press.

The unanimity with which our people protested against the reported non-inclusion of the second ship-building yard in the Third Plan; the disappointment with which they received the reported removal of the Naval Aerodrome and Fisheries Institute from Kerala; the dissatisfaction felt by them at the fact that adequate quantities of rice are not being made available to Kerala for regular supplies through the fair price shops; the indignation given expression to by them that even such industries as are to a very large extent dependent on the raw materials produced in Kerala are located in other States and that several industries which can as well be located here

as anywhere else are, for some reason or other, denied to us—all these are indications of the increasing realisation by the people that securing the legitimate share for Kerala in the country's development plans is a task which should cut across all barriers of caste, creed and political views.

There are, of course, some politicians who are so blinded by anti-Communist prejudices that they will have nothing to do with the Communist Party, even in the matter of jointly fighting for Kerala's legitimate share in the country's development. The General Secretary of the Kerala PSP, for example, re-

only fully alive and responsive to these feelings and sentiments of the people but is also free from the worries of group rivalries that used to haunt the previous Congress and PSP Ministries.

Our State could have had a better share in the First and Second Plans if the successive Ministries that came into existence between 1947 and 1957 were not dogged at every step by the rivalries among the various personal and communal groups that went to make up those Ministries. As a matter of fact, all the pre-1957 Ministries had to devote most of their time in solving the problems of group rivalry within the Government and, therefore, had very little time for the study and solution of national problems.

Our people will, therefore, be happy if they find that that chapter of our political history is closed for ever. If the present Ministry can at least devote its whole time to the evolution of practical schemes for inclusion in the Third Plan, we may hope that our lot in the future will be better than in the past.

as between the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League are so open that they cannot be wished away by denials made by the leaders. Let us just mention the bare facts which go to show that group rivalries of the 1947-57 period are, by no means, a thing of the past.

The election of the leader of the Congress Legislature Party was preceded by acute factional struggles. Even though the Congress Parliamentary Board put its full weight in favour of R. Sankar, the then President of the KPCC, another candidate was duly nominated at the first session of the Legislature Party meeting. The situation was so tense that it was apprehended that the rival candidate would be elected by a majority as against the candidate proposed by the Parliamentary Board.

It was under these circumstances that the plenipotentiary of the High Command, Sadiq Ali, had to rush to the leader of the Nair Service Society, Mannath Padmanabhan, and implore him to get the nominee of the High Command unanimously elec-

support and cooperation), then the Sankar group would be the real dominant force. That was why the Mannom-Pattom group advised the Muslim League to resile from its original demand for a seat in the Ministry when the Congress High Command made it plain that it would go ahead with the formation of a purely Congress Ministry if the PSP kept out of it.

We were made to believe that, once the decision was finally made and a Congress-PSP Ministry formed, these group rivalries came to an end. But, hardly had the Ministry been formed when discordant voices began to be heard among the supporters of the triple alliance. Non-inclusion of any Latin Catholic in the Ministry, exclusion of women from the Ministry, excessive representation to caste Hindus—all these became points of dissatisfaction which found their way into the open Press. Exclusion of the Muslim League from the Ministry and inadequate representation of nationalist Muslims were also points of dissatisfaction. All this found expression on the floor of the Assembly itself.

The question of further expansion of the Ministry, or its reorganisation with a view to giving representation to unrepresented communities,

Can Kerala Alliance Rise Above Group Rivalries And Devote Attention To State's Development ?

jected the proposal of the Communist Party that a joint campaign be organised for realising Kerala's demand for the inclusion of the second ship-building yard within the Third Plan and denounced the Party's proposal for joint action as an attempt to make political capital out of Kerala's needs.

There is, however, increasing recognition even on the part of those who have pronounced anti-Communist political bias that this is something in which political differences and prejudices should not be allowed to stand in the way of joint action. Such anti-Communist newspapers as the Mathrubhoomi, the Malayala Manorama, the Catholic clergy's organ Deepika, etc., came out very sharply against the Congress M. P.s from Kerala who did not care to support the adjournment motion tabled by A. K. Gopalan on the question of the second ship-building yard to be located in Cochin. Sarvodaya leader Kelappan, the well-known industrialist Samuel Aaron and several others who are known for their anti-Communist prejudices also made statements which are highly critical of the Central Government in this matter.

But this growing trend for unity in the matter of fighting for Kerala's due share in the country's development plans would lead us nowhere unless there is a Government which is not

Of course, the anti-governmental direct action that was organised by the parties that form the present Government a year ago (when the preliminary work in connection with the Third Plan was actually starting) and the political tension which existed between the dismissal of the Ministry and the mid-term elections made us lose precious months which could well have been profitably used if there was in existence a stable popular Government at the time.

Rivalries In The Open

But the damage that has been done in the past one year can now be repaired, at least partially, if only the present Government is able to devote its whole time to these problems and if the Government is prepared to harness to the task of national reconstruction the energies of the parties and elements that are in Opposition. That is why all those who are interested in the development of Kerala would join the supporters of the present Government in wishing stability to the Government.

Unfortunately, however, actual developments during the last two months do not warrant the hope which the leaders of the triple alliance want to generate among the people. Group rivalries within the Congress, as well

ted by securing the withdrawal of the rival candidate. In return for this 'favour' shown by the leader of the Nair Service Society, he was assured that R. Sankar would not be made the Chief Minister; making Praja Socialist leader Pattom Thanu Pillai Chief Minister was the price paid for the support of the Nair Service Society leader and the group supported by him.

The subsequent parleys in Delhi between the Congress on the one hand and the PSP and the Muslim League on the other, had, therefore, as its background the question as to which of the contending groups in Kerala is to dominate the newly-formed Ministry. The all-India leaders of the Congress, and public opinion in general may have been worried about the possible political repercussions of a coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League. But the leaders of public opinion in Kerala were more concerned with the question as to whether this or that group would dominate in the Ministry.

A joint Congress-PSP-Muslim League Ministry with Pattom as Chief Minister would mean that the election of Sankar as leader of the Congress Party was robbed of all political significance. On the other hand, if the Congress were to form a Ministry on its own (with the PSP and the Muslim League giving it

both of which were raised immediately after the formation of the Ministry, were looked upon from the point of view of which proposal would strengthen which group. That was why mutually conflicting statements were made by the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister on the necessity for expansion or reorganisation of the Ministry.

Communal Colour

These group rivalries came to a head recently when the Deputy Minister made a speech in Trivandrum castigating the leaders of the Nair community for their opposition to his leadership for no other reason than that he happened to be an Ezhava. "They opposed my being elected as President of the KPCC; they opposed my being elected the leader of the Legislature; they opposed my being a Minister," he went on. The leaders of the Nair community, according to him, could not tolerate the representative of a hitherto oppressed and backward community reaching the pinnacle of power in the State; that was why he was determined to see that what is legitimately his due is secured to him. He finally called upon his community to look upon this as-

* SEE PAGE 13