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A GREAT STRIKE

NEW AGE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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No Victimisation!

Editorial

WE salute the Central Government employees who through their five-day peaceful general strike have written a new and glorious chapter in the annals of the Indian trade union and democratic movements.

This was no ordinary general strike. Never before, not even in the days of British rule had lakhs of employees of the various departments of the Government of India gone on a general strike on a countrywide scale. Only purblind politicians drugged sodden with power will fail to note the significance of such a new development in our national life. All those who seek social justice will rejoice and feel more confident.

RESTORE NORMALCY!

WE admire the heroism and courage of the strikers who braved firings, tear-gas and lathi-charges, saw their whole families literally thrown out of their quarters but carried on. Final figures are not yet available but fifteen to twenty thousand were arrested. All hourly faced the prospect of mass dismissals and arrests. They held fast to their posts of duty and went back to work when the call of withdrawal came.

False Propaganda

It is an unerring sign of the patience and the discipline of the strikers that such a gigantic strike remained so remarkably peaceful despite all provocations.

All official propagandist talk of intimidation by the strikers is as false as falsehood can be. In fact all the intimidation was on the other side, done by the authorities themselves, to prevent and then to break the strike.

Indian public opinion owes it to the cause of In-

dian democracy itself to call the Government to account for indiscriminate firings, summary trials, arrest without warrant, and above all the very issuing of the Black Ordinance to crush the peaceful and legitimate struggle of its employees.

Re-Examine Policies

We earnestly hope the Union Government will learn the necessary lessons from the fact that a general strike of its employees and on such a big scale did take place despite all its propaganda and police measures, despite the Ordinance, despite the threat of mass dismissals from service, despite the Prime Minister's speeches, appeals and the final broadcast.

The very fact that such a big strike on an all-India scale did take place demands that the Government of India seriously and soberly re-examine its own policies and their implementation and above all the mishandling of the negotiations with and later on the very strike of its

employees. All that the Government has said and done has created a wall of ill-will between itself and its employees. No democratic Government can run the administration and the public enterprises at all normally in such a set-up. No Plan can be successfully implemented in such an atmosphere.

We add our voice with the rest of Indian democratic opinion and demand that the Government stop all parrying, manoeuvring and worse authoritarian tricks, and let all the strikers resume their normal duties without any discrimination. This is the first and foremost precondition to the restoration of normal conditions which is the prime need of the hour.

Not Their Fate Alone

The Central Government employees did not fight for themselves alone. Their main demand is the common demand of all the working people of the country, that the wages paid must at least correspond to the cost of living and the big capitalist

sharks alone do not grab all the gains of our developing economy.

The fate of the Central Government employees is not their fate alone but of every working man who through his trade union has to deal with his employer and the State for his demands, through negotiations first and strike action, if and when necessary.

End All Tension

The post-strike situation and the behaviour of the Government are not worrying the Central Government employees alone but very much wider trade union and democratic circles of the country, who want the Central Government to think and act in a responsible and human way and the lakhs of Central Government employees to work in conditions of self-respect and social justice, with ease and dignity. They must immediately launch a gigantic campaign with the central demand "No Victimisation".

We warn the Govern-

Let Us All Learn Its Lessons

★ by P. C. JOSHI

It is not yet time to fully evaluate the grand all-India strike of the Central Government employees. The reports are not yet available.

THE Central Government employees who rose in action from July 12 to 16 comprise a vital cross section of the Indian working class. Among them are workers in India's largest nationalised undertakings, the Railways, the Post, Telegraph and Telephone services, in the C.P.W.D.—all of which employ lakhs of industrial labour.

before. Its lessons must be learnt.

The Government in its official propaganda and Press hand-outs may underrate the response to the strike as much as it likes and confuse broader public opinion for the time being.

I got it straight from the horse's own mouth: a leading Union Minister himself stated to his Press consultant that confidential reports from official sources admit that 15 per cent of the total employees were on strike, while the Minister himself was prepared to go up to 20 per cent. This is the tentative official estimate. And it comes to over four lakh workers and employees on an all-India scale. On any account, it is a colossal figure, whose

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THE AFTERMATH

THE five-day all-India general strike of the Central Government employees shook things up and has been withdrawn. Neutral public opinion is unanimous that the strikers fought better than the Government cares to admit.

The Press comments of virtually all the dailies clearly admit that the grievances of the workers and the employees are genuine, Indian public opinion desires that the aftermath should be handled by all concerned and above all by the Government in such a manner as to restore normalcy, satisfy the legitimate grievances of the workers, safeguard industrial peace and strengthen Indian democracy. The evidence of the last few days, however, discloses that the vested interests and the reactionary ruling circles are baring their teeth rather than rightly read the sign of the times, learn to think rationally and act democratically.

As happens after every popular upheaval which ends in a drawn battle, the worst elements shout the loudest, publicly campaign for and press their own reactionary plan of action, to achieve what they can in such a phase of confusion.

The strike was powerful enough to have pushed the big Third Plan, published a few days earlier, completely into the background. The strike was the direct result of the failure of the Government to hold the price line under the Second Plan.

The workers, through their organised might and wave of strike struggles following the achievement of independence had won important concessions as their rights. They were embodied in the decisions of the 15th Labour Conference, which guaranteed them a need-based minimum living wage, trade union rights, etc. G. L. Nanda as the Planning and Labour Minister was the architect of this labour policy by which workers pinned their hopes and at last struck when it was not being implemented, after waiting patiently for years.

Lessons They Draw

The main lessons that the economic journals of the big capitalists, whether Indian or foreign, draw from the strike is that the progressive proposals of the 15th Labour Conference and together with them Labour Minister Nanda should go.

Birla's Eastern Economist in its July 15 editorial entitled, "Ordeal by Fire" writes, "We have attempted always to obtain too much for too little. Central Government employees, who made excessive claims in this respect, were only reflecting a national disease."

"It (Government) must cease to talk ideologically and not fall to practise what it preaches to the private sector. Inevitably, this should mean that Mr. Guzarilal Nanda, who bears the main responsibility for having undermined the basic principles

of ordered development of the wage structure, should be replaced by a Minister of Labour who is conversant with the present temper of the country to get full value for work paid for by the Central exchequer."

Capital, organ of British capital in India, in its July 14 editorial entitled, "Strikes, Politics and the Cost of Living," writes:

"The whole question of salaries, allowances and other benefits which the employees should get has been badly handled not only by the Government but also by the leaders of the strike."

It welcomes "the relatively firm stand" that the Government adopted this time, but stresses its "criticism against weak but highly placed quislings in the Government itself."

Monopolists Aggressive

Its advice to Government is that "looking further ahead, the Government will have to consider a little more seriously the question how far it can allow second-rate politicians with personal axes to grind to head employees' unions, risk their constituents' jobs, and hold the country to ransom by disrupting its economic life. Some politicians of this kind are to be found in the Government itself; they may have to be dissuaded from disseminating fantasies about fixing the national minimum wage at Rs. 125 a month."

The monopolists are coming out very aggressively. They won't put up with labour. To them the demands of labour are economic nonsense. They won't put up with trade unions that are not tame. They won't have a Labour Minister who does not carry out their behests!

Indian public opinion is familiar with the campaign slogan of Indian reaction that Defence Minister Krishna Menon should go and now another is being raised that Labour Minister Nanda, too, should go. This, however, conclusively proves how just were the workers' demands and how justified their strike and how urgent the need for a just solution.

The Joint Council of Action announced its post-strike aims along with the withdrawal of the strike itself but the Government is yet "discussing" its post-strike policy and the final decision would only be taken after the Prime Minister comes back from the Assam tour. It is an amazing situation in which the Government, under reactionary pressure, repudiates the conclusions of the Tripartite Labour Conference, headed by its own Labour Minister and now refuses to accept his advice as final in seeking an amicable settlement of the post-strike problems.

Press circles in New Delhi report sharp differences between Labour Minister Nanda who is advocating a relatively liberal and lenient policy and the reactionaries headed by Morarji who would impose a stringent and vindictive solution so that as they fondly imagine, the employees may never raise their heads again.

Giving some glimmer of the discussions inside the Cabinet, the Times of India, July 18, reports, "one logical conclusion under these circumstances is that the Labour Ministry, as the labour expert of

the Government, should be heard with respect" and the Correspondent goes on to report that while the Railway and the Communication Ministries do so, the Finance Ministry, which is headed by Morarji refuses to do so.

The Government itself will know no peace.

THE contradiction between the word and deed of the Congress Government provoked not only the all-India strike and now hinders the restoration of a normal situation, but it has also created a national situation in which reactionary forces are boldly active in more sectors than one.

In Assam, a sharply divided ruling party not only provoked a storm but is unable to cope with a situation in which there is no protection of life, property and honour of the citizens, in which brother is set against brother, as it was in the last days of British rule.

In the Punjab, the Akalis keep their ding-dong morcha—and right inside the Gurdwaras. This week they have sent in a jatha of about 700 to jail to keep the fires burning. Not to be left behind, the Jan Sangh threatens to go into action if the old language formula is touched.

As if all this was not enough, Muslim communalism is coming out into the open, to get better organised and function on an all-India scale. President of the Indian Union Muslim League Mohammed Ismail has announced from Madras that during August its National Convention will be held to "formally launch the political activities of the League in post-independence India."

His reading of the situation is that "hitherto, we were watching the situation and were not able to do anything for fear of suppression," but now there is an "entirely different context." It is that "We have shown to the world that the Muslims of India can unite on the basis of Islam and score big victories and emerge victorious from any trial of strength, thanks to the monolithic solidarity among our ranks. The world has witnessed this spectacle in the recent Kerala elections."

But the Congress "betrayed us. Never mind that betrayal! The time will come soon, when they would come to us again begging for support. We shall give them support even then, but not without taking sufficient precautions for our honourable existence."

"The day is not far off when we will recover our lost moorings and assert ourselves in the politics of this sub-continent."

Loud also were the cheers which greeted the speech of Han Sul Ya of Korea, who spoke of the courageous struggle of the people of South Korea, who had already won their first victory in securing the removal of the hated Syngman Rhee and were now in the midst of a continuous battle against the U. S. occupation troops and their puppets.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK

as the need for reorientating the Plan targets."

How would Acharya Ranga cure what he calls "the dangerous affection" of the Government for inflation? By calling upon it to "abandon extension of State control of industrial and agricultural enterprises."

After administering of due warning to the Government, the Swatantra leader unfolds his vision of India's political future, in the following tell-tale words:

"If, however, Congress Governments do not wish to grow thus wiser even after this debacle, they would only be demonstrating to the defence forces how much the civil order is dependent upon their cooperation in such emergencies also, and thus encourage hot-heads to flirt with the possibility of bringing in military dictatorship, superseding civil dictatorship, which is inevitable in all such cases" (Hindustan Times, July 18—Emphasis added)

So the Swatantra formula for controlling inflation is to liquidate the public sector and if the Nehru Government does not listen, to work for the installation of a military dictatorship.

Thanks, Acharya Ranga, for revealing your plan of action in the coming years against the public sector and for a military dictatorship.

The present confusion and the crisis have emboldened this arch-reactionary to be so brutally frank but his words are very useful for they will help the Indian people to see the true face of the enemy and know its future plan of action in advance.

Reactionaries like Ranga are not only outside the Congress but also right inside it and in its top echelons.

The Hindustan Times, July 19, has publicised the blueprint of the bureaucrats, which the reactionary elements inside the Cabinet are fully backing—all known active trade union militants coming under their category of "ring-leaders" to be summarily sacked and thus "at least 2,000 strikers losing their jobs," cases to go on and no release of the arrested, the recognition of trade unions that called for strike to be withdrawn.

THE GOVT. PLAN

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Bureaucracy On Top

Thinking elements noted with deep concern the despatch of top civilians of the Government of India to the various parts of the country, armed with unprecedented Cabinet authority, to study the strike situation and deal with it. The increased initiative and authority that the top bureaucrats are appropriating to themselves in the present crisis is evident from the fact that it is not the Cabinet that has promptly announced its post-strike policy in terms of our known and accepted national democratic principles but it is a "Committee of Secretaries" of the Government of India which is studying the problem and will make recommendations about what measures to adopt to handle the post-strike situation. Meanwhile, through the Right-wing Press, public opinion is being prepared to swallow and acquiesce in the draconian anti-democratic proposals they are cooking up.

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THE Hindustan Times is the propagandist for Morarji and his ilk. In its July 18 editorial, "The Lesson," it "unreservedly" congratulated the Government that this time it did not "wobble in purpose." It hardly hides its championship of authoritarian methods in tricky balanced words: "It will be a pity if the Government were to be persuaded that the only alternative to vindictiveness is easy going accommodation. . . . To be forgiving to all of them will be to take a poor view of the duty the Government owes to provide a disciplined and integrity public service."

Quite a lot depends upon Prime Minister Nehru personally and his final stand. If the Union Government pursues a vindictive and bureaucratic policy in the post-strike situation, it will be guilty of violating its own earlier promises and following the path of injustice that cannot but lead it astray from reaching the targets of the Third Plan. It will be a policy of provocation under which

the Government, should be heard with respect" and the Correspondent goes on to report that while the Railway and the Communication Ministries do so, the Finance Ministry, which is headed by Morarji refuses to do so.

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COMMUNALISM—POISED AND PLANNING

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THE Appeal emerged as the key document of the vital meeting of the Bureau ever held. Nearly a hundred of the topmost leaders of the World Peace Council were present together with guests representing mass organisations, important peace bodies and national movements. They came from all the continents. They came to tell us of the heroic struggles being waged for peace, of the rapid rise in political consciousness among the peoples following the U-2 outrage and the sabotage by the U. S. imperialists of the Summit at Paris and the disarmament talks at Geneva.

Here were the representatives of the fighting, victorious Japanese people: Professor Kaoru Yasui (famous leader of the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs), Professor Yoshitaro Hirano and Kin-kazu Salonji, well-known leaders of the Japan Peace Council.

The cheers they received were cheers for the millions of signatures collected in Japan against the Japan-U.S. Treaty of Military Alliance, for the mass demonstrations which succeeded in preventing Eisenhower from visiting Japan and in compelling Kishi to resign. A special message of congratulations to the Japanese people went out from the Bureau, which pledged itself to "exert every effort to support their righteous and patriotic struggle for the final abrogation of the treaty."

The message pointed out that the Japanese struggles had dealt "heavy blows to the U. S. Government's attempt to stabilise the SEATO bloc and strengthen its aggressive policies in the Far East," and had not only been "unprecedented in the history of Japan," but had also "rendered great inspiration to the cause of world peace and the struggle against aggression."

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WORLD PEACE COUNCIL LAUNCHES

GREAT NEW CAMPAIGN FOR DISARMAMENT

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The Bureau minced no words. It described the Belgian action "as an act of aggression, violating the sovereignty of an independent country and threatening world peace"; and it demanded the withdrawal of the imperialist troops and an end to the Belgian military bases on Congo soil.

Algeria, Kenya, South Africa

The Bureau also adopted clear unambiguous resolutions on Algeria, South Africa and Kenya, resolutions which fully satisfied the representatives of these countries (each an outstanding leader of the national movement, attending a meeting of the World Peace Council for the first time—a representative of the National Liberation Front of Algeria; Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, well-known South African leader; and Oginga Odinga, Vice-President of the Kenya African National Union).

It was apparent from the very tone of the resolution and speeches that we were in a period in which the peoples were being able to see more clearly than ever who are the enemies of peace.

The peoples were not hesitating any longer to point their finger unerringly at the criminal—imperialism which was responsible for the cold war, for international tension and above all, for the dangers and burdens of armaments.

In his opening remarks, Professor J. D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, pointed out how though the dangers today are greater than ever, "we are more confident than ever of being able to prevent war. The reason is that the negative factors are counterbalanced by positive factors which are stronger. And the victorious struggles in Japan, Korea, Turkey, Cuba, the rising movements in Africa, the new broad movements against military bases in Britain, France, Italy, the peace actions in the USA itself, all these are the unmistakable signs of a world marching against imperialism and the cold war, resolutely, determined—proclaiming aloud the essential truth that 'war is not inevitable', that the peace forces are capable of stopping any aggression and ensuring world peace."

The Bureau demanded the restart of negotiations between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic "on terms of equality" and "excluding any conditions imposed unilaterally", negotiations which "cannot and must not separate two questions which are logically and closely linked: the conditions of the cease-fire; the condi-

The peoples must demand disarmament. They have the power to enforce it. The recent successes won by mass action prove it.

We call for a world conference open to all countries, members and non-members of UNO alike, to secure general and controlled disarmament by successive stages. We consider that, in order to avert the most immediate peril, the first stage must include the banning of the means of delivering nuclear weapons and the closing down of foreign military bases.

We ask all Governments to declare their readiness to take part in such a conference and their determination to produce concrete results.

We ask all Governments to begin now to create favourable conditions for the holding of this conference. To this end, they must avoid any action liable to aggravate the cold war, renounce nuclear tests, and respect the sovereignty and independence of other States.

We call on everybody to support this demand.

Bureau of the World Council of Peace
Stockholm, 9 to 11 July 1960.

NEW AGE

JULY 24, 1960

★ by ROMESH CHANDRA

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It was apparent from the very tone of the resolution and speeches that we were in a period in which the peoples were being able to see more clearly than ever who are the enemies of peace.

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TRAGEDY IN ASSAM

Editorial

THE horror of fratricidal strife has struck Assam with unprecedented force. Thousands upon thousands have been uprooted, their homes destroyed, their means of livelihood taken away. Many have been brutally butchered. People for whom Assam has been their only home for generations have had to flee for their lives—refugees in their own country. The tragic partition days alone had seen such murderous chaos. The tragedy has taken place in Assam but the shock and misery engulfs the whole of India.

What started as a linguistic agitation took on the hideous form of communal frenzy. The accumulated discontent with the failure of the Congress Government to solve a single vital problem of the people added fuel to the fire.

Reactionary forces took full advantage of the situation. Congress politicians in their insane hunger for power pushed their factional quarrels to the extreme limits and beyond. It did not matter to them that the fury of the holocaust would bear down on the innocent millions. Not for nothing did Pandit Nehru upbraid Congress workers in Gauhati. Even Sanjiva Reddy, after his tour, found some words of criticism for the actions of his partymen.

These Congress squabbles paralysed the administration in Assam and rendered it incapable of fulfilling its elementary duty of protecting the lives and homes of the citizens of the State. It has been commented upon by everybody that the Central Government's actions have been surprisingly dilatory and half-hearted.

Against the shame of the riots shines the great work done by the Communists and sane elements of all parties to protect the minorities and restore peace. Valiant indeed has been the work of the peace squads in the towns and villages of the worst affected areas. Braving a thousand perils our comrades in Assam, together with other democratic forces, have thrown themselves into the noble work of ending the frenzy and giving back the State its peace. No words can express the pride and gratitude that one feels at this fresh example of courage and wisdom.

The people of West Bengal have, naturally enough, been the most affected outside Assam. Their hearts have been stirred and they have demanded the speediest action to restore law and order as well as to bring succour to the afflicted.

Here again provocation and attempts to inflame chauvinistic passions were not lacking. The bourgeois Press in West Bengal and other influential quarters did their best to fan feelings against the Assamese and other minorities. Their aim was obviously to disrupt the unity of the working class and democratic forces, which is the pride and the strength of West Bengal.

The Communist Party and other Left Parties have given these disruptive and dangerous elements a crushing rebuff. The epochal general strike of July 15 all over West Bengal will remain a beacon light for the democratic movement throughout the country. The protest was unanimous. Life came to a complete halt. Not a single untoward incident was recorded. Bengalis and non-Bengalis jointly struck and jointly guarded their precious unity. Here in a flash was demonstrated who it is that preserves and strengthens national unity and who heedlessly disrupts it. Glory to the lionhearted Communists, workers and democrats of West Bengal!

The situation in Assam, however, brooks no complacency, no ceasing of the vigilance and action of the masses. The crying task is to take all necessary measures to restore law and order. The immediate need is to rush relief to the afflicted and commence the urgent work of rehabilitation. The guilty must be severely punished. The victims must be given all the assistance they require to resume their normal lives. The Central and State Governments bear primary responsibility for the discharge of these elementary duties. The democratic parties and mass organisations throughout India must throw their full weight into the scales and demand that the Government acts. They must work to bring back unity in Assam, to send all help to the afflicted and, above all, see that nothing damages in the least the unity of the people.

Side by side with the fulfilment of these tasks, the campaign must go forward to restore confidence among the minorities in the State and seek a mutually ac-

THE OIL AGREEMENT

THE Soviet Union has done it again and done it with a bang whose reverberations are being felt in business offices of oil monopolists the world over. To Cuba it has brought tankers full of crude oil to enable Fidel Castro's revolutionary Government to run American, Dutch and British refineries, whose owners had refused to obey the country's law.

To Ceylon it has agreed to bring crude as well as petroleum products at prices much below the world quotations. Last week, India, too, availed of the opportunity offered by it to break through the monopolistic hold of Western suppliers, and contracted to buy about a million-and-a-half tons of petroleum products at lower-than world prices and for rupees.

While the effect of this spectacular entry of the Soviet Union in the world oil market has been one of nervousness in the West, it has given a lot of spine to countries like ours, which had till now to accept all the inequities involved in Western oil companies' price formulae. Already, the Government of India, which had been postponing a decision about the revision of oil prices for so many years, has given notice that no further dilatoriness will be tolerated.

WESTERN PRICES

In fact, according to the Statesman (July 18), it has decided to set up 'unilaterally' a committee of its own experts to devise a new price formula, more in keeping with the present trend in world oil production. The oil companies, too, are said to be resiling a bit from their earlier rigid position, and according to reports available in New Delhi, might be in a more reasonable mood while facing the new committee. They are also reported to have offered 7-12 per cent cut in prices of crude oil imported by them for their refineries.

This they have done, however, after refusing to accept the Government's suggestion that they should process Soviet crude oil which can be available at 25 per cent discount and for rupees.

While the Government, in keeping with its policy of not tampering with the inequities, and very often dishonourable agreements entered into by its executives with oil companies,

ceptable solution. Assam is their homeland no less than that of the Assamese. The only reasonable solution of the language problem there can be on the basis of the recognition of Assamiya as the State language, together with full guarantees and safeguards for the language and culture of the Bengali and tribal minorities. Everything, however, depends on the earliest possible restoration of peace, for the creation of an atmosphere of trust and confidence. Torn and bleeding Assam calls to all and to each of us in her hour of sorrow. Let us unite as one to bring her solace.

(July 20)

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

cannot obviously be expected to take over refineries as Castro has done and as the people here will like it to do, it can surely take advantage of the Soviet offer of crude oil to make these companies offer a bigger cut than a mere 7½ per cent, which will result in a saving of only about Rs. three crores in a total import bill of Rs. 40 crores per annum.

Apart from the impact of the Soviet offer, the glut in the world oil production makes the existing high prices very much untenable. The oil companies, through their exclusive dealing arrangements, however, have managed to keep them up till now. Even in Britain their unreasonable has come in for some sharp comment by journals like the Guardian, which has castigated these companies for their restrictive trading practices and rigging up of prices.

Obviously, when even Britain has felt the pinch, India should feel it much more. And now that the Soviet Union has offered to give oil at much more than reasonable prices it is time that it sits up and forces the companies to behave better.

Not all circles in India, however, are thinking in these terms. There are some among us who want to exploit the opportunity not to break the Western companies' stranglehold, but to arrive at a more favourable understanding with them, so that both their as well as these companies' interests be kept intact.

THEIR WAY OUT

The Hindustan Times has been the first to come out in the open to voice these thoughts. While welcoming the agreement with the Soviet Union, and mildly criticising Western companies for imposing a big burden on the country's balance of payments, it has suggested that "the easiest way out; for the West to match Russia's offer would be to make a medium-term loan covering this country's oil imports during next few years".

In other words, what the West should do is not to cut prices but to give a loan to India—to be repaid, of course—to defer the charge on current earnings. This One wonders if the Government which took so long to decide about imposing controls last year will be as reluctant now to relax them when the trade demands it. If it relents, however, it will be giving one more proof of its greater concern for the interests of the sugar magnates and the dealers than for those of the consumers.

—ESSEN

July 19, 1960

THIRD PLAN FAILS TO CLICK

★ by E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

The "bigger and bolder" Third Five-Year Plan, which came out on the 6th of this month, did not evoke that amount of either enthusiasm or criticism as the smaller and humbler Second Plan did nearly five years ago.

THE Commerce, the organ of Big Business in Bombay, observed: "Two years ago, the very mention of Rs. 10,000 crores as the probable size of the Third Plan led to a violent shaking of the heads and drew the retort that it would be far more over-ambitious than the Second Plan. Today, however, the size of the Third Plan does not evoke much criticism. Most people have reconciled themselves to it as something inevitable and necessary, although its successful implementation depends, to a greater extent than the Second Plan, on the availability of foreign aid, and the domestic price level is 20 per cent higher than about five years ago, carrying a clear warning that the scope for deficit-financing is severely restricted."

On the other hand, those sections of the public who had enthusiastically welcomed the original Plan-Frame and the subsequent Five-Year Plan in 1955-56 do not show the same enthusiasm now. They know very well that those who had opposed the main features of the Second Five-Year Plan (such as its emphasis on industrialisation in general and the building of heavy industries in particular, importance attached by it to the expansion of the Public Sector, etc.) were opposed to the Rs. 10,000-crores Third Plan; it was after a good deal of argument among the planners of the "more modest" Rs. 7,500-crores Plan was abandoned and the present Plan accepted.

Added to the fact that the main features of the Second Plan have been maintained in the present Plan, too, this should have made the supporters of the idea of a "bigger and bolder" Third Five-Year Plan give an enthusiastic welcome to it. They, however, do not now show even half the enthusiasm that they did five years ago towards the Second Plan.

WHY? Speaking for those who were opposed to the main features of the Second Plan, the Commerce says: "The skilful softening of the harsher features of taxation, a somewhat friendly approach to the private sector and a widening of investment opportunities as the Second Plan gathered momentum have gone a long way towards winning the support of the vast majority of businessmen for a bigger Plan."

The dealers have only one interest—to exploit every situation to make the maximum gains. In short, it is the lack of availability which presents them with windfalls, and when the supply is sufficient, they seek the removal of controls to corner it and charge high prices.

One wonders if the Government which took so long to decide about imposing controls last year will be as reluctant now to relax them when the trade demands it. If it relents, however, it will be giving one more proof of its greater concern for the interests of the sugar magnates and the dealers than for those of the consumers.

Experience So Far What about the common people? They, too, have had some experience of the way in which the Plan actually worked. This experience, however, is not at all happy.

For the last several years, our people have been told that the rebuilding and reshaping of our economy on modern lines require the ut-

which will directly or indirectly raise the price level of consumption goods and thus increase the cost of living of the common people.

It is, therefore, not accidental that at the very time when the Draft Outline of the Third Five-Year Plan was being released to the public, nearly 2.2 million Central Government employees were preparing for a general strike with the two major demands of the need-based minimum wage and dearness allowance linked with the cost of living index. The justice of the demand of the Central Government employees can be seen from the fact that such an inveterate enemy of working class action as the Eastern Economist—which, as a matter of fact had demanded that the strike should be forbidden and assured the Government that "the public will throw their weight in any action that the Government may choose to take"—argued that: "There is good ground for further concession. The theoretical stand that the Government of India has

Burdens On People

Heavier and more rigorous taxation on the rich, control on profits, expansion of the public sector, etc., are all opposed on the ground that they will "kill the incentive" on the part of "producers". But such

Lack Of Enthusiasm Because It Means

INCREASED BURDENS

Inadequate Employment Opportunities

forms of taxation as will fleece the mass of cultivators, traders and industrialists and wage and salary-earners (such as betterment levy, sales-tax, excise duties, etc.) are imposed more and more; this, it seems, will not kill the "incentive of producers"; furthermore, we are now told that these burdens will be still heavier during the Third Five-Year Plan.

The Draft Outline assures the owners of big property that income and corporation rates will not be enhanced. "Further increase in yields will have to be sought mainly through a tightening of tax administration, watch on expense accounts of companies and other measures to check tax evasion."

Prices And Taxes

As for "indirect taxes and increase in the prices of products of public enterprises", (whose incidence falls on the common people), the Draft Outline recognises that they will "tend to raise prices and costs", but adds, "this is part of the calculated sacrifices that have to be made."

No less than one-sixth of the total resources for the Plan—Rs. 1,650 crores out of Rs. 10,200 crores, is to be found through additional taxation. To this should be added the Rs. 550 crores, to be found through deficit-financing. Rs. 2,200 crores is thus to be found through measures

taken—that it is impossible to concede to the principle of any linking between the cost of living and remuneration of Central Government employees cannot, in reason, be sustained."

Just as in regard to taxation and prices, so, in regard to employment, too, the people have been thoroughly disappointed.

Unemployment Problem

The Second Five-Year Plan had calculated that 15 million jobs would have to be created during that Plan period if the backlog of unemployment existing at the beginning of the Plan was to be removed and all the new entrants to the labour market were to be provided with jobs. The Plan did not expect to provide so many jobs but provided for eight million additional jobs outside agriculture. Even this has not been achieved. It is now estimated (in the Draft Outline) that no more than 6.5 million jobs outside agriculture will be provided. This means that unemployment will have increased during the Second Plan period by no less than two millions.

Now comes the estimate being made in the Third Plan according to which 15 million jobs will have to be created in order to give employment to new entrants into the labour market alone. Actually, however, only 10.5 million new jobs

are estimated to be created during the Plan period outside agriculture. If another 3.5 million who may be absorbed in agriculture are also added to this, 14 million employment opportunities will be created for 15 million new entrants and a backlog of nearly ten millions.

The experience of the First and Second Five-Year Plans and the estimates of the present Third Five-Year Plan thus give room for apprehension that the problem of unemployment is not being solved but becoming more and more acute even in spite of all the sacrifices being made by our people for fulfilling the Plans.

People Will Sacrifice, If...

All these burdens of taxation, rising prices and inadequate employment opportunities will be patiently borne by our people if they are convinced that sacrifices on their part will help the country's onward march towards the goal of building a modern, industrialised economy. The experience of the first two Five-Year Plans and the pro-

spects of the Third Five-Year Plan, however, make them apprehensive as to whether the grand objective held before them will be actually realised.

They are, of course, happy and proud at the progress that has undoubtedly been registered in the field of industrialisation. It is no small matter that the index of industrial production has risen from 100 in 1951 to 151.1; that, among the various items of industrial production, iron and steel has risen to 163.1, machinery to 423.3 and chemicals to 214.0. It is also gratifying that this progress is expected to continue in the Third Five-Year Plan.

They are also happy that the irrigation and power projects and the expansion of agricultural activities have led to some improvement in agricultural production, though it is not commensurate with our requirements.

Disturbing Question There are also other aspects of the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan and targets of the Third Plan which would be gratifying to those who are interested in the progressive development of our economy. One of these is the extent of progress in the field of technical education, another is the maintenance and extension of the Public Sector.

There is, however, one disturbing question which is agitating all those who

are interested in the progress of the Plan: will the targets laid in the Plan be really achieved?

External Credit

It is well-known, for example, that many of the important projects originally included for completion in the Second Plan have not been completed and are being carried over into the Third Plan. They include the three steel plants, the Rourkela fertiliser factory, the Ranchi heavy-machinery plant, the Ranchi foundry forge-shop, the Durgapur mining machinery plant, the Bhopal heavy electrical-project, etc.

As for the new projects that have been included in the Third Plan, very few have already been assured of the external credits that are required for undertaking them. Such important new projects as the expansion of the Rourkela and Durgapur steel plants, the Bokaro steel plant, expansion of the Hindustan machine-tools and the heavy-electrical project at Bhopal, the expansion of Vishakhapatnam shipyard, the construction of the Cochin shipyard, etc., depend on external credits if and when they become available. The question is—will so much of external credit become available? The estimate of resources

required for the Plan shows that no less than Rs. 2,600 crores of assistance is required from abroad. Rs. 500 crores out of this is the bare amount that is required to cover the deficit in the balance of payment which will be made in the plan period, while the balance of Rs. 2,100 crores is for the additional imports that are required for developmental purposes. Will such a huge amount of external assistance be available during this period?

On What Terms? As important as the question as to whether external assistance of such magnitude will at all become available, and possibly even more important than that, is the question as to the terms on which it comes. This becomes particularly ominous in view of certain comments that are being made in certain organs of Big Business.

Here, for example, is what the Commerce writes: "A feeling has come to prevail that India's friends abroad, especially in the Western world, are willing to help it in its attempts at becoming economically strong through democratic means. There is no doubt that, in the case of the Second Plan in its early stages, the authorities of this country have striven hard to take the cooperation

★ SEE PAGE 14

Storm Brewing In Andhra Congress

RULING GROUP BLAMES SANJEEVA REDDI

The Congress house in Andhra is in a hopeless mess. Eighteen of its members in the Legislative Assembly defied the party whip and voted for non-Congress candidates in the elections to the Legislative Council from the Assembly constituency. This happened while Congress President N. Sanjeeva Reddi was in the capital.

INTERESTING stories are making the rounds of how the supply of Congress votes was far more than the demand with the result that the price of a vote came down to as low as Rs. 500 and a non-Congress candidate had to inform Congress MLAs that "booking was closed."

In the recent elections to the Corporations of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, and since a bit of a revolt. Congress members, who failed to secure tickets, contested independently or supported non-Congress candidates.

These rebels had gained the impression from the behaviour of the ruling group that defiance of discipline was not after all a big crime in the Congress and that they would eventually be taken back. Now, disciplinary action has had to be taken against 60 such members.

Raju's Resignation

P. V. G. Raju, until recently a Socialist leader and now a Congress Minister, has resigned his Chairmanship of the Pradesh Congress Civic Board, protesting against the behaviour of the President of the Pradesh Congress.

The unanimous list of candidates to the Corporation elections proposed by the

Pradesh Congress Civic Board was radically altered by the President without any consultation with the Civic Board. The General Secretary of the AICC who came all the way from Delhi to hear the complaints of some Congressmen in this regard, made some more changes and he also did not think it necessary to consult Raju.

Raju considers all this an insult to him—especially so since he is a new-comer to the Congress Party and so new to the 'thieves-in-the-kitchen' politics of the Congress Party. Raju today seems to be arguing that the Congress would not have suffered such a serious defeat at the polls, had the list which the Civic Board had prepared been kept intact.

On top of all this has come the affaire A. C. Subba Reddi. It may be recalled that the Chief Minister forced the resignation of Subba Reddi from his Ministry for having exercised his freedom of vote in an organisational election, against the wish of the Chief Minister.

These two Congress leaders made statements on the floor of the Assembly, defending their respective actions, hurling accusations and counter-accusations against each other.

But, both of them revealed one thing to the house—

that there was a lot of interference by one Minister with another Minister's files. While Subba Reddi admitted that he called for certain files from other departments and made some comments and asserted that this was done according to Cabinet practice, he called the Chief Minister a past-master in this art, far surpassing him, and challenged the Chief Minister to hold an enquiry. This, of course, was promptly turned down. The tone of both the speeches was, now the battle starts.

Latest in this series is the arrival of one of the Congress General Secretaries in Hyderabad to enquire into the complaints by some Congress-

men about the irregularities in the elections to the Pradesh Congress Election Committee. The complaints were to the effect that the elections were held in the absence of a Returning Officer and that the ballot papers of those who did not cast as many votes as there were seats were declared invalid.

All this has happened in quick succession within six months after the present Ministry came into power, overthrowing Sanjeeva Reddi. The ruling group attributes all this trouble to Sanjeeva Reddi and his followers in Andhra.

Signs of an impending storm are very much evident on the horizon of Congress politics in Andhra.

VIOLATING ALL PLEDGES Evictions From Govt. Waste Land

The countryside in Andhra has become restive with the latest Government order to all District Collectors for eviction of cultivators from cultivable Government waste lands at all costs. This order has informed Collectors that they will be considered "inefficient" if they do not succeed in evicting the cultivators.

This order has set a whole machinery in motion. Tens of thousands of notices have been issued—in one district of Nalgonda alone 30,000 such notices have been issued, and cultivators who have been tilling those lands for a period from five to 15 years are being evicted.

The hardships that are being caused to such cultivators by Government on the one hand and landlords on the other, were of such a serious nature, that one cultivator, becoming desperate, killed outright one person and injured another in a village in Krishna District on June 28. This cultivator had been tilling the land for eight years and the two persons are said to have been putting one obstruction after another for three years, according to information available.

Communist Party's Call

The Executive Committee of the State Council of the Communist Party has taken serious note of the situation that has arisen out of the Government order and has issued a call to such cultivators "to carry on their agitation till their rights are recognised and till pattas are given for all the waste lands now under cultivation."

Besides taking demonstrations to local officials and holding rallies and conferences, the Executive told them: "If either the Government or the landlords attempt to forcibly evict or destroy the crops, we appeal to the cultivators to resist such attempts and stick to the lands under all circumstances."

The Government's eviction orders came as a surprise, in view of the very explicit statement made by Chief Minister Sanjeevaiah during the budget session of the Assembly that "all bazar lands will be distributed to the landless before next Ugadi," i.e. March 1961.

Coming as it did from a harijan Chief Minister, this assurance had created hopes among the harijan masses, who are mainly the cultivators of these waste lands.

Moreover, this assurance itself came in the background of two Government orders issued by the late Kala Venkatrao, the then Revenue Minister in 1958 according to which, all attempts at evictions would be suspended pending finalisation of lists of lands which could be made available for distribution.

All the cultivators have been looking forward to the day when pattas will be issued to them for the lands they have been cultivating for years.

The present Revenue Minister K. V. Rangareddi, who is very much a spokesman of the old feudal set-up, however, dashed to the ground all hopes entertained by lakhs of cultivators, by issuing fresh instructions against the earlier Government orders. This order was—evict first, allotment may be done later.

*****From*****
V. HANUMANTHA RAO
*****From*****

Alongside evictions, he has hit upon another idea. He has directed the Collectors to impose heavy penalties. Instances were quoted by members in the current session of the Legislature of fines to the tune of even Rs. 200 imposed on one single acre held by these poor cultivators. Local officials, who generally act under the influence of the local gentry, went much further and have in some places razed the crop to the ground.

After such an attitude to the question of distribution of waste lands under its control to the landless poor, this Government wants the public to believe that it would take over lands above the ceiling and distribute those lands to the landless!

Assembly Decision

According to Government statistics, there are 42 lakhs of acres of all varieties of cultivable waste land in the State. During the Prakasam Government in the Andhra State, the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution moved by a Communist member that all such waste lands should be distributed free to landless people. The Government committed itself to the programme and the Governor, in his speech, announced that Government was taking steps to distribute the land, in accordance with the resolution.

However, after the 1955 landslide in the mid-term elections in favour of the Congress, the Congress Government started retreating from its position. It announced that all Government waste lands which were likely to fall under projects either in construction or to be constructed in the near future, would be exempt from such schemes of distribution. This was a big blow, since it took nearly fifty per cent of the available waste land out of the purview of distribution.

The second step it took was to announce distribution of these Government lands to political sufferers, who still stick to the Congress Party. Instead of giving land which was unoccupied, Government has systematically evicted tillers who after years of sweat and toil have converted near-barren lands into cultivable lands, from occupation of such lands and distributed them to these sufferers. This led to clashes, notably in Guntur District and till today, some tillers are rotting in jail.

Only Way—Resistance

Agitation continued all over the State, which ultimately forced the Andhra Pradesh Government to issue two Government orders, stopping all evictions pending finalisation of lists of prohibited and unprohibited lands. The cultivators heaved a sigh of relief, but the latest orders have come like a bolt from the blue and have pushed these cultivators into a position where they are left with no other alternative but to stick to their land and resist eviction.

CABINET CHANGES?

WITH the strike over, New Delhi gossipers no longer huddle together to exchange news-bits about which Minister was preparing what formula. Now the gossip is which Minister is going to be where as hints pile up about supposed Cabinet reshuffles.

Not that all this matters very much. Still it is a commentary on the bonds of mutual trust and confidence that are said to exist between the members of our top executive body. As usual cut-throat competition is said to be on. Journalists with the privilege of informal contacts with the mighty report quite a high state of tension.

What is, however, something more than mere personal intrigue seems to be the renewed offensive to remove Krishna Menon from the Defence Ministry. The incredible argument being advanced, it appears, is that Thimayya is retiring some eight or nine months hence and with his going Krishna Menon will run riot.

The suggestion is said to have been stage-whispered that the Defence Minister could be shovelled on to the vacant post of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. Some other faithful colleagues of his are said to be wiser, however. Their opinion appears to be that Nehru would never accept such an obvious downgrading. So they are reported to be making a bid to give Krishna Menon the Chairmanship of the Planning Commission on the plea that the P. M. is overburdened.

The suggestion has another more sinister aspect. Morarji, Path and others are steadily working away to undermine the authority of the supreme Planning body. They would like the whole Plan to become a mere bundle of departmental schemes and projects. With the Prime Minister at the head the Commission appears to be too high-powered a body to ignore or attack.

But with Krishna Menon as the titular chief, their offensive could gather more momentum. Their opinion is that their stone would kill more birds than anybody could imagine.

PAYING FOR KERALA

GOING through the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin (April 1960) an economist friend found out a rather fiendish fact.

The Regional Balance of Payments on current account is neatly tabulated on page 513.

In the section on our transactions with the Dollar Area he found that our receipts on invisibles had increased from Rs. 19.6 crores in 1958 to Rs. 35.9 crores in 1959. It was a rather curious phenomenon—this very large rise.

Where was all this going? Its impact is certainly not going to be invisible.

SCRAP-BOOK

So researching further, he found in the same number of the Bulletin (page 516) that it was bluntly stated, "There was a sharp marking up of invisible receipts from Rs. 16 crores in July-September 1959 to Rs. 25 crores during the quarter under review."

Why this sharp rise? Again, the answer is provided. "Increased receipts were due in the main to larger U. S. Embassy expenditure out of P. L. 480 counterpart funds." Actually as far as dollar invisibles alone are concerned the rise is from Rs. 3.8 crores to Rs. 14.8 crores.

One can't but ask why the American Embassy suddenly felt and needed replenishing. A look at the dates suggests an answer. The Kerala "liberation" struggle, long planned, reached its height in July 1959. Who knows if the U. S. Embassy felt out of pocket after it was all over? Could this be the reason why it had to draw

so heavily on the P. L. 480 counterpart funds in the subsequent period? One wonders if the Government of India would not like to look into this fishy affair and let us know the results of its probe.

INDIANS IN WEST GERMANY

OUR compatriots studying in West Germany had the rare honour of confronting two of our great leaders almost at the same time—Morarji-bhai and Jaya Prakash. Morarji-bhai made a stirring speech about India's advance and the great opportunities this offered to all well-qualified scientists and technicians. Imagine his rage when some young fellow asked him to be more concrete and uttered Dr. Joseph's name.

Our disciplinary Finance Minister lost control and shouted that they would have to take what they got and not get ambitious—as

if Dr. Joseph's tragedy was due to his ambitions! It is good to be able to say that our young scientists shouted back and silenced Morarji.

To make their morale droop further J. P. gave a harangue in West Berlin where he had gone to attend the Congress for cultural freedom. Trying to impress his young audience he thought he would tell them an anecdote or two about his talks with the Prime Minister.

So, off the record he said that he had told Nehru to drop all this pretence of Socialism and even argued that the Prime Minister's slogans were only a front. He went on to say that Nehru's only reply was that J. P. knew nothing of Socialism and had long ceased to be a Socialist!

The Indian students can scarcely be blamed for getting the impression that, perhaps, both Nehru and J. P. were telling the truth in this mutual exchange of bouquets.

AMERICAN CONVENTIONS

THE New York Times of July 10 is cautious lest powerful men feel offended. But still its comments on the way State delegations vote at the Democratic and Republican Party Conventions are damaging enough.

"Most delegates come to the Conventions in all stages of commitment, semi-commitment and non-commitment. The result is an elaborate poker-game in each of the uncommitted delegations. What are the chips in this game?"

"The chips are sometimes said to be mainly money and jobs. Governors who can swing sizable numbers of delegates are allotted Cabinet posts or ambassadorships, we are told, leaders of small blocks are promised Federal judgeships or administrative jobs, and individual delegates get local Federal jobs.

"Indeed, we are told that even more solid poker chips are used—cash, free drinks, freer women."

No doubt this is all part of "freedom of choice in the 'free' world."

—ONLOOKER

July 18.

YOUTH DEMANDS ITS DUE

—MEMORANDUM ON THIRD PLAN

THE Calcutta Council meeting of the All-India Youth Federation (AIYF) adopted a memorandum on Youth Welfare Programme in the Third Five-Year Plan, addressed to the Planning Commission and to the Education Ministry of the Government of India.

Views and proposals presented in the memorandum are permeated with the desire of the young generation for effective participation in nation-building tasks.

Taking into account the experience of the youth welfare programmes during the two Five-Year Plans, the memorandum draws particular attention to the facts that first, the allocation for the youth welfare schemes in the two Plans have proved to be far below the minimum requirements for such schemes and secondly, these Plans have failed to mobilise the youth in the general activities of national reconstruction, the major section of our young men and women remaining as mere indifferent onlookers during this period.

Analysing the present situation, the memorandum points out the main tasks which must be taken up by the Third Plan. They are:—

1. Eradication of illiteracy. Even today nearly 75 per cent of our people, including large sections of

our youth, are illiterate. And if we have to depend upon the rural youth for the development of agriculture and for building a new life in the villages, helping them to read and write must be a primary prerequisite.

2. Improvement in the general health conditions of our people. The low standard of living and the lack of modern medical facilities and sanitary measures are sapping the health of the young generation.

DAMNING FIGURES

Recalling the results of a survey conducted in 1954 among the Calcutta University students, the memorandum has cited damning figures such as: out of 43,000 students, 18,000 were undernourished; while only six per cent of the students could afford to have the optimum diet, 54 per cent were living on subsistence level and 31 per cent even below that level. No wonder that the incidence of T. B. in India is very high.

3. The unemployment problem. The Third Plan, far from solving this problem, promises, if anything, only to raise the unemployment figure to a new high.

Reports have already appeared, stating that by the end of the Third Plan, the number of unemployed

would be nearly 14 million. The educated youth is the principal victim of the policies of the Government generating such large-scale unemployment. Scarcity of jobs is the characteristic of a steadily developing economy.

4. Problems concerning the leisure, rest and recreation of the youth. The need for setting up clubs, stadia, gymnasiums, etc., in villages and in towns.

In view of the above-mentioned tasks, what should be the steps envisaged in the Third Plan for tackling them?

The memorandum states that whereas nearly 33 per cent of the total population of the country is constituted by young people between the age of 15 and 34, the Third Plan allocation for the entire youth welfare programme is a mere Rs. 588 lakhs.

The memorandum, citing the instances of advanced countries of the world, suggests that the Planning Commission should set apart at least Rs. 100 crores for youth welfare programme in the Third Plan.

The memorandum then goes on to suggest the break-up of this amount for various schemes under the following heads: co-operatives of unemployed youth; scheme for the improvement of health; drive against illiteracy; spare-time schools and institutions; rural youth clubs;

cultural and sports festivals; stadia and gymnasiums; and some other miscellaneous projects.

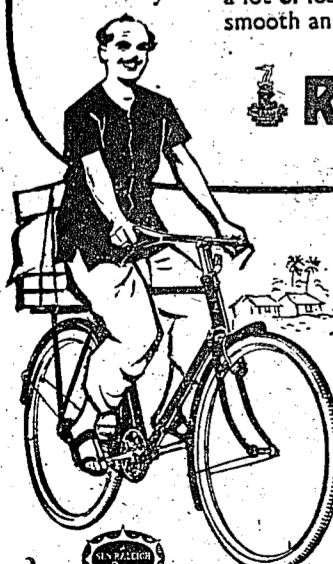
The last section of the memorandum deals with the problem of implementation of various schemes envisaged in the Third Plan.

Severe criticism had been levelled against the implementation of the youth welfare programmes so far. The refusal of the authorities to take large masses of youth and their representative organisations into confidence is a main criticism. Then, certain organisations receive a most favoured treatment while certain others are discriminated against. Bureaucracy is rampant almost at every level. Cases of mismanagement, nepotism, waste and corruption are frequent.

COMMITTEE PROPOSED

In order to prevent the repetition of these serious set-backs to the implementation of any youth welfare schemes, and in order to generate wide-spread enthusiasm among the youth for nation-building tasks, the memorandum proposes that an all-India committee consisting of all-India youth organisations should be set up with real powers of discussions and decisions, with committees at various State, district, etc., levels.

the village shopkeeper says:



"As a businessman, I try to get the most out of every rupee I spend. So when it came to buying a bicycle, I naturally bought a Raleigh, because, it is sturdy, can bear a lot of load and runs so smooth and light!"

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SEN-RALEIGH

Never before has Assam been so alarmingly disturbed as in the past few weeks. What started as the language agitation has by now been converted into an ugly communal riot. Very disquieting reports of violence have been pouring in from a number of places—mostly urban areas. High tension prevails almost all over the State.

EVER since independence, the demand for declaring Assamese as the State language has been persistently raised mainly by the Assam Sahitya Sabha—an Assamese literary organisation—with the general support of the Assamese-speaking people. But almost all the political parties in the State found the issue rather too delicate and preferred to put it off.

In order to appreciate this attitude of the political parties in the State, one has to take into account the linguistic composition of the State's population.

According to the 1951 Census, the accuracy of which is held in question in certain quarters, out of nearly 92 lakhs of the total population of the State (including the Naga Hills which has since been placed outside the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of Assam), 54.44 per cent are Assamese, 18.88 per cent Bengalis, 8.88 per cent NEFA tribal languages, 4.44 per cent Naga languages, 2.24 per cent Khasi, 2.24 per cent Mizo (Lushai), 2.22 per cent Garo, 2.22 Bodo (this plains tribe is perhaps by and large bilingual, using Assamese as much as their own language), 1.11 per cent Mikir (Assamese is quite widely used among this tribe also); and 3.33 per cent other languages.

Many of these linguistic groups live in distinctly defined "homelands" in the hills and the plains. A section of the interspersed population also lives in some compact areas—in villages, mauzas and thanas. These different linguistic groups live at different socio-economic levels. Thus it will be evident that the problem of the State language in Assam is inseparably linked with the problem of preserving the unity among these linguistic groups and maintaining the integrity of the State.

Refugee Influx

The influx of a very large number of East Bengal refugees, as also some people from other States, including West Bengal, as technicians and specialists, perhaps made the Sahitya Sabha genuinely perturbed that in the 1961 Census the Assamese-speaking population may not emerge as an absolute majority, though, no doubt, they will remain the single biggest linguistic group.

The demand for declaring Assamese as the State language began to gather momentum among the Assamese-speaking middle-class intelligentsia, perhaps, for the same reasons which made the Sahitya Sabha apprehensive. A general agitation by the intelligentsia began to rally other sections also behind the demand, though the peasantry and the working class were not so vocal as the intelligentsia. The non-Assamese-speaking population in the Brahmaputra Valley generally main-

tained a passive attitude, the hill tribe and the Bengali-speaking population of Cachar District were generally opposed to the move.

In The Assembly

It was in such a situation that the issue came up before the State Assembly. In the autumn session of the Assembly last year, the Assam Sahitya Sabha gave notice of an unofficial resolution, demanding declaration of Assamese as the State language with adequate protection to the linguistic minorities. But the issue did not come up for discussion last year.

This year, at the time of the budget session, the PSP tabled a couple of non-official resolutions demanding that Assamese be declared the State language and gave wide publicity to this fact. As many as seven Congress members also gave separate notices of similar resolutions. Though the resolution did not come up for discussion, the demand was raised by a

number of members belonging to both sides of the House at the time of the general debate on the Governor's Address as well as during the general debate on the budget.

Communist Stand

It was pointed out by many, including Gourishankar Bhattacharyya, leader of the Communist group in the Assembly, that the Chief Minister's statement might give a convenient weapon to the chauvinist elements to be used against the minorities. The State Executive of the Communist Party, on

the eve of the Assembly session, had given a directive to the Party MLAs as a guidance. The Executive said that it stood "by any resolution that seeks to declare Assamese as the official language in the State without compulsion to any minority in the hills and Cachar Districts. Assamese should be introduced in a phased manner. The minority in the whole State will have their full right of petition, appeal, education and examination through their own mother-tongue."

Tribals' Demand

Meanwhile, the tribal people's organisations began to oppose the APCC resolution on language and demanded the maintenance of the status quo. That wing of the Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU) which supported Congress-EITU cooperation in the parliamentary sphere, in its eighth conference adopted a resolution demanding the maintenance of the status quo. It was followed by a similar resolution in what was known as the "Hills Leaders' Conference" which was attended by the leaders of a number of hills tribals' organisations.

Differences In Congress

As many as three joint sittings of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC) and the Congress Legislature Party failed to arrive at a decision on the question. Later, the APCC adopted a resolution—the members from Cachar Dis-

trict opposing—recommending to the State Government to take steps to declare Assamese as the State language. It was left to the Government to decide from time to time for what purpose and in what area Assamese was to be used as official language.

It, however, stated that the language would not be used in the autonomous hills districts and Cachar until they were prepared for it. It also defined the rights of the linguistic minorities to receive education in their mother-tongue, to submit petitions, etc., in their mother-tongue and stated that language would not be considered a barrier to recruitment to public services or contract, permits, licences, etc.

Some sections of the Assamese-speaking population considered it a weak-kneed resolution and demanded that Assamese should be declared the State language without any conditions. The Congressmen of Cachar (a predominantly Bengali-speaking district) voiced their opposition to the APCC resolution immediately after the meeting was over and they demanded that both Assamese and Bengali should be declared the State languages of Assam.

This slogan was backed by the nationalist Press of Calcutta which has a fairly large circulation in Assam. While the Calcutta

Letter Blacked Out

This letter was handed over to one of the organisers of the May 28 meeting with a request to read it out in the meeting. But the young organisers were, perhaps, too excited to be capable of calm, dispassionate thinking and though a resolution was passed condemning the anti-Assamese slogans, the above-mentioned letter was not read out in the meeting.

What, however, was all the more deplorable was that the Press which certainly could have collected a copy of that letter and reported it, did not do so. If that had been done, much of the subsequent bitterness might have been avoided.

The May 28 meeting of Shillong was significant for another reason also. Ever since the beginning of the language controversy an idea had been gaining ground among the Assamese-speaking middle-class that Assam's development—both material and cultural—was hampered because of her multilingual composition with different linguistic groups living at different socio-economic levels.

It was felt that the State exchequer had to pay much more for the backward areas of the hills districts than what it received from those areas and consequently, the plains districts could not secure a fair deal. The idea gained ground that it was better to separate than live together and quarrel perpetually. Regional considerations that weigh heavily on development plans also contributed to fostering that idea. It was, however, in this public meeting that the idea was first publicly mooted.

This is a slogan that has of late been editorially supported by the Assam Tribune, the only English daily of the State. The pro-Congress Calcutta Press seized upon this in its barrage of attack on the

the objectionable slogans, assumed rather an anti-Bengali stand. This touched off an agitation all over the Brahmaputra Valley against what was called the "anti-Assamese conspiracy of certain quarters in Shillong." In Shillong, a week after the procession on May 28, a public meeting was called by the Assamese students who had been naturally excited. Though some non-Assamese-speaking students and others attended the meeting, it was by and large a meeting of the Assamese-speaking public.

The organisers of the May 21 procession and meeting, meanwhile, wrote a letter to their "Assamese-speaking brothers and sisters", assuring them that "though we organised a procession and a meeting on May 22, 1960, we did not mean to direct it against your language nor against you. In spite of these honest and sincere objectives, complaint has reached us that some processionists uttered unpleasant slogans against your community. Well, brothers and sisters, if that was the case, we the organisers who are responsible for the whole show, are very sorry for this unfortunate incident and sincerely offer our apology to you all."

* SEE PAGE 13

CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER UNDER CONGRESS RAJ

by AJIT ROY

The Directive Principles of State policy as embodied in the Constitution of India, the "Socialist Pattern" resolution adopted by Parliament, and the objectives of planning as stated by the Planning Commission—all proclaim the aim of preventing the concentration of wealth and economic power and promise the reconstruction of society on a more egalitarian basis.

ONLY the other day, at the last annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries (FICCI), the Prime Minister thundered against monopoly before the assembled captains of industry and finance. But, alas, the economic system, like ocean tide, is no respecter of personalities, King Canute or Prime Minister Nehru.

The relatively rapid growth of industry and banking since Independence has, therefore, according to the basic law of capitalism, led to a steeper concentration of economic power in India.

Concentration In Industry

Let us first take the case of manufacturing industry.

The following table brings together data relating to the concentration of labour and production for the year 1947 and 1956—the earliest and latest years for which such data are available. They are based on the Census of Indian Manufactures (CIM) covering 29 major groups of industries, including Sugar, Cotton and Jute Textiles, Cement, Iron and Steel, Soap, Chemicals, Aluminium, Electric Fans, Electric Lamps, Sewing Machines, Bicycles, General and Electrical Engineering, etc.

Name of industry	No. of giant factories	Share of giant factories, employing 1,000 and above workers each	
		1947	1956
1. Soap	2	4.880	7,074
2. Ceramics	3	350	507
3. Matches	5	7.2 p.c.	7.2 p.c.
4. Aluminium	4	14,87,464	16,78,080
5. Iron and Steel	8	9,98,704	11,64,500
6. Bicycle	4	67.1 p.c.	69.4 p.c.
7. Sewing Machine	1	743.61	1,614.27
8. Electric Fans	1	380.21	896.17
9. General Engineering, etc.	30	48.4 p.c.	55.6 p.c.

The absolute increase in number and value in 1956 over 1947 is due to both expansion of productive forces and extended coverage of the Census. It will be seen that in spite of the rise in the number of giant factories from 350 in 1947 to 507 in 1956, their proportion remains the same at 7.2 per cent. But the

Steeper Concentration In Banking

Concentration is very much steeper in the sphere of banking. As on the last Friday (December 25) of 1959, the aggregate share of the 15 top banks, having deposits of over Rs. 25 crores each, in the total deposits of 363 Indian Joint Stock Banks was 78 per cent. This is ten per cent higher than the share of this class of banks in the total deposits of all Indian Joint Stock Banks in 1949. Since one of the these top banks, namely, the State Bank of India, is no longer a private bank, these figures may be regarded as somewhat misleading.

Name of industry	No. of giant factories	P. C. of total no. of factories	P.C. share in total value of gross output
1. Soap	2	5.7	66.6
2. Ceramics	3	4.4	38.0
3. Matches	5	12.5	74.6
4. Aluminium	4	1.9	33.3
5. Iron and Steel	8	6.0	82.0
6. Bicycle	4	5.3	53.1
7. Sewing Machine	1	4.4	83.4
8. Electric Fans	1	5.9	37.3
9. General Engineering, etc.	30	1.6	29.6

It should be noted here that even this small number of units in the respective industries are not all independent. For example, in the Soap, Matches, and Iron and Steel industries, a number of units either belong

Progress of Concentration of Deposits in Private Banks		
	1949	1956
1. Total no. of private banks	584	362
2. No. of private banks with deposits of over Rs. 25 crores	6	14
3. Total deposits held by all private banks (Rs. crores)	538.97	1,236.30
4. Aggregate deposits held by the banks listed in item 2 above (Rs. Crores)	284.60	842.70
5. 4 as p.c. of 3	52 p.c.	68 p.c.

It will be seen that during the ten years under review, the number of giant private banks (excluding the Imperial/State Bank of India) increased from six to fourteen. At the other pole the number of small, non-scheduled banks declined in this period from 521 to 269 and their aggregate share in the total deposits fell from 13.2 per cent to 3.8 per cent.

In other words, about a

dozen big banks have grown bigger by driving innumerable small banks out of business. Among the surviving banks the aggregate share of the top private banks in the total deposits increased from 52 per cent in 1949 to 68 per cent in 1959—an increase of 16 per cent.

How these big banks combine among themselves to manipulate the money market is revealed by the recent report on the *Trend and Progress of Banking in India* during the year 1959, published by the Reserve Bank of India, which says:

"It was stated in last year's Report that the major banks had entered into a voluntary agreement among themselves in October 1958 on interest rates on deposits subject to seven days' notice and term deposits. The agreement was revised in September 1959 with the ceiling on interest rates being reduced by ½ per cent. The maximum rate of interest payable on deposits at notice of seven days and term deposits under three months was lowered to 3-3/8 per cent, and that for the deposits of three months and more was lowered to 3½ per cent. In view of the agreement, term deposit rates did not reflect adequately the market forces of demand and supply for funds". (Emphasis added, p. 12)

Further:

"Over the year (1959), interest paid on deposits which had risen by Rs. 7.5 crores in 1958 over 1957, increased by Rs. 3.8 crores only, notwithstanding the fact that the rate in growth of deposits was almost the same as in the previous year and that there was a considerable shift from demand deposits to time deposits. The restraint in increase in expenses against this item was largely due to the effect of the Inter-Bank agree-

ment on deposit rates." (Emphasis added—p.13)

The above is a categorical indictment of monopolistic malpractice, punishable under law even in the USA. But it goes on with impunity under our 'Socialist pattern' of society. The Statesman Correspondent from Bombay reported on June 28, 1960, that "discussions are still going on among members of the Indian Banks Associa-

tion on the question of commercial banks (further—A.R.) reducing interest rates on deposits".

Banks' Hold On Industry

Along with the growth of power of banks, their hold on industry is steadily increasing. Apart from the personal unions between top industrial 'captains' and big bank 'barons', (the top private banks are controlled by Tatas, Birlas, Jains, etc.) the dependence of industry as a whole on the banking system for finance has grown. In June 1949, the total amount of bank advances to industry was Rs. 159.43 crores. The corresponding figures for October 1959 was Rs. 418.5 crores.

This is an indication of the powerful grip that big banks have come to acquire on industry.

But the above increase in industrial advances does not mean that the enormous resources, garnered by the banks are all put to productive use. In October 1959, scheduled bank advances to commerce amounted to Rs. 373.6 crores. Commenting on the increase under this head, the Reserve Bank report quoted above, says that this volume "would appear to have been more than warranted by the requirement of trade and might have been partly used for carrying excess inventories in certain lines". (Emphasis added, p.7.)

Monopolistic Formation

In straightforward language, this means that at least a part of these advances was utilised for speculation and profiteering. And the Reserve Bank admits, although inadequately, of the inefficiency and inadequacy of its credit control mechanism due to "the practice of discounting clean hundis drawn by parties affected by selective credit controls." (P—9)

From the skeletal study presented above it should be clear to everyone that the socio-economic policies pursued by the Congress Raj have failed to usher in egalitarian changes. They have, on the contrary, brought grist to the mill of the monopolistic formations in India, the ramifications of which, like managing agency, trade associations, chambers of commerce and a number of State-sponsored institutions, are more and more strongly entrenching themselves in India's socio-economic fabric. If unchecked, these forces will distort and upset the very course of planned development of the country.

BACKGROUND TO ASSAM EVENTS

COMMENTS ON TWELVE

The following is the editorial entitled "For the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism" of the *Prauda* of June 29, 1960:

YESTERDAY'S *Prauda* carried a document of great international importance, the Communiqué on the Meeting of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries which took place in Bucharest, the capital of People's Rumania.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, the Vietnamese Working People's Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, exchanged opinions on vital problems of the present international situation and the conclusion to be drawn by the fraternal Parties.

Dwelling on the significance of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Bucharest and on the Communiqué adopted at this Conference, Comrade Khrushchov in his speech at the reception for graduates of military academies of the Soviet Armed Forces said:

"In our times favourable conditions have developed for a successful struggle for peace. Our mighty country with its vast economic potential is growing in scope and strength. The great Socialist camp is becoming stronger. Its unity was once again demonstrated in the work of the recent Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries.

"The participants in the Conference in Bucharest, says the Communiqué, came to the unanimous conclusion that the whole course of international events and the development of the countries of the world Socialist system have fully confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto adopted by the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957. The representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of the capitalist countries who attended the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party as guests unanimously supported and approved the Communiqué adopted by the fraternal Parties of the Socialist countries."

Experience Summed Up

The Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, which sum up the many-faceted experience of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries, the progress of the working class movement in capitalist countries, the mighty growth of the forces of peace and So-

cialism and the successes of the national liberation movement, are a remarkable example of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist science to a definite historical situation.

The Conference participants reaffirmed their loyalty to the principles of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, which are the charter of the contemporary Communist and working class movement and a programme of its struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

Upholder Of Peace

The Communist movement is the standard-bearer of peace. It opposes the evil forces of imperialism, which are trying to push mankind into the abyss of an annihilatory nuclear-missile war. Communists rally all the peace-loving forces of the world. The idea of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems proclaimed by the

sive wars remains—are all fully applicable to the present-day situation.

Essence Of Our Epoch

The main essence of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to Socialism which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The world Socialist camp now embraces more than 1,000 million people.

Each new success of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries adds to the prestige of Socialism, and the magnetic strength of its ideas grows in volume and force.

The conclusions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU stating that war is not inevitable in the present conditions, that there is a real possibility of preventing war and ensuring a durable and lasting peace, met with the full approval of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and a broad response from the world public.

The Communist and Workers' Parties make a sober and objective assessment of the contemporary situation and of the

tion of 1957 says: "The Communist Parties consider the struggle for peace their foremost task. Together with all peace-loving forces they will do everything in their power to avert war." This idea has been emphasised with renewed force in the Communiqué of the Bucharest Conference.

Socialist Revolution

The trust which the popular masses place in the Communist and Workers' Parties is the best possible reward for their consistent implementation of a peaceable policy. This trust must be treasured and everything must be done to augment it and to draw ever greater sections of the population into the struggle for peace. Those who ignore the people's yearning for peace may easily slip into sectarianism and isolate themselves from the popular masses.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are unanimous in their views on the cardinal problems of the Socialist revolution and the construction of Socialism. They consider that under pre-

Socialist countries are showing mankind their inviolable unity and readiness to fight with ever-growing persistence for the consolidation of peace.

The participants of the Conference in Bucharest stated that the Communist and Workers' Parties would continue to strengthen the solidarity of the countries of the world Socialist system and cherish their unity in the struggle for peace and the security of Marxism-Leninism.

The fruitful results of the Conference of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries meet with the warm approval and support of the Soviet people, the peoples of the mighty Socialist camp, and all progressive mankind.



THE People's Daily, Peking, on June 20, 1960, carried an editorial entitled "Holding high the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary banner of the Moscow declarations." The full text of the editorial reads as follows:

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries, attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, held a meeting in Bucharest and issued a Communiqué on the meeting.

The Communiqué says, "The participants in the Conference unanimously noted that all international events and the development of the countries of the world Socialist system fully reaffirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Declaration and the Manifesto of Peace, adopted by the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November, 1957."

The Communiqué adds, "The participants in the Conference reaffirmed their allegiance to the principles of the Declaration and the Manifesto of Peace which are a charter of the present-day Communist and workers' movement, a programme of its struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism."

We maintain that under the current situation, reaffirmation by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries of the correctness of the Moscow Declarations of 1957 is necessary and of major significance.

The Moscow Declarations of 1957 were drawn up on the basis of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and our new characteristics of our epoch. In the Declarations, the analysis of the two world systems of Socialism and capitalism, of modern imperialism, of war and peace, of the question of how to win world peace, of the question that the basis of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries is peaceful coexistence between countries of two differing social systems, of the common laws of Socialist

PARTIES' COMMUNIQUE

revolution and Socialist construction, of the question of the different forms under which capitalist countries are to accomplish Socialist revolution, whether by peaceful transition or by non-peaceful transition, of the national liberation movement in colonies and semi-colonies, of the question of the mutual relationships and unity and cooperation among the Socialist countries and among the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries in the world—all these analyses not only fully conform with the current situation but also provide guidance for the future struggle of the people of all countries in the world.

Socialist Victories

In the past two years and more since the publication of the Moscow Declarations, the countries of the Socialist Union headed by the Soviet Union have achieved ever bigger victories in Socialist construction and Socialist transformation. The strength of the Socialist camp is growing vigorously. The Socialist camp is playing an ever bigger role in international life.

In these two years and more, the anti-imperialist struggle of the people in the world has been forging ahead continuously and has entered a new stage of upsurge. The struggle for national independence, democratic freedoms and world peace is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of the masses of the people headed by the working class against monopoly capital and the imperialist bellicose groups is shaking the heart of the capitalist world—North America and West Europe.

In these two years and more, the imperialist bloc headed by the United States has sunk deeper and deeper in innumerable difficulties and its internal contradictions are growing steadily. U.S. imperialism has become more and more isolated from the people of the world over. The general crisis of capitalism has become ever more acute and it has long become impossible for the relative stability of capitalism to reappear.

Salient Feature

In a word, the development of the world situation is bearing out by a series of new facts the theses of the Moscow Declaration: "The progress of Socialism and of the national liberation movement has greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism." "while Socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline."

The salient feature of the current situation is that the east wind continues to prevail over the west wind; the forces of Socialism surpass those of imperialism and the forces of peace surpass those of war. Under these circumstances, the possibility of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war exists and is increasing with each passing day. However, imperialism is impe-

rialism, after all. The monopoly capitalist class is, after all, monopoly capitalist class. The imperialists will under no circumstances give up, of their own accord, their policies of aggression and war and withdraw, of their own accord, from the stage of history just because of the sad plight in which they find themselves. The nearer they approach their doom, the more they will put up a frantic fight.

Centre Of Reaction

The Moscow Declaration exposes the aggressive, predatory nature of imperialism and points out the danger of war arising from the existence of imperialism. It says: "The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, by pursuing the so-called 'positions of strength' policy, seek to bring most countries of the world under their sway and to hamper the onward march of mankind in accordance with the laws of social development." The U.S. imperialists "are becoming the centre of world

reaction, the sworn enemies of the people."

In the past two years and more, the imperialist bloc headed by the United States has always maintained the state of cold war and international tension which it created. U.S. imperialism is now stepping up ever more earnestly arms expansion and war preparations, reinforcing its military bases overseas, rigging up military blocs of aggression, fostering energetically the forces of militarism in West Germany and Japan, planning for war against the Socialist camp, encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of numerous countries, and intervening in and suppressing the national independence movements and people's revolutionary movements in various countries.

Soil For War

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Holding High Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Banner Of The Moscow Declarations
PEOPLE'S DAILY

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Nature Of Imperialism

Recently, the United States Government sent spy planes to invade the territorial air of the Soviet Union and outrageously torpedoed the long-prepared Four-Nation Heads of Government Conference. The chief aim of U.S. imperialism, Dwight Eisenhower, has sown the seeds of war everywhere he visited during his gangster trip to the Far East in an attempt to maintain and strengthen the U.S. front of aggression in Asia.

All this is not fortuitous, but has arisen from the nature of imperialism. The forces of mo-

poly capital in the imperialist countries headed by the United States have become still more concentrated since the end of the Second World War. Their plunder of the people of their own countries and the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries has been more ruthless. They have resorted to various means to increase their export of capital and extort high profits.

U. S. imperialism is furthermore gaining control and looting numerous countries in the capitalist world in a more frenzied and, at the same time, more cunning way through the form of "U.S. aid". In order to achieve their purposes of plunder and with a view to removing obstacles in the way of achieving these purposes, the imperialists headed by the United States have persisted stubbornly in their policies of aggression and war.

In an attempt to settle major international problems, the Soviet Union has been directing its efforts in the past few years to bringing about the Four-Power Heads of Government Conference. These efforts as well as the proposals for disarmament and other proposals set forth by the Soviet Union for the relaxation of international tension have consistently been supported by China and other Socialist countries. After the United States has wrecked the Four-Power Heads of Gov-

Foremost Task

ernment Conference, the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have not forsaken the path of peaceful negotiations.

All these facts prove that obstacles to the carrying out of peaceful coexistence among countries of different social systems do not exist on the side of the Socialist countries but on that of the imperialist countries headed by the United States. Experiences show that the imperialists, unless driven to the wall, are never willing to conduct serious negotiations with the Socialist countries. And agreements reached in negotiations have often been scrapped or violated by the imperialists. The Potsdam Agreement signed at the end of World War Two, for instance, has never been fully implemented because of the perfidy of the imperialists headed by the United States. The Korean and Indo-Chinese armistice agreements have also been partially sabotaged by U.S. imperialism in the course of their implementation.

The Socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union have persistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy, advocated peaceful coexistence among countries of different social systems, striven for the settlement of international disputes through negotiation and worked untiringly for the relaxation of international tension. As early as in 1954, our country, together with India and Burma, had initiated the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and, in 1955, together with the Asian and African countries, laid

Strengthen Struggle

In order to force imperialism to negotiate and to make negotiations fruitful, it is necessary to strengthen constantly the might of the Socialist countries and to promote constantly the world people's struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. If agreements are reached in negotia-

tion, it is still necessary to rely on the unremitting efforts of the Socialist countries and the people of the world to safeguard them against sabotage. At no time can imperialism be trusted lightly.

The Moscow Declaration stresses that world peace can be safeguarded only by a united struggle of the powerful anti-imperialist forces. The Declaration says: "The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of Socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the Socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard—the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality; the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices."

* SEE PAGE 12
PAGE ELEVEN

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In the many years, since then, we have persistently followed these principles in dealing with the relations between our country and the neighbouring Southeast Asian countries as well as other countries and have achieved remarkable successes. This year, we have signed friendship treaties of peaceful coexistence with Burma and Nepal.

Support To Soviet Efforts

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The world over is to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States and to wage resolutely a struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. The people of all countries are striving for the realisation of disarmament, for the liquidation of military bases overseas, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, for the establishment of collective security in Europe and Asia and for independence for all colonies, etc., so as to achieve the purpose of checking imperialist wars and defending world peace.

Against Illusions

The more extensively the people of all countries in the world join in this united front against imperialism headed by the United States and wage a common struggle, the more will world peace be ensured. But, just as explained above, when imperialism still exists, we absolutely cannot entertain any unrealistic illusions about peace or slacken our vigilance to the

danger of launching of war by imperialism. Only when the imperialist system and the capitalist system are eliminated on earth and only when classes are really abolished can there really be a lasting world peace.

Transition To Socialism

No matter how frenziedly imperialism headed by the United States may carry out arms expansion and war preparations and put up a last-ditch struggle, they eventually cannot escape the fate of final extinction. The Declaration rightly says: "By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers." The imperialist system will eventually be overthrown by the people of all countries; the capitalist system will eventually be replaced by the Socialist system. This is an objective law of social development which is independent of the will of any class, group, political party or individuals.

The Moscow Declaration deals with the question of different

forms of transition from capitalism to Socialism. It maintains that in a number of capitalist countries, the working class headed by its vanguard should, on the basis of concrete possibilities, "create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the Socialist revolution." But "in the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to Socialism should be borne in mind."

Two Possibilities

The working class and the working people, of course, are willing to use peaceful methods to secure State power and the transition to Socialism. It would be a mistake not to make use of the possibility if it exists. But, the ruling classes will never yield State power of their own accord, and will invariably carry out suppression by violence when the people rise and start a revolution. Therefore, the working class and its political party absolutely cannot base all their work solely on the

possibility of peaceful transition but must prepare at the same time for two possibilities, namely, the possibility of peaceful transition and the possibility of non-peaceful transition. It would be utterly wrong if peaceful transition is groundlessly described as the only possibility.

The Moscow Declaration stresses "the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties." At the same time the Declaration maintains that "the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, Right-wing opportunism." The Declaration points out: "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source."

Modern Revisionism

The Declaration says, "Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is outmoded, and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in Socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of Party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society."

The points made in the Moscow Declaration about modern revisionism have increasingly demonstrated their correctness and importance in the development of the international Communist movement in the past two years and more. All Marxist-Leninists must persist in the struggle against modern revisionism. Of course, dogmatism must be opposed. Dogmatism is removed from the masses and from reality. Without opposing dogmatism it is impossible to lead our cause to victory. However, in no case is it permissible to discard the fundamental theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of combating dogmatism or to substitute Marxism-Leninism with revisionism.

Let Us Advance

We believe that with the growth of the struggle of the people of all countries to defend world peace and oppose imperialism, the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries, the growth of the development of the international Communist movement and the development of Marxism-Leninism, the international solidarity of the proletariat will surely become steadily consolidated and developed. As the Communists and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party says: "The Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to strengthen the cohesion of the countries of the world Socialist system and will preserve, like the apple of the eye, unity in the struggle for peace and the security of all peoples for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism."

Unity Of Communists

The Moscow Declaration says: "To bring about real solidarity of the working class, of all working people and the whole of progressive mankind, of the freedom- and peace-loving forces of the world, it is necessary above all to promote the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. This solidarity is the core of still greater solidarity, it is the main guarantee of the victory of the cause of the working class."

The unity of the international proletariat, of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and

Assam dailies and has conveniently utilised it to invoke Central intervention in Assam.

Meanwhile, the Congress and PSP leaders of Cachar started a campaign in that district for the recognition of Bengali as one of the two State languages of Assam and they received powerful support from the four Calcutta dailies—Amrita Bazar Patrika, Hindustan Standard, Anand Bazar Patrika and Yugantar. A conference ostensibly for the economic development of Assam, Manipur and Tripura was convened at Silchar, the district headquarters of Cachar. But in the background of the prevalent mood in the State it created considerable misgivings in the Brahmaputra Valley, though the organisers of the conference were Congress leaders who claimed they did it on the basis of a resolution of the APCC.

Together with certain recommendations for the economic development of this zone, which might merit consideration in a different background, the conference, ended by evolving a new term, SEFA (South East Frontier and Assam?). Many observers consider it reflected the concept of a new State.

Angry Speeches

Soon after this, preparations started for an All-Assam Bengali Language and Literary Conference at Silchar. Originally it did not arouse any suspicion and invitations were sent even to the leaders of the Assam Sahitya Sabha. But with the mounting opposition to declaring Assamese as the State language, voiced from Cachar, special significance began to be attached to this conference and public meetings held at various places in the Assam valley demanding the introduction of Assamese as the State language, also demanded the banning of the Bengali Language Conference.

Angry speeches were delivered in the public meetings in the Brahmaputra Valley that began to work up the passions of the Assamese middle-class youth. Just as the Press campaign, so also these speeches had a slant against the Bengalis though the same Press reported growing support of the Assam Valley Bengalis to the demand for Assamese as the State language.

Neither side cared to maintain any restraint on the language used in the campaign. The nepotism of the Congress rulers of this State gave the impression of discrimination against one linguistic group or another. This also got mixed up with the language controversy.

Chauvinists In Lead

Widespread misgivings among the Assamese-speaking people about the employment policy of the oil refinery and other Central Government establishments, growing unemployment among local people together with the mounting price level of consumer goods, resulting in increasing hardship of the people as a whole, as well as the absence of any clear explanation contributed to raising the temper of the youths and others, too.

In the absence of a democratic movement capable of giving proper direction to the people, this discontent found an outlet in the language movement developing in the ugly way it has. It was the chauvinist elements who were gradually coming to the leadership of the movement.

Some individual PSP leaders here and there joined forces with the chauvinists in giving the movement a pronouncedly anti-Bengali direction, just as their comrades in Cachar breathed fire against the Assamese people as a whole.

Congress Leaders' Role

It is now admitted even by highly placed persons that some Congress leaders who had been ousted from power seized upon the legitimate aspirations and justified discontent of the people and incited them to acts of violence to discredit and eventually dislodge the non-toe-popular Chief Minister Chaliha from power.

Some of the discredited Congress leaders like former Congress Minister B. N Mukherjee, rejected at the poll, whose tyranny on the East Bengal refugees at Shonebil (his wife's zamindari) is still fresh in the minds of the people, took this opportunity to retrieve their position by

Congress Calcutta. Press unleashed a more and more provocative campaign which was retaliated with equal vigour by their counterparts in Assam.

In the meantime, the leaders of the language agitation in Cachar made contact with the leaders of the EITU, the extremist section of which had concluded their conference in the first part of June at Ayal in the Mizo Hills. Both the factions of the EITU were now coming closer on the basis of their common opposition to Assamese as the State language. It was now decided to hold a "Non-Assamese-speaking People's Conference" at Silchar alongside the Bengali Language Conference.

The Khasi leaders now intensified their campaign against Assamese as the State language and wild rumours went round to facilitate their job. An attitude of bitter hostility towards the Assamese people grew among them.

Peace Brigades

At a few places like Tinsukia where Communists and other sober elements took early steps to forestall any clash, the agitation remained peaceful. At some places like Jorhat after the first few days, at the determined effort of Communists and other ele-

CPI SECRETARIAT STATEMENT

THE Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement in New Delhi on July 10, 1960:

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern at the tragic situation that has developed in Assam during the last few days. Fratricidal conflicts have led to loss of several innocent lives, bringing grief and suffering to hundreds of families, especially from the minority communities. Destruction of houses and property has taken place, inflicting economic sufferings on hundreds of people. The Secretariat expresses its feelings of sympathy with all those who have suffered through no fault of theirs.

The Secretariat notes with satisfaction that the State Committees of the Congress, the PSP and the Communist Party have jointly called upon the people to put a stop to the orgy of violence and restore normal conditions in the State. Such outburst of fratricidal violence hurts our national dignity and unity and is repugnant to all canons of democratic behaviour.

The Secretariat appeals to all parties and mass organisations to adopt a sober and reasonable attitude towards the question of official language in Assam. Assamiya should no doubt be the official language of the State but adequate guarantees should, at the same time, be provided to the tribal and Bengali community that their rights as linguistic minorities will be fully safeguarded.

The Secretariat further appeals to the people of Assam and the leaders of public opinion to make a determined effort to remove the existing bitterness, restore the former relations of unity and friendship between different communities, so that all can unitedly work for Assam's social and economic development.

In spite of the best efforts of peace committees and public face is drawn and every heart is heavy with anxiety.

Very disquieting reports of assaults, looting, arson, tampering with communications have been coming from almost every district of the State. Disturbances which were at the beginning confined to the urban areas have been spread-

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW — JUNE ISSUE

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW June 1960. Price Re. 1

The June issue of the World Marxist Review deals with a number of crucial problems which the breakdown of the Sum-

mit. The Editorial itself takes up the theme. It begins with the statement: "It is difficult as yet to assess all the consequences of the events which occurred in the first half of May and which deeply agitated the world. But the salient features are already apparent. "It is clear, first of all, that the U.S. imperialists have exposed themselves as cynical violators of the generally accepted standards of international law... the U.S. rulers have undoubtedly lowered their prestige and have lost support."

The Editorial goes on to point out that the May events have demonstrated the futility of the imperialist attempt to pursue a policy of dikhat to-

wards the Socialist countries. Further, it states, "the fight for peace, for a detente, is not an easy fight, but one calling for strenuous effort, but it warrants against any pessimistic conclusion being drawn."

The conclusion is: "It is clear that no matter how the enemies of peace rage, they can be curbed. Peace is more than a desire: it is a sound and realisable aim. But it can be achieved only by persevering struggle. Clearly, the people will not be satisfied with anything less than victory in the struggle."

Then we have a thought-provoking theoretical article on the implications of modern weapons for the contemporary peace movement entitled "The Dialectics of Militarism" by Arbatov.

Taking up the remarks of Engels on the tie-up between armaments and politics in Anti-Duhring the author says, "Being a product of class relationships and of the policy of the ruling bourgeoisie, militarism has acquired a relative degree of independence and, as Engels put it, has its own dialectics of evolution."

Analysing the results of local and world wars, Arbatov states, "We observe a certain regularity in the conditions of acute class antagonisms the war fought by large armies lead to the collapse of militarism and, what is more, of the social system which gave birth to it."

As for the political consequences of the appearance of nuclear and rocket weapons the author's opinion is: "Nuclear weapons give certain advantages to the aggressor. But they have their other aspects, too. At the present level of development these weapons make war useless, a useless means for setting international disputes even from the standpoint of the im-

perialists, at least of those, who still retain their sanity... the bourgeoisie is at sixes and sevens on the questions of war and peace. Not a few of its representatives are beginning to realise the senselessness and the hazards of war."

He goes on to say, "But in our days war is no longer a 'fatal inevitability', neither is peace. So long as imperialism exists, the danger of war will always be with us, and the more powerful the weapons developed by the imperialist armies the greater is the danger of war."

Andre Vienquet analyses the problems and prospects of the French Communist Party's persistent struggle for a united front. Of particular interest is his analysis of the factors that help the Socialist Party to still retain its influence.

He points to the need for the Communists to take as their "main direction of their efforts in the struggle for united action... the lower echelons—in the factories, colleges, residential blocks and in the countryside." In this way it will become possible to build through struggle, "an extremely broad alliance against monopoly capital, which is the common enemy of all working people, of all democrats and of all peace supporters."

There is a wealth of information and experience in the articles of Ali Yata on the tasks of the Moroccan Communist Party, by K. Del Campo on the lessons of the revolution in Guatemala and by L.S. on the present stage of the Cuban revolution.

In addition there are the usual features on developments in the countries of Socialist and the activities of Communist Parties, Indian readers especially will find of stimulating value the biting review by A. B. Mirza of Asoka Mehta's Studies in Asian Socialism.

EDITORIAL BOARD

NEW AGE

CAMPAIGN OF HATRED LEADS TO TENSION

heading this movement with chauvinist cries. And likewise the leaders of the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha, an avowedly chauvinist organisation, have found their life's chance in this movement to stage a comeback in the political arena of Assam.

Violence Flares Up

Thanks to the campaign of hatred indulged in by the pro-Congress Press of both Assam and Calcutta tension began to mount and the attitude of people began to harden. The Assam Tribune at an earlier stage had quite soberly argued the case for Assamese as the State language and made it clear that it would not grudge declaration of Bengali as the second State language provided Assamese was accepted as the State language.

It now threw off all restraint and its editorial comments smacked of extreme chauvinism. Its counterparts in Calcutta did not hesitate to incite linguistic animosity. Yet these were the papers that accused the Communists of "disrupting" national unity in the face of "Chinese threats!"

By the beginning of the latter half of June, violence flared up in the wake of the agitation in certain places of upper Assam. As the news got around, tension began to mount in other places. In Cachar angry demonstrations were brought out. The pro-

ments, peace was restored. At Dibrugarh where the situation at first took a very ugly turn, police action quelled disturbances and the Students Federation workers lunged themselves into a campaign for preserving peace. Students' Peace Brigades there have done a very commendable job.

But rowdiness in certain places began to grow. Hooliganism in running trains made normal journey of passengers very difficult. While the above-mentioned Calcutta Press reported only those atrocities that were committed by Assamese rowdies, their counterparts in Assam reported only those that were committed by the Bengali rowdies.

Gauhati which was so long free from incidents on this issue now took up the violent agitation. While in upper Assam only stray assaults and some looting had taken place, at Gauhati, the premier town of Assam, it is said, organised bands of rowdies began operating. From the very nature of the crimes, it appears these are no longer stray, sporadic outbursts of angry youth as happened in other places.

Curfew In Gauhati

At other places, residences were hardly attacked. But at Gauhati raids on residences were taking place. Curfew was clamped down, but on the assurance of some political leaders, it was withdrawn when renewed violence in

leaders burst out.

The Deputy Commissioner and the DIG of Police were manhandled and injured by a mob right inside the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner when he was having peace discussions with the Peace Committee. Following this, curfew was imposed again round the clock and the army was called in to the aid of the civil authorities. Some people who had fallen victims to mob violence at Gauhati have since migrated to Shillong. Following the outbreak of violence in Gauhati, tension was rising in Shillong, the State capital which is a cosmopolitan town. Since July 1, cases of assault, stoning of houses, and even a few cases of stabbing have already taken place. The situation was explosive indeed. Police have been patrolling the streets. From the evening of the 4th, armed police pickets have been posted at strategic points. But with all this, stray cases of stabbing and assault have been on the increase. Panicky citizens seldom come out after dark, streets are deserted by 9.30 in the evening, business activities have been seriously affected, prices are soaring high. People, no doubt, go about their work, but every

ing, since the imposition of curfew in Gauhati, to the rural areas. With the exception of the three hill districts (Garo, Mizo and North-Cachar where other linguistic groups are negligible) every other district of the State has been affected by the current wave of large-scale hooliganism.

In face of mass terrorism, panic-stricken people, not a few of whom have suffered physical and material losses, have been evacuating to places of safety. Some have migrated to West Bengal, some to Shillong, and many others have taken shelter in comparatively safe places within their respective areas. Some Assamese families have left Shillong.

Transport At Standstill

But for the virtual collapse of the transport and communication system both within the State and that between the State and the rest of the country, there would have been a larger migration. While road transport is virtually at a standstill, the railway journey is far from safe.

Assault and intimidation of railway staff have been re-

★ SEE PAGE 16

THIRD PLAN

* FROM PAGE 5

of the developed countries for the Third Plan. It is also true to say that the latter countries themselves, for political, social and economic reasons, have been taking keener interest in India's Third Plan. The current international political situation has highlighted the importance of India—a poor, young, democratic country, succeeding in its plans for economic development.

Dangerous Potentialities

It is, therefore, quite on the cards that the difficulties which will make themselves felt in the course of the implementation of the Third Five-Year Plan with regard to foreign exchange will be fully utilised by the Western capitalist countries to impose on our nation substantial modifications in the foreign and domestic policies being pursued by our Government. Is it not, in this connection, significant that while credits have already been assured from the Soviet Union for the expansion of the Bhilai plant, no such assurance has come from the U. K. and West Germany for the expansion of the Durgapur and Rourkela steel plants?

One of the possible dangers is that the pressure exercised by the capitalist foreign Powers as our Plan faces increasing difficulties will undermine the fundamental character of the industries that is envisaged. Abandonment of such industries as are of a basic character in favour of those that are less vital for the development of an independent economy, exclusion of, rather than conciliation with, the trade unions and other mass organisations of the common people—these are the lines on which our capitalist "benefactors" from abroad would try to orientate our economy.

The combination of such external pressure from those who give us "aid" at such times of difficulties with the pressure of our own internal reactionary forces will put serious obstacles in the way of the progressive forces that are fighting to preserve and further carry forward the progressive features of planning that emerged in our Governmental policies during the preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan.

While these dangerous potentialities should make us apprehensive for the future, there is also room for apprehension as to whether even the Plan projects that do not involve foreign exchange will get carried out.

Land Reform

It is notorious, for example, that those measures of land reform which have been proclaimed as part of the policies which are essential for the improvement and development of agriculture have for the most part remained on paper. Although nearly a decade has passed since abolition of intermediaries, tenancy reforms, security of tenure, ownership for tenants, ceiling on landholdings and improvement of the condition of

agricultural labourers were accepted as Governmental policy, the Draft Outline itself now admits that:

—There are still a few forms of intermediaries which have not been abolished. —The provisions in the law for the regulation of rent were in some cases implemented ineffectively while "in some States, the rents have yet to be brought down to the level recommended in the Plan."

—The social and economic weakness of the tenants ignorant on the part of the people of legislative provisions regarding security of tenure, lacunae in law, inadequate records and defective administrative arrangements have led to "so-called 'voluntary' surrenders which are in doubt, as bona fide transactions."

—Action in the direction of conferring ownership rights for tenants "has been inadequate in most areas".

—Very few States have promoted legislation for ceiling on holdings.

—Very little has been done in a tangible way for solving the main problems which face the agricultural labourers—employment, land, living wage, etc.

Administrative Failure

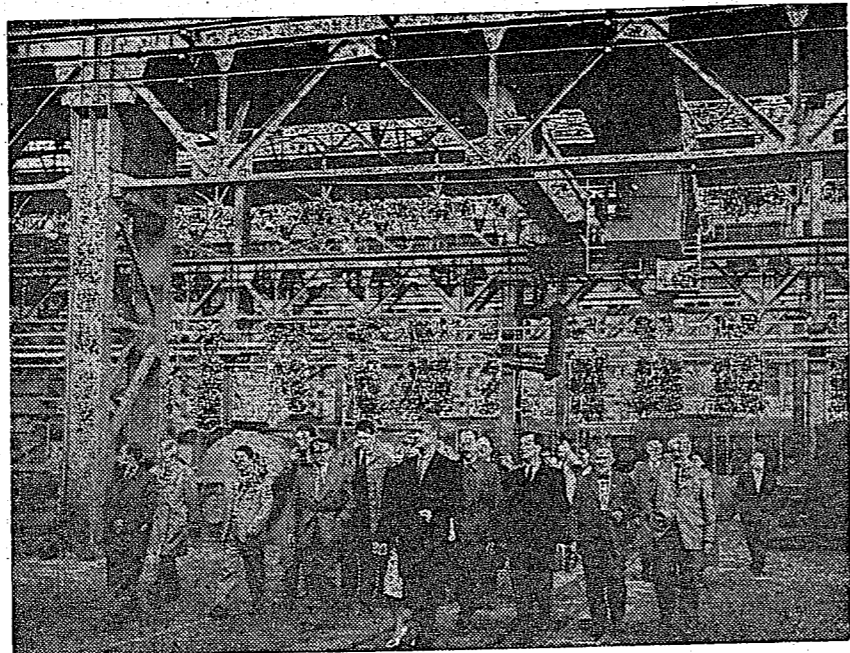
To this failure in regard to land reform legislation should be added the administrative failure to carry out other programmes intended to bring about a progressive improvement in the living and working conditions of the rural population as well as in the development of productive forces in the rural areas.

It is well-known that a good deal of the provision made in the States for the expansion and development of such productive departments as agriculture, small and medium-scale industries, etc., are either not utilised at all, or are so utilised that it only enriches a few favoured people, rather than the vast majority in whose name they have been formulated.

What is important is not the shortfalls in the matter of fulfilling the financial targets laid for these fields of activity, nor even the lag between the physical targets and their fulfillment. Far more important and disturbing than these is the fact that what the Prime Minister calls the "sense of adventure" has not gripped the masses of our people.

Even the "people's participation" in the most "popular" of these activities—community development movement—is notorious for the wide gulf that separates the figures that are written into the department's reports and the actual reality. As the Balwant Rai Mehta team on community development correctly stated, the movement registered its biggest failure in the objective for which it was mainly launched—in rousing the people's enthusiasm.

This is a weakness in Plan implementation which cannot be overcome either by bureaucratic administrative measures or by the now fashionable talk of "democratic decentralisation". The formation of panchayats, panchayat samitis, cooperatives, etc., will lead the country nowhere in the matter of



Parliamentarians from foreign countries visiting the Nouva Huta Steel Plant.

July 22—Poland's National Day

NATIONALISATION of the basic industries, a radical agrarian reform, free education at all levels, a democratic system of Government based on complete equality of all citizens, the solution of the most difficult problems with neighbouring countries, elimination of unemployment and illiteracy, the raising of the cultural level and living conditions—these are the main points of the programme outlined sixteen years ago on July 22, 1944, in the Manifesto issued by the Polish National Liberation Committee.

Since then each anniversary of the Manifesto is celebrated in Poland as National Day. This year's celebrations have a special significance as it happens to be the first year of the Thousandth Anniversary of the creation of the Polish State.

The years which have passed since the proclamation of the July Manifesto have witnessed tremendous changes in the life of the Polish nation. Some figures may give an idea of the pace of progress and the achievements of Poland.

In 1959, the total industrial production of Poland was seven times higher than before the war in spite of the heavy war destruction which

resulted in a loss of 38 per cent of the national wealth.

Industrial production in prewar Poland, per head of population, accounted barely for 15 to 20 per cent of output in the leading countries of Western Europe. At present it is 55 to 60 per cent of the average per capita production of Great Britain, France, Western Germany and Italy taken together.

The steel production per capita rose in 1959 in comparison to 1937 from 42 kilos to 211 kilos, electric power from 106 K/h to 902 K/h, coal from 1,054 kilos to 3,389 kilos, cotton fabrics from 9.5 meters to 22.5 meters, sugar from 14.7 to 30.6 kilos, meat from 24 to 52 kilos.

These figures indicate also a technological revolution in Poland. New branches of production, previously unknown in Polish industry, have been built up. For instance synthetic chemicals, shipbuilding and aircraft industry, radiotechnical, heavy electric machinery building industry, aluminium foundries, synthetic fibre industries.

The growth of national wealth, the new political conditions, the great social changes have introduced deep-going transformations in all spheres of social and cultural life.

Thus, for example, the

doors of the schools have been thrown wide open free of charge to the entire youth. It suffices to indicate that if with 35 million inhabitants in school year 1937-38, the number of fully employed teachers was 76,600, then in school year 1958-59, with 29 million inhabitants the number of teachers reached 130,100.

The number of books published in Poland has grown rapidly. In the 16 years after the liberation, about 170 crore volumes were issued as compared to 50 crores for the whole twenty-year period between the two World Wars.

A wide network of libraries, theatres and cinemas help the population to raise their cultural level.

Particular attention is given to social welfare. Virtually free health service, paid holidays in all the branches of national economy, a special holiday scheme which enables even the lowest paid employees to spend holidays on the seaside or mountains, special privileges for expectant mothers, a wide network of nurseries and kindergartens—these are only a few but remarkable examples.

Achievements of the last sixteen years have created the solid foundation for all-round development of Poland.

contented middle-class employees and small traders, and the parties and organisations which give expression to the views and aspirations of these organised and unorganised masses.

Even the instruments of evoking people's cooperation and bringing about democratic decentralisation—the panchayats, panchayat samitis, cooperatives, etc., will in the absence of such a change in the attitude of the ruling party become so many centres of intrigue and profiteering by the favoured few at the top, and consequently, the

mass of the people will grow more and more disillusioned and frustrated.

This growing disillusionment and frustration of the people will become the soil on which all sorts of reactionary and obscurantist ideology can thrive and create disruptive movements. There is no use of thundering against these disruptive movements (as the Prime Minister is never tired of doing) so long as the soil on which they grow is allowed to remain what it is, so long as the root cause of our common people's disillusionment is not removed.

AT THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE

Though many representatives of the bourgeois Press from the West turned up at Bucharest to cover the Party Congress, little, however, did they write about it. Greeting the Third Congress, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov said "... the Rumanian people strike in their country so high a note that it is largely in consonance with the great symphony orchestra of the Socialist countries in their fight for construction of Socialism, for the triumph of Communism."

FOR full five days, this grand music of the Rumanian people's new, joyous life echoed in the magnificent Congress hall, but the bourgeois Press seemed little interested in this. Yet every day, pretty good handouts about the proceedings were released. Evidently sensation-mongering was their main assignment. No wonder, one comes across a lot of hulla-balloo about Comrade Khrushchov's speeches on that occasion in the bourgeois papers but next to nothing about the Congress itself.

Rumania's Advance

Before coming to the work of the Congress, a word or two about Rumania. Before liberation by the Red Army in August 1944, Rumania was a hopelessly backward, feudal country, a hunting ground of the British and other foreign exploiters. Its resources used to be plundered and its people lived in extreme poverty. In the last phase of its political life, the dictatorship of Antonescu which was to ultimately capitulate to Hitler ruled ruthlessly. Comrade Gheorghiu Dej, now the First Secretary of the Rumanian Workers' Party, was clapped behind prison bars where he spent twelve long years.

Today, Rumania is an industrially advanced country with exploitation of man by man gone forever. Working class power and Socialism have already changed the face of the country—thanks to the Rumanian Workers' Party and its triumphant banner, Marxism-Leninism.

In 1953, I was once in Rumania for about three weeks. Prometheus unbound had already begun to bestir itself. During the visit last month, I was simply amazed by the stupendous progress made during this short space of seven years. Bucharest, that lovely capital of the Rumanian People's Republic, has undergone great changes in these few years, and now wears an altogether new, fascinating look. Massive apartment houses, equipped with radio, television and other amenities of modern life have come up all over to house workers and intellectuals. Shops display a wide variety of consumer goods and what is more, they are always overcrowded with buyers, men and women, who come from the working people. Socialism means to them not only more industries and enterprises and collective farms and so on, it also means at one and the same time, so many more houses, hospitals, maternity homes and creches, school's and colleges, cultural institutions. It means periodical

reductions in prices and taxes side by side with the rise in wages and earnings of the working people. Between 1956 and 1959, 401 new enterprises and 93 new sectors were built; 294 enterprises were what they call "retooled", i.e. modernised. The annual rate of increase of gross industrial output has been around 11 per cent; the means of production 12.7 per cent; consumer goods industry 7.7 per cent. Since 1953, the production of steel has gone up by 2.2 times, from 766,000 tons to 17 million tons; metallurgical coke 5.6 times; electric power 1.8 times. Among the consumer goods, textiles 1.3 times, milk and dairy products two times, furniture 2.5 times, radio sets 1.8 times. There is no "pruning", no "curtailment", no "spill-over", or "core" or "non-core" business—as our Planning Commission has. There it is all fulfilment and overfulfillment of targets—a faster growth than initially chalked out in the Plans.

In agriculture, where the Socialist sector now preponderates covering 81 per cent of the peasant holdings and arable area, cereal output has considerably increased. During 1955-59, the total annual yield of wheat, for example, averaged 3,212,000 tons compared to 2,630,000 tons in the 1934-38 period. The directive of the Second Party Congress to abolish the kulaks, thus ending the exploitation of man by man, has been fully carried out.

Better Life

The material incentives for the peasantry have resulted in 23 per cent rise and 30 per cent rise over 1956 in 1957 and 1959 respectively. At the other end real wages have risen by 33 per cent since 1955, the target of increase having been fulfilled one year ahead of the Plan schedule. This year the total cash income of wage-earners and pensioners is 12,300 million lei more than what went to them in 1955. Ninetyfour thousand new flats have been constructed in this short period, exceeding, incidentally, the target by 16,000.

By 1959, the earnings of the peasantry from the sale of farm produce to the State had risen by 30 per cent over the 1955 figure. Add to this cash incomes from direct sales on the market as well as the great consumption of the produce in their homes. Every year 400,000 working people and 100,000 children spend their vacation and receive medical care at health resorts and spas.

Simultaneously, tax on wages up to 500 lei per month has been abolished, while those with higher incomes up to 1,500 lei have been given substantial reduction. Moreover, the entire people have benefited from considerable price-cuts.

THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS PLANNERS WHO WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT PLANS NECESSARILY IMPLY INFLATION, HIGH PRICES, HIGH TAX BURDENS ON THE MASSES, CONSUMPTION-CUTS OR WAGE-FREEZE FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE, DENIAL OF WAGE-RISE AND ALL THE REST OF IT, WILL PLEASE NOTE THE STRIKING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT. IT IS A FALSE, MISLEADING THEORY OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES THAT PLANNING MEANS DENIALS FOR THE MASSES AND STAGNATION IN THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING. IN SOCIALISM, AS THE RUMANIAN PARTY CONGRESS REASSERTED, PLANNING MEANS CONTINUOUS RISE IN THE LIVING STANDARDS

tasks of complete Socialist construction and advancing towards Communism. It is not possible to deal

with the details of the Plan, within the space of this article. But one or two things perhaps need to be said. "In addition to the State Planning Committee, the Ministries, the Regional, District and Town Party Committees and People's Councils," Comrade Gheorghiu Dej in the Report of the Party's Central Committee dealt with a number of political-ideological and organisational questions. His report was open to discussion for almost five days and well over 50 delegates took the floor. The speakers were mostly from factories and collective farms, from Regional Committees, from different institutions and offices. They all spoke from the rich, living experience of creative labour and from very intimate knowledge of what they were talking about. All spoke from written texts, ensuring precision and economy of words. Various problems of industry, agriculture and other branches of economy, science and technology, art and literature, culture and sports, education, health, administration, etc., formed the theme of these highly instructive speeches.

Revealing Contrast

Contrast this with the planning affairs in our own country or for that matter any capitalist country, where some select bunches of experts, retired officials, bureaucrats,

40 per cent. Some 300,000 new flats will be constructed. So on and so on.

Discussion Of Report

Apart from this theme of national development and problems of Socialist construction, Comrade Gheorghiu Dej in the Report of the Party's Central Committee dealt with a number of political-ideological and organisational questions.

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RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

—THE UNGRUDGING SATISFACTION OF THE EVER-GROWING MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

The current Six-Year Plan (1960-65) which the Party Congress considered and approved and which indeed is their programme of Socialist construction for the coming years, charts the course for still speedier and greater all-round advance for the prosperity and happiness of the Rumanian people.

Having already carried out the groundwork of Socialism, the present Six-Year Plan now adopts as its main target, to quote Comrade Gheorghiu Dej, "the development of the technical and material base of Socialism, and the conclusion of the process of establishing Socialist relations of production throughout the economy in order to complete the building of Socialism."

"The implementation of this Plan is the first stage," as the Resolution of the Congress puts it, "in the long-term programme, and will thus open prospects of gradual transition to the building of Communism."

Historic Times

In what great historic times we are living—thanks to the emergence and consolidation of the Socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union! Within 15 to 16 years of the conquest of power by the workers and peasants, the Rumania of yesterday, backward and underdeveloped, plundered and oppressed, has set before itself today the

pensioned-off politicians isolated from the people and equally divorced from productive labour, draw up the Plans. Here we have now India's Draft Third Five-Year Plan in the preparation of which, working people or even their representatives in legislatures have had no part whatsoever. Such is, of course, one of the many ways the bourgeoisie which is never tired of calling Socialist methods "totalitarian", operate their democracy!

It should also be mentioned here that the Soviet Union offered fruitful consultations and opinions in formulating the Plan.

Targets Of Six-Year Plan

As for the targets of Rumania's Six-Year Plan, let me cite only a few. Gross industrial output will be raised by 2.1 times that of 1959, corresponding to an average annual rate of some 13 per cent increase. Steel for example, is to reach 3,300,000 tons. Oil extraction will go up by nearly a million tons. Many consumer goods, such as footwear, textiles, radio, television, etc., will register two to three times increase over the 1959 production. Gross agricultural output is expected to go up by 70 to 80 per cent. With over-all national income rising 1.7 to 1.8 times, real wages will move up by 40 to 45 per cent, the real incomes of the peasantry by

When it came to shortcomings, lapses or bureaucracy, words were not at all minced. Ministers and Ministries, Party Committees were named and trenchantly criticised and advised to do better. But in these criticisms there was no bitterness, no showing of spleen. It was all comrades trying to correct comrades in the most fraternal manner.

One could note in these speeches the terrific self-confidence born out of boundless faith in Marxism-Leninism and creative Socialist labour, as well as of the magnificent cohesion and unity of the Rumanian Workers' Party. I was reminded of the sessions of the National Congress, the party of the Indian ruling class, where delegates plunge into a cacophony of the market place, often exhibiting colossal ignorance of what goes on in the life of the nation.

As the deliberations progressed, the top leaders intervened with their speeches on specific subjects instead of making omnibus ones. This gave clarity to their propositions and helped the delegates and observers to understand deeply what was said. Incidentally, in addition to about 941 delegates with votes, there were 207 consultative delegates. I must add that I was struck by the remarkable

Remarkable Discipline

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PAGE FIFTEEN.

KHRUSHCHOV'S PRESS CONFERENCE

★ NEW SPY PLANE ★ FREEDOM OF CUBA AND CONGO

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

There is only one way—to mobilise people against provocateurs who are playing a dangerous game with fire. It is necessary to rouse people, to strengthen their unity and resolve to fight for preservation of peace in the world," declared Nikita Khrushchov at his Press Conference in the Kremlin on July 12.

A NEW wave of indignation sweeps over the mighty Soviet land at the second spy-plane provocation of the bankrupt Eisenhower Government. Spontaneous meetings have been held in towns and villages and Moscow has received thousands of telegrams supporting the policies of the Soviet Government.

HERO OF THE DAY

Captain Vassily Polyakov is the hero of the day and his name is proudly repeated everywhere. "Molodets, Well done!" they say to the Soviet fighter pilot who shot down the American six-engined bomber RB-47 and taught the warmongers another sobering lesson. He has been awarded the order of the Red Banner.

And Khrushchov reflected the mood of the whole of the Soviet land when he declared: "Those people are profoundly mistaken who want to test our patience. We recommend them not to try this. The Soviet Union and her allies can defeat any aggressor." The U. S. based its strategy on bombers, but they

MOSCOW

struggle as she supported the people of Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon and the whole world knows they were not Communists.

"Who are the USA not to allow this or that to other countries? Who gave them the right to decide the fate of other countries and nations? They want to determine the way every country should take but they know that it does not depend on them."

WAY TO VICTORY

Fighting for their freedom, peoples of the colonial and underdeveloped countries have begun to realise more and more that only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism real freedom and national, social and economic independence are possible. These people are going through cruel schooling. Cuba is not on the Communist path today. But I think that the lessons which American imperialism gives to the Cubans and other peoples will show them the real way to struggle and victory."

Answering questions by your Correspondent concerning the fact that the USA do not want to allow the Soviet Union to take interest in the developments in the Western Hemisphere where as they themselves interfere everywhere and in all parts of the globe, Khrushchov declared: "We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. But our sympathies are with people fighting for their national independence and when they turn to us for help, we are ready to give them political and economic assistance."

"You are right in the sense that America is really afraid of the presence of our spirit in colonial countries and in countries of Latin America. The USA itself thrusts its nose everywhere and declares that the Russians want bases in Cuba. This is a stupid fabrication. Why do we need bases there? Cubans are right when they say, 'Our best base is the Soviet Union' from where our rockets can strike anywhere without fail."

Americans judge others according to themselves, like the mother-in-law who has been unfaithful to her husband in her time does not believe that her own daughter-in-law is faithful to her husband, Khrushchov declared amid laughter and cheers.

Continuing in a serious vein the Soviet Premier said that although the USA said that they want to withdraw troops from foreign territories and wants to meddle everywhere, its bases will not bring it any fruit. "They would only strengthen the hatred of the nations against American imperialism. This hatred was overflowing in Turkey, South America, Vietnam, South Korea, Japan and other countries. Now the Americans want to make

a mess in Congo. If they crawl in there, they will show themselves as the enemies of the freedom of small nations, as enslavers and robbers, he declared. The American, British and French imperialists are the same; only the belly of the Americans was much bigger. The British and the French had to tighten their belt."

CONGO'S STRUGGLE

Answering another question, the Soviet Premier declared that the imperialists sent troops to Congo under the excuse of disorders. In reality, the people of Congo want to establish real order there. They want to throw the colonisers out. The soldiers of the Congolese army do not want to obey Belgian officers and they are perfectly justified. The imperialists are pouring petrol on fire. This will result in the struggle only becoming fiercer.

The Soviet leader once again confirmed that the policy of the Soviet Union would remain unchanged. "We shall do everything to secure peace in all the world so that we trade with other countries and not fight, so that we banish war from relations between nations. In today's conditions only a mad man could start war; but even he would not want to begin it when he has no perspective of winning. Any aggressor group could be defeated by the force of peace today." Nikita Khrushchov declared amidst thunderous applause at the Press Conference.

they might step in, perhaps, "without realising that it would assume such a serious nature."

But he added, that if the Chaliha Ministry goes, it would do so by inviting President's rule so that the desire of the anti-Chaliha group would not be realised.

Telegrams have also been sent to the President and the Prime Minister demanding Central intervention. A top-ranking State Government spokesman said informally that the law and order situation was indeed on the verge of collapse and unless good sense prevailed among the public and they took the initiative to restore peace and respect for law it would be impossible for the police alone to restore order in the State.

He said quite candidly that never before in his life he had seen such "a mass defiance of law". Though he would not openly admit it, it was apparent from the trend of his conversation that he too did not find any way out of the situation except suspension of the Constitution and promulgation of President's rule.

That this idea has been gaining ground even among some members of the Cabinet was evident from what a Minister informally said the other day. He admitted that the current agitation lay with the anti-Chaliha group of Congressmen who, he said, had joined forces with the avowedly Chauvinist elements in whipping up the passion of the people with a view to dislodging the Chaliha Cabinet so that

Slander Campaign

As the bankrupt role of the Congress organisation has been getting exposed, some Congress leaders have been trying to put the blame at the door of the Communists for the current disturbances

in the State. This surreptitious campaign of a section of Assam Congress leaders is being backed by some so-called nationalist dailies of Calcutta who at an early stage mischievously reported that disturbances were most in the "Communist strongholds" in the State.

These papers have since come out more openly to malign the Party and have been telling their readers that the Communists have started the disturbances to "disrupt the country" and thus "help their Chinese comrades who are waiting for an opportunity to invade India."

These dailies are now trying to confuse the people by carrying wild stories of a "division in the Party ranks" on the issue of language. They are now reporting that the "Assamese and Bengali Communists are opposing each other."

When his attention was drawn to this campaign, a member of the State Executive of the Party said that it was "nothing short of a figment of the imagination of some fertile brain that has been trained in the art of such lying campaigns." He said that while the Communists have been trying their utmost to persuade the people to eschew the path of fratricidal quarrel that only disrupts the rank of the toiling people, these papers had all along blacked out the role of the Communists many of

whom have been manhandled by fanatics of their own linguistic group and some of whom have even suffered physical assaults in trying to protect people of the minority group.

This member of the State Executive told me that reports reaching State Council headquarters showed that Communists, in cooperation with sober sections of Congressmen and others, had already started a peace campaign in different districts.

In certain areas this campaign had also achieved some positive results. In Shillong, the State capital, it was the Communists who started the peace campaign first and it was they again who suggested to the Government a meeting of different political parties and leading individuals together with responsible Government officials to initiate a peace campaign.

But strangely enough, when such a meeting was convened, it was the Communists who were excluded. A student through whom the Party was trying to initiate a move for peace among the students was arrested on a charge of "attempting to commit rowdism." Thus it has been found that far from helping the campaign for peace, the Government machinery becomes an obstacle to it.

Notwithstanding all these hurdles, the Party, together with many persons of different communities have been conducting a campaign in Shillong.

More. It is primarily because dearness allowance was the immediate demand of the employees and refusal of the Government to concede it the immediate cause of the strike, that the

POST-STRIKE SITUATION

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

significance can only be ignored by the blind and the stupid.

The countrywide response to the strike was a living demonstration that the grievances of the employees were genuine and their demands justified. The Government can ignore this decisive evidence only at its own peril, and make a worse mess of the present situation and also the future.

The decisive demand of the strikers was that their dearness allowance must be linked to the cost of living index. Anybody would admit that it is a just demand. The Government too once did so but refused to agree to implement it when its own turn came.

The grim reality of the last ten years since planning began is the plain inability of the Government to control the price level and simultaneously its dogged resistance to the just demand of the working people to link wages with cost of living.

Govt. Stand Unreasonable

Trade union struggles and popular pressure made Government act and get the main organised sectors of private enterprise accept and implement this demand but when it came to its own turn, as the employer, it bluntly refused to accept the same demand from its employees and made all sorts of untenable excuses. This only damns the Government more.

All the arguments of the Government about wage-price spiral, wage increase adding fuel to the inflationary fire, etc., etc., have been argued and answered on the floor of Parliament itself, and last by S. A. Dange in his letter to Labour Minister Nanda just on the eve of the strike.

This unreasoning resistance of the Government to an elementary and just demand of its own employees disclosed its actual policy and real reasoning which the mass of workers rightly understood. It was that the Government was determined to stick to its present policies which give free run to the speculators and vested interests. It knew that with these policies it will not be able to control the prices and hence was refusing to link dearness allowance to cost of living for its own employees and workers.

This meant that the Government would go on talking in the air while the employees would suffer a real wage-cut under rising dearness. This broke the camel's back.

Again, the blight of dearness did not affect the Government employees alone but all working people, all wage-earners. That is why the mass of the working men of India, whether white-collared or industrial, skilled or unskilled, all came to the conclusion that the struggle of the Central Government employees was their own struggle.

The purpose of all this is to smash the morale, unity and organisation of the employees. In some offices, the employees are being forced to give a written undertaking expressing regret for their absence and agreeing to accept any disciplinary action that might be taken. Suspended employees were forcibly turned out of some offices with the help of the Railway Protection Force.

Leaders of the local Joint Council of Action told a Press Conference that the inimical attitude of the local authorities was preventing the restoration of normalcy. If this situation continued, the local Council would be forced to take countermeasures.

They gave an idea of the reign of terror imposed during the strike. Armed police raided the houses of employees, intimidated and arrested them and ejected their womenfolk from Government quarters. Leaders and some workers of the INTUC helped organise these raids and accompanied the police.

strike itself commanded very wide public sympathy and support. And the Government could not mobilise public opinion despite all its Press campaign and other measures.

This also explains why it is that neither the Congress nor the INTUC in any State, in any industrial centre, dared hold a single public meeting opposing the strike call. Vasavadas and the State Congress chiefs could only issue Press statements to get some publicity for themselves and record their loyalty oath to their High Command.

Correct Decision

The response to the strike also proves that the final decision to go on strike was the only correct decision for the employees and their trade unions to take, in the conditions that faced them. The Joint Council of Action rightly tried to avert it and went on negotiating to get at least some relief against dearness, right up to zero hour. The very fact that the Government refused to budge demonstrated to all that it was the Government which was being unreasonable.

The strike was not strong and powerful enough to win its main demand but it was good and wide enough to have put the dearness demand right on the table. They have made it a live and urgent

issue which can brook no delay in the interests of industrial peace.

If the Central Government employees had taken things lying down, the private sector industries would have started their own offensive and begun re-treating on all the concessions regarding minimum wage, dearness allowance, etc., which the trade unions have been able to secure.

The fight of the Central Government employees has saved the gains of the advanced sectors and inspired the rest to keep up the just fight. The withdrawal of the strike is a temporary and, from all points of view, a necessary halt in the onward and just march of the Indian working class in defence of their living standards.

The wide response to the strike shows that the objective conditions were ripe for the strike call, especially after the Government had refused to budge, despite all the arguments and pressure through negotiations, based on reason alone.

The well-briefed bourgeois columnists are taking two contradictory lines. One set seeks to create the anti-Communist scare by manufacturing the Red bogey and stating that it is the Communists

who inspired and led the strike. Another gang sells the story that the Communists cleverly kept on the "side lines" and left the Socialists to face the music and cut a sorry figure, etc., etc.

The experience of the recent joint campaigning and the general strike has been so rich and compelling that all the trade union leaders concerned who have been through the fire are determined not only to keep but further consolidate the unity that has been achieved.

For, they all know that the demands of the working class as a whole and the future of the trade union movement itself depend upon the fate of the Central Government employees, and what happens to their demands and trade union strength and unity, and what backing the other trade union centres can give to the Central Government employees to get out of the crisis and make the Government re-think and act realistically and wisely. None of the Federations which organised and led the strike is affiliated to the AITUC. But the AITUC headquarters have promptly given a call for the relief to the victimised.

The Great Lesson

The victimised workers and the families of the arrested come with gratitude to the AITUC office. And they were never before under the AITUC influence. The warmth of solidarity is keeping up the faith of the scarred and the victimised.

The AITUC and all honest trade union leaders are determined to safeguard and strengthen the trade union unity achieved. They are determined that they will not rest content and not let a single striker remain victimised or let him starve. They realise that the Central Government employees fought the battle of the entire Indian working class and trade union movement. They know very well that if they let the Central Government victimise the strikers, it will set in motion a chain reaction against the working class, its past gains and its future advance.

If they let the Central Government keep the arrested in jail and victimise the militants and deny its employees an adequate dearness allowance, the private sector employees will start their own offensive against the gains already made, the future demands of their own workers and the solidarity and integrity of their trade unions.

This they are out to resist and not let the wheel be turned back. Greater and stronger trade union unity is the irresistible instrument of the Indian working class to win its demands and strengthen its position in the life of the nation. This great lesson has been learnt and its utility demonstrated before the entire Indian working class. This is the biggest single gain out of the Central Government employees' historic struggle.

Many lawyers have offered legal aid to the employees.

(July 20)

ASSAM

★ FROM PAGE 13

ported from various places. Postal and telecommunication have also been disrupted very extensively. The State capital has little contact with the rest of the State except through wireless. Though air transport was not very seriously affected except for a very short period at the initial stage of the agitation, inclement weather for the last few days seems to have rendered regular air service difficult.

Movement of essential goods has virtually stopped resulting in alarming increase in prices of almost every commodity of daily use. Shillong which is linked with the rest of the country by only motor transport is faced with a serious threat of being completely cut off as a result of irregular and short supply of petrol. For the last few days motor vehicles in Shillong are receiving half the quantity of their requirements of petrol.

Feeling Of Insecurity

In face of daily expanding areas of lawlessness, the civil administration has been rendered ineffective. The State police authorities evidently feel helpless to cope with the mounting wave of "deliberate defiance of law." A senior police officer told this Correspondent frankly that prohibitive order under Section 144

Cr. P. C. "has become a mockery."

The Army has been called in aid of the civil authorities at Shillong and Gauhati and the Assam Rifles have been assisting the civil authorities at a number of other places. Curfew has been imposed in many places. What, however, is considered to be most demoralising is the undeniable fact that the poison of linguistic communalism has penetrated the ranks of the police, not to speak of other branches of the administration. Moreover, the heavy continuous physical and mental strain on the police force has also seriously affected its efficiency.

In the situation there is a widespread feeling of insecurity out of which a demand has been gaining ground for Central intervention in the form of suspension of the Constitution and promulgation of President's rule in the State, at least for the time being.

That this idea has been gaining ground even among some members of the Cabinet was evident from what a Minister informally said the other day. He admitted that the current agitation lay with the anti-Chaliha group of Congressmen who, he said, had joined forces with the avowedly Chauvinist elements in whipping up the passion of the people with a view to dislodging the Chaliha Cabinet so that

RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY CONGRESS

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discipline in the behaviour of these well over thousand delegates. One would rarely find anyone talking to the neighbour or moving in or out of the Congress hall.

Bourgeois politicians always babble about "democracy" and are accustomed to flaunt their Parliaments as its last word. So I was particularly interested when Comrade Chivu Stoica, a member of the Political Bureau of the Party and Rumania's Prime Minister, spoke on Socialist democracy.

He stated: "The People's Councils are a living embodiment of profound democracy which characterises our State system. At present they have more than 137,000 deputies, including nearly 100,000 workers and working peasants..." "Over 17,000 deputies come from the ranks of the national minorities, and over 34,000 are women."

Socialist Democracy

These Councils enjoy wide powers of local administration including planning and recently the Grand National Assembly, the supreme organ of peoples' power, has enlarged the rights of these councils. These represent the system of organisation through which the vast masses of working people directly conduct the work of the State and the Government. The building of Socialism is very conscientiously linked with continuous strengthening of Socialist democracy which unleashes and develops the creative powers of the working people.

The worldwide struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence of nations with different social systems naturally engaged the attention of the Party Congress. "The fundamental problem of our times," said the Central Committee's Report, "is the defence of world peace" and it went on to emphatically reaffirm the thesis of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that "in our time," to quote Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej's report, "world war can be eliminated from the life of the society even prior to the victory of Socialism throughout the world."

At the same time, stressing the aggressive character of imperialism "which would like to make use of arms in order to re-establish its world domination," the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party called for people's vigilance against aggressive imperialist circles and tireless and consistent struggle against their machinations "uniting all the forces of peace into a broad front."

Noting with pride and joy that "during the last few years alone, 27 Asian-African countries, with a population of nearly 1,500 million, have won their independence," the Rumanian Party Congress declared: "The Socialist countries manifest warm sympathy for and solidarity with the struggle of Afro-Asian peoples for the defence and consolidation of their national independence and for the liquidation of the economic backwardness inherited from the colonialists."

The stimulating thought of great disinterested economic assistance our country is receiving from the Soviet Union, the Rumanian People's Republic and other Socialist countries at once came to my mind, as though to remind that these were no mere noble sentiments but are backed by concrete deeds. The entire Congress rose to its feet and burst into thunderous applause when the fraternal Communist delegates from Algeria, Cuba and Japan went to the rostrum. The same warmth was shown to us from India.

Proletarian Internationalism

True to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Congress evinced deep concern and sympathy for the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries and was happy to note that they "have considerably enhanced their prestige and authority by their struggle for achieving the unity of action of the working class and of the forces fighting for peace, democracy and progress."

The Central Committee's Report further noted with just satisfaction: "The strenuous efforts of international reaction and its agents to break up the unity of the world Communist movement, to confuse and disconcert, it were decisively defeated, they were unable to undermine the monolithic internationalist cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties and their attachment to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism."

The Report went on: "As was pointed out in the Declaration, the Communist Parties, while condemning dogmatism, consider that under present-day conditions revisionism is the main danger against which the vigilance of the international working class movement must be directed." The Congress exposed the revisionist positions of Yugoslav leaders with special reference to the Leninist concept of the role of the Party and the State which these revisionists repudiate. It was heartening to see to find that Yugoslav revisionism stands on all fours exposed in Rumania and has been thoroughly refuted.

Party's Growth

The deliberations of the Congress on the Party were both interesting and instructive. The membership of the Rumanian Workers' Party stood at 834,000 including 148,000 candidate members on June 1, 1960. Since the Second Party Congress in 1955, 239,200 new members have been admitted into the Party, representing a growth of more than 40 per cent. Seventy-two per cent of these members are directly working in industry and the Socialist sector of agriculture.

The Second Congress directed that the preponderance of workers in the Party be ensured and this directive has been admirably carried out. Compared

to 253,000 workers who were Party members in 1955, now there are 426,000 such Party members. Taking into account workers who are engaged in the State and economic bodies, the figure comes to 54.4 per cent of total membership.

Great attention is also paid to the intellectuals and today there are 93,000 intellectuals in the Party, 23,000 more than in 1955. Women represent 17 per cent of the total membership, but in Bucharest region, which is numerically the biggest Party unit, they are nearly one-third of the total. Com. Gheorghiu-Dej, in his report, said, "We must intensify our political and educational work among women" so that a larger number of them is admitted to the Party.

"Bureaucratic and superficial attitude of some local Party bodies who more than once take decisions on expulsion of the withdrawal of the attribute of Party member or Candidate member without well-grounded reason" came in for particular notice and criticism on the part of the Congress.

The Party says, as the Central Committee's Report says, particular attention to the training of cadres and members "in a spirit of vigilance, firmness and political militancy towards deviation from its political line and organisational principles..." Against "all persons with a petty bourgeois, anarchic, time-serving frame of mind who are the carriers of alien ideology and inimical influences, resolute steps, the Congress declared, are taken. Political, professional and moral qualities of the applicants for membership and the individual examination of the applications are firmly insisted upon.

Ideological Activity

The selection, training and distribution of cadres are considered to be a very important problem facing the Party and in this context very great emphasis is laid on the ideological activity of the Party members. This will be gathered from the fact that 670,000 Party members and Candidate members have attended Party schools. In the last five years alone, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been published in well over 1,300,000 copies.

Cultural activities "should be," Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej stressed, "imbued with Party spirit, but intrinsically towards bourgeois ideology" and he added: "we should tirelessly combat manifestations of liberalism, bourgeois objectivism, nationalism and chauvinism." There is thus a full-throated emphasis on "a battle of ideas" between Socialism and capitalism. Revisionism which finds its concentrated expression in the Programme and activities of the League of Yugoslav Communists is quite equally concentrated fire of the Rumanian Marxist-Leninists.

The Rumanian Party Congress was greeted by delegations from 46 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. The speeches these delegations made and the greetings they brought were of profound

significance to the entire working class movement. These testified to the great accession of strength of the international Communist movement and confirmed the absolute correctness of the principles of the Peace Manifesto and the Declaration of the Moscow Conferences of 1957. These greetings offered a valuable exchange, albeit a brief, of experience in the struggle for world peace, democracy and Socialism. Many delegates touched on their respective Parties' struggle against revisionists.

Khrushchov's Speech

As the Congress was taking place, with vital questions of struggle for world peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and transition to Socialism occupying the minds of the Communists all over the world and so soon after the torpedoing of the Summit Conference by the U.S. imperialists, the speech of Comrade N. S. Khrushchov who led the Soviet delegation was naturally awaited with great interest. And on the second day of the Congress Comrade Khrushchov did make a major authoritative speech and spoke for two hours, amidst frequent acclamations. He covered a wide range of ideological, political and practical issues facing Socialist construction and the world Communist movement and he gave an objective analysis of the present-day international situation and the vastly changed relation of forces in the world arena.

Comrade Khrushchov maintained that the aggressive character of imperialism remains. He did not discount the possibility of the imperialists unleashing wars, for so long as imperialism exists, there will be soil for aggressive wars. He stressed the need for vigilance.

THE HIGHLIGHT OF COMRADE KHRUSHCHOV'S SPEECH WAS, HOWEVER, THAT HE DREW POINTED ATTENTION TO THE CHANGED CORRELATION OF FORCES IN THE WORLD TODAY, AS WELL AS THE NEW, FAVOURABLE FACTORS THAT HAVE COME TO OPERATE AND THUS EXPLAINED AND ASSERTED THE REAL POSSIBILITY OF AVERTING WARS. HIS WELL-REASONED AND PENETRATING OBSERVATIONS ON THIS CRUCIAL QUESTION ARE BOUND TO INSPIRE IN ALL THOSE STRUGGLING FOR SECURITY AND A DURABLE WORLD PEACE A GREAT CONFIDENCE IN THEIR NOBLE OBJECTIVE, IDEOLOGICALLY ARM THESE FORCES AND HELP BRING ABOUT THE BROADEST POSSIBLE MOBILISATION IN DEFENCE OF PEACE.

He sharply warned against revisionism as well as against dogmatic, Left-sectarian digressions. His was a ringing, realistic call for the struggle for world peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and national independence.

Saying that "the capitalist system is on the way out," Comrade Khrushchov recalled Marx's words and declared, "as a member of the Commu-

nist Party, as a member of the great and mighty collective of workers, I do not exclude myself from the ranks of the grave-diggers of capitalism." "The working class of every country," he added, "will proudly fulfil this historic mission—to bury capitalism and create new, Socialist Communist society."

Complete Agreement

Delegate after delegate from the Communist and Workers' Parties of different countries most enthusiastically greeted this speech by the Soviet leader and expressed their complete agreement.

Comrade Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, conveyed the greetings of the great Chinese Communist Party. He said: "The situation of the international struggle is most favourable to the cause of the peoples of various countries striving for world peace and human progress; this is an era in which the East wind prevails over the West wind. Things are daily getting better with us while the enemy rots with each passing day."

Comrade Peng Chen then emphasised the importance of the unity of the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement and gave the call for "the broadest anti-imperialist united front with this unity of the Socialist camp" as its core and he called for popular vigilance against the imperialists. Referring to the Moscow Declaration of 1957, Comrade Peng Chen contended that "it is possible to check war and safeguard peace."

The opportunity was availed by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the twelve Socialist countries to meet in a conference on June 24, and unanimously adopt the Communiqué, reaffirming the principles of the Peace Manifesto and the Declaration of the Moscow Conference of 1957.

These twelve Parties which signed the Communiqué after an exchange of opinions on the problems of the present international situation and tasks arising from them for the international Communist and Labour movement, once again pledged that they "will preserve like the apple of their eye the unity in the struggle for peace and security of all peoples, for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism."

Needless to say, the Communiqué was most enthusiastically welcomed by all the fraternal delegates from the Parties of the capitalist countries present in Bucharest. This would demonstrate the great unity of the international Communist movement and its firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism, to principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party thus has been a historic event—not only for the Rumanian working people but for the entire international Communist movement, for mankind's sacred struggle for world peace, which remains the primary task for all Communist and Workers' Parties.

JULY 24, 1960

NEW AGE

WEST BENGAL'S PROTEST

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA CALCUTTA, July 18

West Bengal observed a unique general strike and hartal on July 16 when, in response to the call of the Left parties, all sections of people—Bengalis and non-Bengalis, Hindus and Muslims, workers and peasants, and people from every other walk of life—demonstrated their unequivocal protest against the fratricidal war in Assam.

SUCH a peaceful and total general strike and hartal has not been witnessed for a pretty long time in this State, which has already built up a glorious tradition in this specific form of mass protest.

Complete Success

Government offices, business houses, banks, shops, bazars, educational and all other institutions were closed. All vehicles, public or private, were off the road. Train services on both the railways, the Eastern and the South-Eastern, were suspended. Not a single wheel moved, not a single chimney belched smoke in the vast industrial region in and around Calcutta. The hartal in mofussil towns and rural areas was equally unprecedented.

Jyoti Basu, MLA, Secretary of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party, in a statement, congratulated the people of the State for demonstrating in a united and democratic manner their indignation over the utter failure of the Assam Government to protect the lives and properties of Bengalis and other minorities in that State.

He further pointed out that the general strike and hartal had demonstrated that the people of West Bengal had not only prevented disruption of the unity among the different

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

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aggression of the imperialists headed by the USA and for the defence of world peace."

The General Declaration adopted by the Bureau reflected the sentiments and opinions of the various leading speakers, particularly those of Professor Bernal himself.

Pointing out the new developments in the world, and yet the more powerful peace factors, the peoples on the march in every continent, the Declaration called for action by the peoples everywhere for:

- 1. The calling of a comprehensive conference of all States for disarmament (in terms of the Bureau's Appeal);
- 2. A ban on the testing of all nuclear weapons;
- 3. A ban on all plane flights carrying nuclear weapons; strict observance of the rules of international law in relation to all unauthorised plane flights over foreign territory;
- 4. Dismantling of all military bases on foreign territory;
- 5. Abolition of all military pacts;
- 6. Preparation now of plans to make the transition from a war economy to a peace economy;
- 7. Halting all aggressive actions — political, mili-

JULY 24, 1960

ties, economic violating the sovereignty of nations and threatening peace; support to all struggles for national independence, for the defence of national sovereignty and against racialism.

The Indian delegation to the Bureau meeting (Pandit Sunderlal, Diwan Chaman Lal, M.P., Major-General S. S. Sokhey, Pandit Chatur Narain Malviya, Ramesh Chandra) played a leading part in all sessions, commission meetings and drafting committees, contributing considerably to the success of the Bureau meeting.

The delegates who have now returned to India are preparing for the coming conference of the All-India Peace Council at Calcutta, through a campaign in support of the World Appeal for Disarmament, linked with the struggle against military bases and pacts, against colonialism and imperialism (particularly in Africa and Goa), in support of the policy of peace and non-alignment, and for increased Afro-Asian participation in world negotiations on urgent problems.

The new campaign of the World Peace Council together with its calls for increased activity on the various fronts of the fight against imperialism and the cold war will find a ready response among all sections of the Indian people.

living in Calcutta and its environs. Inflammatory leaflets were distributed. Posters, calling for "blood for blood" appeared at several places.

But the Left parties were vigilant and active. The appeal issued jointly by Jyoti Basu and the leaders of six other Left parties, urged upon the "democratic people of West Bengal not to fall a prey to communalism and provincial passions. The reply to the barbarism in Assam is not counter-barbarism against innocent people in this State."

The PSP also appealed to the people to "not, by any means, harm the non-Bengalis living in West Bengal."

On July 15, the students observed a complete Statewide strike. Protest there was but no provincialism.

Another significant feature of the battle for the preservation of peace was the initiative taken by the people themselves. In mohalla after mohalla, especially in bustee areas with their mixed population, the people took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the peace by organising their own volunteers. And among these volunteers were to be found Hindus as well as Muslims, Bengalis as well as non-Bengalis.

Mourning those who had lost their lives in the mob frenzy in Assam, the resolution condemned the policy of the Assam Government and demanded payment of adequate compensation to the sufferers.

Moving the resolution, Jyoti Basu said that if no steps were taken even after the general strike and hartal, more of such action would have to be organised, if necessary, in order to bring the life in West Bengal to a standstill.

Characterising the suggestion that all Bengalis should come away from Assam as a counsel of cowardice, he said that every

democrat would want that the Bengalis and other minorities in different States should live there with honour and with full rights as Indian citizens.

He emphasised that if there was a fratricidal war against other communities in West Bengal, it would have no right to demand protection for Bengalis in other States.

A mass meeting, attended by several thousand people, was held in Calcutta on July 17 under the auspices of the Communist Party.

Addressing the gathering, Jyoti Basu said that the fratricidal strife in Assam was the outcome of the conspiracy of the Congress Government and the vested interests to create divisions in the ranks of the people.

Other speakers were Renu Chakravarty, M.P., Sadhan Gupta M.P., Pravat Kar M.P. and Sannath Lahiri, MLA.

Perhaps the most unmistakable demonstration of the spirit of fraternal amity and goodwill that prevailed on the day was the "football teams" scores of which were fielded on the deserted streets. Among the players were Hindus, Muslims and Christians, Bengalis and non-Bengalis.

Touring the vast city, which was otherwise stilled into the silence of the graveyard, one could not but be moved to the very depths of one's heart at these thrilling scenes at hundreds of places.

The people of West Bengal had risen to a man and given a mighty blow to the machinations of the reactionaries. They wrote a new chapter in their glorious history.

Shortly after the general strike and hartal ended, a big public meeting was held in Calcutta under the joint auspices of the parties which had given the call for the hartal—the CPI, F.B., RSP, Marxist Forward Bloc, SUC, RCPI and Bolshevik Party. Hemanta Basu, MLA (F.B.) presided and among those who addressed the meeting were Jyoti Basu, Tridib Chowdhury M.P. (RSP) and Subodh Banerjee, MLA (SUC).

The resolution unanimously adopted at the meeting con-

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The Students' Federation also put on the streets about 500 volunteers. They held street-corner meetings and brought out small peace processions at several places.

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PEACEFUL HARTAL & GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST ASSAM INCIDENTS

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QUIT CONGO!

THE Republic of Congo is fighting today not only to safeguard its own independence and drive out the imperialist aggressors from its own sacred soil. It is fighting for the independence of all peoples—and particularly of the millions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This fact is understood well by the peoples of our three continents. And we are rallying as never before in solidarity with our brother people of the Congo. For, the imperialists' plan is clear: first to destroy the freedom of the Republic of Congo, and then to turn their guns against other independent countries.

The peoples of the world have learnt from grim experience that imperialism is constantly plotting against the sovereignty and independence of nations. We remember well the story of Suez, the Lebanon and Jordan, of Guinea, of Guatemala; we are watching the unfolding of the story of Cuba.

Imperialist aggression and threats of aggression, aimed at strangling independence, have again and again brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war. That is why today, once more, the utmost vigilance and relentless struggle and action are necessary to put an end to the imperialist conspiracy in the Congo, and thus eliminate the perils of a world catastrophe.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Despite all the confusing web of lies spun by the imperialist news-agencies and Government spokesmen, the truth about the events in the Congo cannot be hidden. Compelled by the heroic struggle of the Congolese people to grant formal independence, the Belgian colonialists (together with their other imperialist partners, led by those of the USA) sought to retain their economic, military, and indirectly even political, domination over the Congo.

Belgian troops remained in the Congo. Belgian military bases continued. Belgian officers still rode roughshod over the patriotic Congo army. All the mineral resources of the Congo were in the possession of Belgian and other Western capitalists. Belgian military and civil personnel, together with all kinds of "private" individuals from imperialist countries — "missionaries" and businessmen — were actually engaged in disrupting the integrity of the Congo, making use of pro-imperialist groups created precisely for this purpose.

The imperialists acted fast. Scarcely had the new Republic been born than they found a pretext to violate Congo's sovereignty. The legitimate repugnance of the Congolese soldiers to serve any longer under the Belgian officers' expressed

itself through peaceful demonstrations. The Congo Government responded to this unanimous demand of its army and demanded that the hated Belgian Commander-in-Chief responsible for untold butchery of the people of Congo, return to Belgium at once.

The people of the Congo had begun to assert their independence. Fearing that the days of white supremacy were nearly over, colonialist civilians began to scramble out of the Congo. Followed a barrage of concocted stories about the molestation of Belgian and other white men and women. And then the aggression began, under the false excuse of "protecting the lives and honour" of Belgian citizens.

THREAT TO PEACE

From all over the world, and particularly from Asia and Africa, rose the demand that the aggression be halted and that the Belgian troops quit the Congo. The United Nations Security Council had to respond to this universal cry and called for the withdrawal of Belgian troops—though Britain and France abstained from voting. United Nations forces have already entered the Congo and more are due.

Brazenly flouting the resolution of the Security Council, refusing to respond to the call of the Congo Government backed now by the entire Afro-Asian Group in the U. N. the Belgian imperialists refuse to withdraw their troops.

The situation has been made more serious, threatening peace by a number of factors:

It has been openly announced by the U. S. Government that its troops in West Germany are continuously on the alert ready to be flown into the Congo, and that its aircraft-carriers are being deployed into waters as near the Congo as possible. Some 20 U. S. armed personnel are already in the Congo, ostensibly to help unload aircraft, but clearly as an advance guard for the future U. S. aggressive troops, should the "need arise"!

"VACUUM-FILLING"

British troops in Rhodesia are stationed all round the Congo border and the white Prime Minister of the Central African Federation has declared that he is ready to "intervene".

The Belgian puppet Government of the Katanga, under the orders of the Belgian army commanders stationed in Elizabethville, has declared itself "independent". It is no secret that the ruling party here is the creation of the big combine of Belgian mining

companies, which own the rich diamond, copper, uranium and other mineral deposits of the Katanga—which supplies 60 per cent of all Congo's resources.

The U. S. imperialists, with their eyes constantly on the wealth of Africa, with "vacuum-filling" as their dream, seek to utilise the presence of the United Nations forces, not to drive out the Belgian troops in terms of the Security Council Resolution, but to entrench themselves in the Congo. The fact that the United Nations is represented in the Congo by the U. S. diplomat Ralph Bunche adds to the disquiet. It would be a mistake to underestimate the gravity of the situation. It is a time when all peoples must act to cry halt to the imperialists, who threaten both the sovereignty of the Congo and world peace.

Already, as in the case of Suez and of Lebanon and Jordan, of Cuba, the firm warning by the Soviet Union of its determination to act in defence of Congo's sovereignty and of its refusal to tolerate any further aggression, has acted as a check on the mad designs of the U.S., British, West German, Belgian and other imperialist Powers. The people of the Congo, like all peoples struggling in defence of their national independence, can always rely on the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, for full support in their struggle against imperialism.

AFRO-ASIA MUST ACT!

Indian public opinion stands wholeheartedly behind the Government and people of the Republic of Congo. The Government of India has the full backing of the Indian people in any solidarity and assistance it sends today to the Congo (one thousand tons of foodgrains have already gone from India) and in the support given by its representative in the Afro-Asian group in the U. N. to the demand for the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo and for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the country.

In view of the seriousness of the situation, it is necessary for all Afro-Asian Governments, and particularly the Government of India because of the influential position it commands, to make it clear to the imperialist Powers that they will not tolerate their continued interference in the Congo, that they demand that the imperialists quit Congo here and now, withdraw their troops and stop their conspiracies to divide Congo, permitting the Congolese people to build their own country, utilising their immense resources for their own well-being.

(July 20)

Rush Relief!

-AITUC STATEMENT

THE heroic action of the Central Government employees who went on strike from July 11 to 16, in defence of their vital interests, has had appreciation and support from all sections of the workers and the people at large.

They fought bravely, against great odds, on demands which are common to all sections of the working class. Throughout the country, the workers responded to the call for solidarity, by the token strike on July 14.

The strike of the Central Government employees has now been withdrawn. The Government which left no stone unturned in its effort to suppress the strike by force, armed with Draconian powers, arrested over 15,000 workers. Many hundreds have become victims of vindictive reprisals.

Thousands of employees have been suspended from service. The number of dismissed employees runs into four figures. A large number, especially those who were arrested, await the same fate. Charge-sheets and other disciplinary measures are being taken against the workers who went on strike.

Maximum punishment of one year's rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 1,000 under the hated Essential Services Maintenance

nance Ordinance has been imposed on workers.

Over and above this, on the charge of alleged sabotage, several cases are being foisted on workers and trade unionists. Never before has the trade union movement faced such ferocious repression.

It is, therefore, the incumbent duty of the organised trade union movement to further strengthen the bonds of solidarity with the Central Government employees and help them in the struggle against mass victimisation.

The AITUC appeals to all its affiliated unions to launch a campaign immediately to collect funds for relief and legal aid to the Central Government employees who are sought to be victimised for their heroic action.

The AITUC appeals to all workers, irrespective of their trade union affiliation, and friends of the working class, to donate liberally to this Relief Fund.

Rush your contributions (earmarked 'Relief Fund') to: The Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress, 4 Ashok Road, New Delhi 1.

The AITUC has decided to donate a sum of Rs. 150 to each of the families of the victims of police firing in Dohad by way of token relief.

WITHDRAW THE ORDINANCE

-BHUPESH GUPTA

ON behalf of the Communist Group in Parliament Bhupesh Gupta, M. P., has issued the following Statement to the Press in New Delhi on July 19, 1960.

Now that the Central Government employees' strike has been called off, there can be no justification whatsoever for the continuance of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance even for a moment longer. The President will be well-advised to withdraw the Ordinance at once.

Fifteen thousand persons, Government employees and others including Members of Parliament and State Legislatures were arrested in connection with the strike and it appears that arrests are continuing in places like Delhi and Madras even now.

Several hundred Government employees have already been summarily victimised and similar action

seems to be contemplated against many more. Thousands of employees are not allowed by the Government to resume their duties and it seems their future is proposed to be darkened and ruined.

It is most regrettable that the Government should have persisted in these methods of victimisation and persecution, even after the strike has been withdrawn. Such a posture of things brings no credit on the authorities and it can only obstruct the return to normalcy which everyone desires.

We would earnestly appeal to the Central Government to retrace its steps in this respect and stop all victimisation, unconditionally release all prisoners and drop all cases arising out of the strike. Both public interest and commonsense demand this reasonable approach at least as a token of the Government's claim that it is not vindictive.