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INDIAINSULTED BY W. GERMAN RAGIST

From Our Special Correspondent

The lavishly printed Germany, which labels itself as "the magazine of the Federal Republic" is a more or less official journal of the West German regime. Federal Republic" is a more or less official journal of the West German regime. A recent issue of the magazine (Vol. V, No. 18) had the notice of a book among "New Books from Germany": "Indien mit und ohne Wunder" (India with and without Miracles) by Peter Schmid. Illustrating the notice was the picture of an Indian girl dancing.

HAT is what first, drew our attention to the book. Chambers.

Printed and published in West Germany, by Cotta-Verlag, life: "My spoils during a journey of several months through the book oozes out racial arrogance which reaches its abominable limit when it is abominable limit when abominable limit when it is said: "It would be more intelligent, if instead of blast furnaces we would build gas chambers for 400 million indians". Shades of Hitler and the gas chambers he built for the laws. There seem the the Jews. There seem to be quite some people in West Germany who still think like Fitler did.

But this is only one tence from the book, whole volume is packed with insults flung at India and the Indian people. It is a veritable new edition of Miss Mayo's Mother India.

Read on page 17: "If the small towns remind one of jewel boxes, the big ones are like rubbish bins, grey, solid and tinny. Bombay, Calcutta: I see enormous blocks of flats along overcrowded streets. along overcrowded streets, facades consisting of rusty bars behind which muffy blackness oozes out of the rooms. Cardboard boxes, rooms. Cardboard boxes, trunks, cheap utensils, torn washing hung upon the veranwashing nuing upon the veran-dahs for drying, human bo-dies... deposits of chance, washed here without roots from the breeding grounds of the villages in inorganic crowded communities of men without women. The "far too many", one cannot avoid thinking of this word of Nietzsche's..."

"Far too many"—and if you ask the author, he will be

NOTICE

Full text of the Resolution on the Present Political Situation adopted by the National Council, CPI, on pp 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16. Also available in pamphlet form in English, Hindi and Urdu.

Contempt For Indians

"The cyclist I bagged was alone, thank god. He pedalled happily towards me in the middle of the road and kept his eyes immersed in his mystic soul for he swerved straight in front of my car. Idiot, I curse and turn sharply to the right. At this moment, it dawns on the sharply to the right. At this moment, it dawns on the other one that he has made a mistake and he also pulls his cycle around. The vehicle looked like a handorgan. Besides it, the young man lay on the-road, handsome like Adonis killed by a boar."

And thus with utter con-tempt for human life, Herr Schmid adds to his spoils of two dogs, one goat and one chicken, a cyclist too.

The natives are ignorant, they are lazy, they cannot learn a thing—that is Schmid's theme-song. Hear him:

"Work in India requires from a foreigner, especially one quality: patience and again patience. And that is a again patience. And that is a quality of mind which Germans have long since exchanged for the profitable haste of the 'economic miracle'. If you have shown Indians five times how to do a thing and then turn your back, they'll again do it the wrong way for the sixth time'—this sigh has in Rourkela become a kind of leitmotiv. become a kind of leitmotiv. And when they have learnt it at last and you begin some new work with them, they completely forget the old skill in a jiffy. In a nutshell: They'll need generations before they can keep a steel plant going."
"This despising judgment

you hear so undisguised, so loud, that naturally it does not remain hidden to Indians. And Indians are proud, sensi-

patience is provocative spite-fulness on the Indian side. One does not love the other and there is no pretence of love. It would be more intel-ligent if instead of blast furnaces we would build gas chambers for 400 million Indians.' I heard a specially tactful German foreman

So, according to Mr. Sch-mid, the bitterness in Rourkela is because the Indians cannot learn and the Germans are impatient. Not because the West German imperialists rooked us by palming off second-hand parts for the Rourkela steel plant and will not fulfil their obligations, not because the West Germans behaved like Nazi thugs there and called our workers "bloody Indians" and "bastards" and set up their exkela is because the Indians "bloody indians and was-tards" and set up their ex-clusive clubs and swimming pools, not because they molested and dishonoured our tribal girls in that area, not because they behave as if they are bestowing cha-rity on us though we are paying more for the Rour-kela steel plant than we should.

"Backward Abes"

There is still more about our backwardness: "Can one expect from a people who psychologicaly still live in the age of the bullock cart that their brains understand at once the complicated mechanism of a modern automobile? nam of a modern automobile? Yes! They may ape-like learn a few manipulations, but to live with the motor, to feel its pulse? Of all the Asiatics only the Japanese are that far. pally such a shining made of chrome and object steel like a motor car does not

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MORARJI'S BRUTAL BLOW

From Ziaul Haq

February 28

T is a brutal blow against the common man that the Government of India has delivered through Morarji Desai's budget for 1961-62. Adding insult to injury is the transparent hypocrisy with which this blow has been sought to be covered.

The Finance Minister had borne by the poorer and lower the audacity to claim that in middle classes in town and framing the proposals it had countryside. The smaller inbeen his endeavour to see that the tax burden did not fall too the tax burden did not fall too heavily on any one section of the community. With a revenue deficit of Rs. 60.6 crores to cover he himself summed up the net result of his proposals: "The changes in the customs duties will yield an additional revenue of Rs. 29.27 crores. Excluding the amount of Rs. 2.3 crores transferable to the States, Union excise duties will bring in Rs. 28.6 crores. crores.

"The minor changes in Income Tax and Corporation Tax are expected to yield an income of Rs. three crores. As a result of these proposals, an additional revenue of Rs. 60.87 crores will accrue to the Centre. This will completely wipe out the revenue deficit and give a nominal revenue surplus of Rs. 27 lakhs".

Huge Burden

It will thus be seen that out of the additional duties out of the additional duties and taxes amounting to Rs. 63.17 crores it is the incidence only of Rs. three crores, i.e., roughly 4.75 per cent of the entire fresh burden, that directly falls on higher income groups and big business. This is called by Morarji an equitable distribution of the tax burden and every one making his and every one making due contribution towards the task of development.

Excise duties, that is taxes on the goods of daily consumption of the mass of the people, have all along constituted the single biggest source of revenue for the Central Government, hesides heing Government. besides burdened with sales tax, etc., by the State Governments. The revised estimates of last year, 1960-61, show that out of a total Central revenue of Rs. 95,738 lakhs Union excise duties contributed Rs. 39,498 lakhs, that is considerably above one-third of the whole amount. Even at last year's rate of taxation the revenue receipt from Union excise duties in 1961-62 would have gone up to Rs. 40,624 lakhs. Not satisfied with this the Government has raised the rates of duty in respect of 14 commodities. commodities already subject to the levy and decided to impose the duty on 18 new com-modities, thus taxing the people through excise duties alone to the tune of another Rs. 2,880 lakhs.

Tea and coffee, tobacco and cigarettes and beteinuts, matches and kerosene, cot-ton and woollen elothing and hostery, utensils, whe-ther made of copper, of china or glass and vegetable products. all these will cost even more than before affecting the poorest of the than before poor homes, raising further the cost of living and depressing an already de-pressed living standard. Of all the additional indirect

tion of Rs. 60.17 crores 80 to 90 per cent will have to be ing and other industries will also be adversely affected. Big business and higher income groups will go scot-free with only three crores of additional direct taxation.

It is not simply a question of refusing to impose new taxes on sections which can pay and thus really equitably distributing the burden of development. New concessions have been given to them as the reduction of the

them as the reduction of the tax on new bonus issues by the companies from 30 to a mere 121 per cent.

Doing everything to make the poor poorer and helping the rich to grow richer at the expense of the people and the nation is the actual policy reflected in this budget. It is a budget framed to consolidate and advance the narrow selfish class interests of the big capitalists.

When Morarji, says, "I have tried to ensure that through our tax system we further our economic objectives", he obvi-ously means the economic objectives of Indian monopoly capitalists and not of the Indian nation as a whole.

Worse is the solicitude that has been shown in the budget to the foreign private inves-tors. Speaking of the taxation of royalties received from Indian enterprises by foreign companies the Finance Minister said in his speech, "The present rate inclusive of super-tax," present rate inclusive of income-tax and super-tax, comes to 63 per cent, which, it appears is higher than the rate in any other country".

Monopolists Appeased

Arguing that this "high rate of tax" was borne in the last analysis by our own-industry to secure "technical collaboration on more collaboration on more favourable terms", he anno-unced that after March 31, 1961 this tax would be re-duced to 50 per cent from the present rate of 63 per One wonders if it was "in the last analysis" a bur-den on our own industry, why were the foreign inves-tors all the time pressing for "in the last analysis' its reduction.

The Finance Minister ther announced that his Government would no longer im-pose a higher tax on inter-corporate investment from outside than on similar Indian

investment.
Thus, the door is opened wider for foreign private capi-tal to come into the country and capture more decisive and capture more dec positions in the economy.

Coming forward with such a budget which seeks to intensity the exploitation of the people at the hands of indigenous and foreign capitalists, it was honest of Morarii Desai not to claim at any stage that his hudget was his budget was a step towards the creation of a socialist pattern of society. He does not

* SEE BACK PAGE

rhe Soviet Premier calls a spade a spade and brings out the disgusting role played in the Congo by the U.N. Secretary-General. He abbetted the seizure of Prime Minister Lumumba by the bandits who

were given weapons by the co-lonial powers. He delayed in every possible way all measures to protect the legitimate Gov-ernment and Parliament. He

did not even want to meet Lu-mumba, the Prime Minister at, whose request U.N. troops were, sent to the Congo but kowtow-

ed with all the puppets of the

And when Lumumba and.

his other friends were tor-tured and it was clear that

base assassination was being prepared, he took up the hypocritical pose of non-in-terference. "To put it bluntly

it was, in essence, Hammar

Skiceld who murdered In-

"We cannot reconcile our-selves to this villainy which was perpetrated with the con-nivance of the United Nations.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that the U.N. Secre-

tary-General is a man who has sullied himself by a foul mur-

tler". Khrushchov makes it quite clear in his message that the Soviet Union means busi-ness and is not going to let things drift as the imperialists

The key question today is that United Nations structure

has to be reorganised. Under

the present state of affairs U.N.

inery will be headed

These are the facts: If we take the executive personnel of U.N. Secretariat, out of 28 posts of deputy secretariesgeneral and equivalent jobs the countries of the Westmembers of military blocsoccupy 17 whereas the Socialist countries fill only one post. Among 30 efficials of the legal department there is not a single citizen of the

not a single citizen of the

African countries or of the USSR. Out of 710 people sent to the Congo with the communications, police and other

nits 545 were from the West-ern bloc countries and only 24 people of African countries. Pointing obviously to the

weakness of the position of the uncommitted nations in

the past on the question of the United Nations' Secreta-

riat and its reorganisation, the Soviet Premier in his

message to Nehru declares "the regrettable lesson of the events in the Congo consists

in the fact that the meaker

the resistance and the rehuft

These are the facts: If we

mumba" Khrushchop

We cannot reconcile

would like to see.

not prejudiced.

NIKITA Khrushchoo in his message to the Prime Minister of India published here on Sunday makes a moving appeal to "unite the efforts of our two countries in defenc the freedom and independence of the Republic of veiled and subtle methods and

"The interests of consolidating the peace and security of act through their stooges, the peoples demand that a The Soviet Premier calls a common language be found spade a spade and brings out mong the States concerning the paramount international questions of our time", the Soviet Premier declares in his long and detailed communica-

...The atrocious slaughter of the outstanding leader of the liberation movement of Africa has let loose a wave of spontaneous indignation in the Soviet trion and the people demand that an end be put to the outrages of the colonialists in the Congo and the guilty be seve-

"I shall not conceal that is only with a great deal of effort that I am able to put down the wrath which I felt on receiving the news of the mur-der of Patrice Lumumba and my feeling of loathing towards

"But no matter how diffi-cult it is to restrain one's feelings over this heinous crime which sharply affects est man it is the duty of statesmen to be guided by the logic of reason as the politi-cal problems remain and must

ght today to the Congo and to wider issues affecting United Nations as a whole and its future, Khrushchov declares. He gives a detailed review of the events in the Congo and brings out the vile conspiracy of the imperialists powers deprive the Congolese people of their freedom and lavs hare the intrigues under the cover of the United Nations.

The physical elimination of

machinery will be headed by some stooge of the imperialist powers if not Hammarskjoeld, then somebody else. And today's Pravda gives figures which make the whole NO position clear for anybody who is not prejudiced. nba was in fact pre-determined as soon as the colostood in the way of their plans and demanded complete liberation from Belgian rule. As soon as the United Nations', troops subordinated to Hammarsk joeld arrived they were imme diately employed against Lu-mumba and his Government. Aerodromes were taken over, access to radio stations was blocked and communications between the legitimate Government and the provinces ruptured. The Prime Minister of the ountry was even deprived of he necessary aircraft to take him to the United Nations, the very organisation which he had

requested to render aid.

Hammarskjoeld knew from the very beginning what the troops under his control were going to be used for, the Soviet Premier declares. We all saw vividly how the UNO served as strument in the hands of

the imperialists powers.
"If the Socialist countries as well as those who adhe to a neutral policy were to reconcile themselves to this and remain silent, the leaders of these countries would sim. ply turn out to be income ply turn out to be incompe-tent men who were unable to realistically assess the situa-tion and draw appropriate conclusions" declares Khru-

the colonialists meet the more impudently they act and that a passive attitude toward aggression against the Congo tion and draw appropriate plays solely into their hands". conclusions" declares Khru-Further on Khrushchov deshchov forcefully. clares "The situation which the imperialists today use now obtains in the Congo is

such that every lost hour may prove to be fatal for the cause of the independence of the Congolese people. Now hesitasures would least of all be justified".

There is only one radical way to protect the people of Cong from new atrocities. Tshomb and Mobutu should be immedi ately arrested and brought to trial, their gangs disarmed and the aggressors ousted from the Congo. The appointment of commissions of investigation is only a manoeuvre to avoid punishment for the real murderers and find some small fry

as a scapegoat.
"If we take a realistic view of things we have to admit that the whole so-called Tinited No skjoeld not only failed to atcouncil had in view but has led to exactly the opposite results" Khrushchov says and compares the situation in Congo when U.N. troops arrived with

. He points out that after the nite points out that after the withdrawal of the troops of certain countries there will remain on Congoless soil mainly those forces which are directly or indirectly connected with the coalition of colonial powers. If these terms nial powers. If things are allowed to drift there is a real danger of another provocation on the part of Hammarskjoeld, who may invite the troops of the Western powers to the Congo.

"Having weighed all these

circumstances the Government of the USSR has come to the conclusion that the interests of the Congo's independence, as well as those of the United Nations prestige, require the speediest termination of the so called 'operation in Congo' and the withdrawal of all foreign troops so that Congolese peopl would be given the possibility to handle their internal affairs

themselves".
The Sovet Government is prepared together with other States friendly towards the Republic of Congo to render help to the Congolese people to res-tore peace and order, it de-

Here, the Soviet leader makes the far-reaching and important proposal that representatives of the African States whose troops have been sent to Congo be set up colonialists and supernise the withdrawal of the aggressors

ernment of Congo. It is at the end of his message that Khrushchov appeals to our Prime Minister to unite efforts in defence of the freedom and independence of the Congo. The fact that the Soviet Government addressed our Prime Minister first on this quest shows the importance it attaches to India's role in interna-

tional affairs.
The whole message makes it. clear once more that the Soviet Union is going to leave no stone unturned to help the cause of freedom of the hitherto subiugated peoples of the world.

NEW AGR

INSIDE QUR NEWS & ECONOMY

SOVIET AID

NDO-SOVIET economic taken a step further with the signing last week of the agreement about the utilisation of Rs. 60 crores Soviet credit for India's Third sistance for the next plan sum crores ahead of what all the other aid-givers have promised put toge-

ther.
The total of Soviet assistvelopment since the beginning of 1955 now amounts to over Rs. 385 crores, which, to quote the Deccan Herald "does not compare quite unfavourably with US assistance since the beginning of the Second Plan... consider-ing that the USSR is a latecomer" in the field.

Like the previous credits the latest Soviet credit bears a 2½ per cent interest, and is repayable in non-convertible rupees to be spent on tible rupees to be spent on purchase of Indian goods. Like them also it will be used to create capacities in sectors vital to India's progress. The schemes to be financed with it are:

Hydro-electric power station on the right bank of Bhakra with a total capacity of 4,80,000 kw.

Oil refinery in Gujarat with a thermal power plant for the refinery.

Washery for coking coal

with a capacity of three million tons of coal per year at Kathara in Bihar.

Refractories plant near Bhilai-for production of tons of magabout 1.25.000 nesite and fire clay products Exploration, develop-

ment and production of oil and gas in Cambay, Anwar and other areas. Production of pumps and compressors, pre-paration of techno-economic

The Soviet organisations will prepare detailed project reports and working draw-ings required for the esta-blishment of above enterprises and projects, supply parts and other materials, as

well as render technical as

sistance in the establishm of the projects and putting

The significance of this credit has been well under-stood by our people and the geois press, except the organs of big business, has noted its timeliness as well as the security it provides for planning ahead. The Amrita Bazar Patrika considers its finalisation "on the eve of the Third Plan's inau guration, a source of encour-agement to the Planning Commission and the Gov-ernment of India" and right-ly, too, for the other big'

ly, too, for the other big' aid givers, like the United States and the "Aid to India Club", are yet obtaining ad-

NDO-SOVIET economic Among them it is yet a cooperation has been case of heart-burning about ken a step further with some like West Germany not playing their part in giving itself, which too faces a drain on gold resources. They are also not yet sure whether help to a leading non-aligned country like India is politically a good investment. To the USSR such inhibitions have no meaning, because to help end economic backwardness resulting from colonialist plunder, is in the very na-

ture of Socialism

ness and freedom from strings has now won admirstrings has now won admir-ers even among the worst Soviet-baiters. The Chair-man of the PSP, Asoka Mehta, has found it neces-sary to praise it. He has done it in the NATO journal, because to do it in his care because to do it in his own country's press required repudiation of his anti-Sovietism. He obviously lacked political courage to eat his own words, but the facts about the Soviet aid—stubborn as they are have now compelled even a person like him to give up his taciturnity and recognise

Asoka Mehta's praise for the Soviet aid has, however, another objective as well-to persuade the Western countries to cease being squeamish about opening their purse strings. This, too, in a vay, is a tribute to Soviet catalyst spurring others to give a better showing in their aid efforts.

The Soviet aid thus ena-bles India not only to set up basic industries but also to negotiate for a larger and from Western countries Its provide her an opportunity to reject undue demands of these latter countries and to massive private investments, etc., if tax laws are amended

or other concessions made. This, however, does not seem to be the understanding of the Government. They are yet canvassing for foreign private capital with a gusto which they could have reserved for better causes. Last week the Finance Mini-ster blessed the inauguration the capital which, financed by the US funds as it is, will sell India to foreign capital-ists, as a promising field for

nvestments. Capital (February 23) regards it "as the first on publicised crack in the official armour of indifference in which this subject (of attracting foreign private capital) has been shrouded". Calling it "a proof of a more enlightened attitude in New Delhi" it hopes that the other necessary components of the complete picture will be added in due course".

vice from "task forces", etc. February 28.

Kerala State Council Resolution On

O N February 22 last, the Congress-PSP Coalition cooperatives taking over while comparatively smaller for their growth. There is the Completed one year of its rule.

Below we publish a summarised version of a resolu
For the handloom industry, The new plantation tax also area is being neglected in the tion of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party reviewing this one year. The resolution was adopted at its session held in Trichur on January 12, 13 and 14.

emolument of Rs. 39. The Chief Minister

taken office saying his aim was to "give food to hungry

was to give room to nungry stomachs and jobs to unem-ployed hands." Though this declaration had not raised any extraordinary expectations, even the best friends of the

not developing, workers' de-mands and insecurity under

had been blamed. But in the

vernment there has been no

vernment is creating a re-cord in throwing more wor-kers out of jobs.

Not only did it not take over

factories like the Cannanore Commonwealth and Chavara Hopkins and Williams, it has also retrenched workers from

the Boat Corporation and the

Unemployment

be stopped soon.

Grows

one year of the present Go-

Though the politically consclous sections of the people knew right from the beginning what to expect from the Ministry, it had come to office on the basis of illusions creat-ed in vast sections of the peo-ple. But one year's experience must have brought them face

Corruption And Nepotism

Hundreds of instances of corruption, nepotism, injus-tices, etc., under the Coalition Government can be listed. Government can be listed, even the best friends of the More and more people must present Government could not be aware today of the fact have thought that its industrial policy would be such a which callously betrays the interests of the peasants. There is nothing particular workers, teachers, backward to be said about the public communities, etc., to protect sector. For private industries and interests of the hig land. lords, planters, contractors, mands as school managers, advanced the Communities and others.

The first act of this Ministry after it came to office was to increase the salaries f Ministers and following clal position did not allow giving any relief to the non-gazetted officials when the cost of living was rising, which had used all its might in suppressing the Central Government employees'

Law itself.

The Coalitionists consider it their right to exert pressure on officials and get things done for themselves and their friends. While the Communist friends. While the Communist Party certainly does not want.

the houses and cars that were available. But the present increased their travelling allo-Wances

A licence was specially granted to import a car for the Chief Minister costing Rs. 50,000. A reply to a question 50,000. A reply to a question in the Assembly shows that the travelling allowances re-ceived by the present Minis-ters in their first six months are twice those of the Comnist Ministers in their first munist minimis measures measures

Whatever measures the Communist Government had aken to help the cooperatives of toddy-tappers, road construction workers, etc., to enable them to compete with the private contractors had been criticised by the present coa-criticised by the present coa-litionists as looting the trea-sury and after they came to office they have abolished all chalakudi tramway is also to these benefits.

these benefits.

But they did not hesitate to loot the treasury to promote the cause of the school managers. Sixteen lakhs of rupees have been paid to the school managers in violation of existing and regulations.

be stopped soon.

The Communist Government have even been hartals in various centres. The policies of the Government have hit cashew and handloom industries which give 'employment to lakhs. But the Coalition other articles which had been stopped about tax-collections, there have even been hartals in various centres. The policies cashew and handloom industries which have hit the coalition other articles which had been seembled so far are being exempted so far are being exempted so far are being exempted so far are being exempted.

to lakhs. But the Coantion of exising rules and regulations.

Government has scrapped exempted so far are being narrow regional and communate these schemes—like those for taxed now. In the name of nal passions have become interest that the good sense to a trade corporation for the strict collections, the big trapay dearness allowance to cashew industry and workers' ders are allowed to escape Government are responsible

For the handloom industry, though the Minister promised

an apex society within a few day, it is yet to be formed and the work of handloom co-ops has been paralysed because the non-teaching staff in the schools who live in conditions of semi-starvation. Much worse, the dearness allowance of part-time teachers has been stopped and it is the dispensation of the present Government that these teachers should maintain their families on a total emolument of Rs. 39

Reciet

Factory is an example of how mepotism sabotages industrial efforts even.

When the Communists were in office, the present coalitionists had even organised

It is true that a frontal attack has not yet been made on the wages, bonus and working conditions of the workers. But that is not due workers. But that is not due to any good in Government policies; on the contrary, it has been due to the firm unity of the workers and their organised strength as shown in the united struggles in cashew in Quilon, tiles and textiles in Aiwaye, etc., where workers fought jointly irrespective of AI-TUC-INTUC differences. TUC-INTUC differences.

The new plantation tax also hits the middle sections. The Communist Party is not opposed to collecting the necesary resources for development themselves. from those who can pay. They have abolished Sec-Even the plantation tax the tion 11 of the Education Act Communist Party accepted in principle. The Party only asked for exemption up to 71 acres and a graded tax from 7½ to 15 acres, a proposal which would have avoided 7½ to 15 acres, a proposal which would have avoided hardships for the middle secions, but was rejected by the Government

were in office the coalition-ists went on repeating that the State's economic position had been endangered. But it is today that there is such a danger. The liquida-tion of the Palai Bank and the moratorium granted to some other banks, have affected traders, contracthe moratorium granted to some other hanks, have affected traders, contractors, etc., who used to depend on loans and overdrafts, even the Government's own revenue collection has been affected and people have lost confidence in banking itself.

The Communist Party does But Government policy is not put the entire responsivery often torpedoing the bility for all this on the State gains won by the workers— Government. The main cul-

which gave protection to the backward communities. The insistence on a police ance even after selection by the Public Service Commis avoided adversely affects the backward communities most

The Governm buried Section 11 dared not do when the Communists

When the Communists

Relations Act, because that would have affected larger sections of people and created more intense reactions and also because there was an oragainst amending the Bill.

Agrarian Legislation

Still changes have been made in the Bill which go against the peasants—changes which make a farce of the ceiling provisions, which afford opportunities to grab land in the name of protection there will be no surplus land for distribution. which will of Ministers and following it the salaries of the gazetted officers. This was done by a Government which had said that the State's financial position did not allow the implementation of the law itself.

Party certainly does not want to shield corrupt officials, the

The Government was not prepared to spend one nays a paisa to give relief to over a factory and the Premier Tyre paisa to give relief to over a factory—had their foundadifficulty in spending eight laks of rupees for about a hundred gazetted officers.

The leaders of the present Government had complained that the Communist Ministers which licences had been given up and working palaces" though the Communists had not taken even the Rs. 500 fixed for Ministers but only Rs. 350, Factory is an example of how which sever in State the bonus scheme in State transport favourable to the workers and an example for the provate sector has been given up and working the provate sector has been rittles of the Reserve Bank and at the Centre who protected them.

But the present Government to shield corrupt officials, the suspensions, enquiries, etc., workers and an example for the provate sector has been rittles of the Reserve Bank and at the Centre who protected them.

But the present Government Could not do anything to retrieve the situation except the Sholayar dam was given to look on as passive observers, it showed criminal irresponsibility and inactivity. It has become clear that the present for supplying poles for the Electricity Board was it showed criminal irrespon-sibility and inactivity. It has become clear that the present Ministry is as unrealiable as the Palai Bank. the lowest tender, and the contract for supplying poles for the Electricity Board was given without even calling for

employment problem to food and cloth and they had tried to mislead the people by the Communist Government had taken over the management of factories in the private sector which were either closed or facing closure. But the Coalition Government is creating a re-At the same time, all the rights which the Opposition should enjoy in a democratic set-up are denied. There are more committees today more members in them than at the time of the Communist Ministry. Some of these asked only for Rs. 200 crores and had to come back with Rs. 170 crores and they parade committees much enlarged that they are almost the size of public meetings. Still, in many of them, the Opposition been given no represention

In the study groups appointed for the Third Plan out of As regards implementation of Plan programmes, there only seven Communists and in many of these groups there were no Communists at all. From the Home Guard Committees the Opposition has been totally eliminated and Police Minister P. T. Chacko tried to justify it.

the Communist Ministry assumed office, Plan imple-mentation was only 58 per cent, but in the second year of the Plan, it rose to 85 per cent and in the third year

99 per cent. But, in the first
year of the Coalition Ministry which is also the last
year of the Second Plan, a and suppress crimes and criconsiderable amount is likely minals, but to ride roughshod to lapse. over the common people.
Under this Government, There have been many incidents, some of which the po-lice Minister himself has ad-

> * SEE OVERLEAF PAGE THREE

MARCH 5, 1961

NEW AGE

today? Not only of rice and cloth, but of all daily neces-

gave Kerala 115,000 tons of rice, and in 1958-59, 140,000 tons while the Centre today

Still it has not been possible for the Government to

considerably reduce the price of rice or ensure sup-

ply of two measures of rice through fair-price shops.

There is universal complaint

have even been hartals in various centres. The policies of the Government have hit the middle and small traders.

has given two lakh tons.

sities prices have gone up, it as a great triumph. Ministry help which it denied to the Communist Government. In 1957-58, the Centre Negligence

Negligence

of Plan programmes, there is criminal negligence and inefficiency. The year before

MARCH 5.

-ESSEN

AGRARIAN REFORMS

* FROM FACING PAGE West Bengal

Abolition of Intermediaries:

All intermediary interests in land have been acquired.

Tenancy Reforms:

All tenants and sub-tenants other than crop-sharers (bar-gadars) have been made wners. With regard to bargadars who do not get tenancy status, provision has been made for giving them fixity of made for giving them fixity of tenure subject to landlord's right to fesume 2/3rd of the area leased. Landlords holding less than 71/2 acres can, however, resume the entire area. Crop share is not to exceed 40 to 50 per cent of the produce to 50 per cent of the produce.

Ceiling on Holdings:

Provision has been made for ceiling on holdings. The ceiling limit is 25 acres. The State Government have come in possession of 1.3 lakh acres of agricultural land which is leased out at present on yearly basis. More area will become available as implementation

UNION TERRITORIES Delhi

* FROM PAGE 3

Law And

Order

and sub-tenants have been writ petitions which have been brought into direct contact vacated recently. mitted only in special cases. The rent is not to exceed 1/5th the gross produce or 4.tir

Legislation has been enacted or imposition of ceiling on oldings. The ceiling limit is

Consolidation has been comleted in more than 2 lakh

Himachal Pradesh

with a right of occupancy have been given the right to acquire for acquisition of surplus ownership. The non-occupancy lands. tenants got fixity of tenure subject to landlord's right to subject to landlord's right to resume for personal cultivation 1/4th of the leased area. The limit of resumption is 5 completed. Other programmes has almost been standard agres.

The rent is not to exceed 1/4th of the gross produce.

A provision has been made for ceiling on holdings. The ceiling limit is 30 acres in District Chamba and land assessed to Rs. 125 in other areas. No surplus land has so taxe been acquired. Tenants far been taken over due to land reform programmes set out in the Second Five-Year Plan and suggesting further steps particularly with regard to problems of implementation. The Panel is working through four committees.

Manipur

A comprehensive land re-form legislation including ten-ancy reforms and celling on holdings has been enacted re-cently. The celling limit to be cently. The ceiling limit is 25 acres. Rules are being framed for the acquisition of surplus

Tripura

Tenants of owner paying more than Rs. 125 as land revenue have been brought into direct relation with the State. As regards other tenants those with a right of occupancy have

are at various stages plementation. The Panel on Land Reform has been re-constituted for reviewing the progress of implementation of

drunk with red ideas did not put and do not dare to put." him now shedding tears for the landlords—though they

"The so-called 'absentee

Herr Schmid tells us why the Rourkela club of the West not Nehru', a Germans is kept exclusive:
"The membership of the club was restricted, if not only to Kashmir For white people, to a small exclu-sive circle of Indians, because one did not want to expose ladies who take a swim during the day to the covetous looks

Covetous looks of the natives! There is not one German woman who has been molested in Rourkela. But Herr Schmid can get hundreds of stories of Indian girls dishonoured roundut there by Germans. If anybody had to be saved from "covetous eyes" they were the Indian women and since they e they are not in the of forming exclusive

Here is some more—this me about other people's

into the waves, loosen sarees, and submerge. then they float ion school like strange fish, their garments moving like fins... Turn your look discreetly when they climb up the steps. The contours of their bosom and of their thighs show up in the thin, thigh show up in the thin the such an unfriendly insulting book will never be the strange fish, which refuses visus the friendly journalists?

The irony of it is that the book is printed and published in West Germany with whom the property of the strange fish, which refuses visus the property of the property of the strange fish, which refuses visus the property of the property of the steps. then they float for seconds in the steps. The contours of their bosom and of their we have diple thighs show up in the thin, often white clothes, so buxom as if they were naked. They do not like to be gazed at by published in a stranger. Sometimes when not recognise.

looker does not easily abstain

at all."

The Holi festival, according to Herr Schmid, is "a festival of such orgisatic rejoicing and fit into the Indian atmosphere mid offers—
"Like so often in life the bominable vulgarity

WEST GERMAN

ARROGANCE

golden middle way between the two extremes, between Lenin and Gandhi, would have been the best solution: that i to invest the money which has been squandered on the hastily built steel plants in productive cottage industries equipped with small machi-

How typical of the imperialist mind is the solution offered: We should stick to filthiness offered: We should stick to intimess."

cottage industries and produce raw materials which they will buy at the prices they dictate and then they will sell us the finished promise they insult on India. will sell us the unished pro-ducts, again at prices they dictate, and our land will go on being the happy hunting ground of the imperialist

* FROM PAGE 1

at all."

Swatantraite Ideas

Our author has a lot Swatantraje ideas—or did the tial puritans took things in a Swatantra get its ideas from hand. Ayub Khan sent patrons of Herr Schmid?

Listen to some of them:
"One can predict with certainty that an officially-initiated, all-comprising coopera-tive movement would come to a pitiable end, and what then? ...All these are questions which the Congress politicians

are far from the nennile ditions which the author des-

landlords' found themselves in practically all States of the Indian Union robbed of their

of the natives."

clubs, their honour can be saved best by turning the Germans out of Rourkela.

covetous eyes:

chanlian festival of sex."

About some of our ancient temples, "It is dangerous for young ladies to visit one of the famous temples on the walls of which sculptors have left a memorial of the art of love of their time. It is spectator whether he wants to see in these unending varia-tions of embraces a symbol of tantric yoga or quite simply,

And after heaping all this insult on India and the Indian people the author has all praise for Pakistan under

"When I arrived for the second time in Karachi to-wards the end of 1959, there that of a new Again the Parliament to the devil abolished the Constitution, prohibited parties and trade unions and proclaimed martial law and then a great cleaning began..."

Obviously what the author likes is not Pakistan and its people, but the murder of democracy, it is the military dictatorship that wins his praise.

His anti-Indian propagands reaches its height when he tells his readers that the Kashmiris would prefer to be in Pakistan. In Kasi side merchants were offering pictures. I did not trust my eyes when I saw on them Avni Khan, the military dictat Pakistan. This is not Nehru', a young man whispered into my ear."

Pakistan

And further, "The position Kashmir may be less amatic than in Algeria and other African colonie reason for this is not so much that the degree of supression is milder there... as is the complete muteness to which these people have been con-demned."

"Nehru is by birth a Kash-miri. This, the few Indian critics of his policy say, is the reason why he is stul Nehru's home must not be-long to despised Pakistan. Family sentimentality be-comes a world conflict."

from the book, but enough-what the man wants to say is

lear. How did this man Schmid get into India and go round the country—with such a wat-chful Government as ours

published in East Ger which our Government youthfulness still makes the limbs shapely the happy on- February 28.

* LAND REFORM—GOVERNMENT STATEMENT *

Ram Krishan Gupta, Bibhuti Mishra and Balmiki asked the following questions in the Lok Sabha on February 20, 1961 (unstarred question No. 265): Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state: (a) the up-to-date progress made so far to implement the land reform programmes in State (State-wise); (b) steps taken to expedite it; and (c) the probable date by which it will be completed?"

We give below the reply of S. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister of Planning for the information of our

Andhra Pradesh

Abolition of Intermediaries: In Andhra area, zamindari are not to exceed 50 to 100 per and inam estates have been cent of the amount payable by acquired. Steps have also been taken for converting minor inams into ryotwari holdings.

In Telengana area, jagirs nave been resumed. Legislation have been resumed. Legislation for abolition of inams has been enacted. It has yet to be

years. It has been extended further for another 2 years. Tenants admitted after June 1, 1956 get a minimum term of 6 years. The rent is not to exceed 50 per cent of the gross Abolition of Intermediaries: per cent in case of dry lands and 28.1/3 per cent in case of irrigation by baling.

ownership of land not exceeding one family holding provided the owner's holding is not reduced thereby below 2 family holdings. The Government are also compared to the immediate land.

A Bill is now before the State legislature including further provisions for the regulation of tenancies.

Celling on Holding. is not to exceed one-fourth or or 3 to 5 times the land revenue, depending upon the class of land. one-fifth of the gross produce

A Bill has been introduc for a uniform tenancy law for lakh acres, the entire State which is under the consideration of the Select Committee. This Bill has been Abolition of Intermediaries: ased generally on the Hydera-Cenancy and Agricultural Lands Act as applicable to the Telengana area

Ceiling on Holdings:

Legislation has been enacted for imposition of ceiling. The ceiling limit varies from 18 to tion and from 27 to 312 acres for existing holdings. Consolidation of Holdings:

In Telengana, consolidation of holdings is in progress in 3.8 lakh acres. In Andhra area, legislation has been undertaken.

Abolition of Intermediaries:

Acquisition of rights of Ceiling on Holdings: intermediaries has been com- Provision exists fo pleted in Goalpara district. It on future acquisition in progress in Karimgan

Tenancy Referms:

fixity of tenure subject to from 14 to 132 acres. landlord's right to resume land Consolidation of Holdings: for personal cultivation up to 33.1/3 acres. A tenant is, however, entitled to retain a mini-

The crop-share rent is not to exceed 1/4th to 1/5th of the gross produce and cash rents are not to exceed 50 to 100 per

the immediate landlord. Ceiling on Holdings:

Legislation has been enacted for imposition of ceiling. The ceiling limit is 50 acres. Rules have been framed and decla been enacted. It has yet to be implemented.

Tenancy Reforms:
In Andhra area, tenants in possession on June 1, 1956 were given a minimum term of 3 certains.

Consolidation of Holdings:

Legislation has been extended.

Legislation has been undertaken for facilitating consolidation of holdings.

Bihar

Intermediaries have been **abolished**

Tenancy Reform:

Right of occupancy accrues

ment are also authorised to ceiling on holdings is under transfer ownership by notifica-consideration of the Select tion. The rent (in Telengana) Committee. The ceiling limit proposed in the Bill varies

> Consolidation of Holdings: Consolidation work has been

completed in about acres. It is in progress in 1.5 Gujarat

Abolition of Intermediaries:
Abolition of non-raiyatwari tenures has been completed with the exception of certain inams.

Tenancy Reforms:

Ceiling has been fixed on future acquisition as well as existing holdings. The ceiling limit is 15 to 371/2 acres. For an unmarried adult the limit is half the pelling area.

The tenant is generally entitled to retain half the area, the other half being resumable by the landlords for summable by the landlords for been abolished, except must be abolished, except must be abolished. personal cultivation. In respect of non-resumable area, the tenants have been deemed area. Legislation has been re-cently enacted for their aboli-tion. to have acquired ownership.

In Kutch area, the provisions follow broadly the Hydronia Reforms:

A tenant has 1

derabad pattern.

The rent is not to exceed landlord's right to resume the land revenue.

A tenant has been given fixity of tenure subject to landlord's right to resume the land held by the tenant in excess of 10 to 25

Ceiling on Holdings:

Provision exists for ceiling possession. The limit of resonant results from 12 to 135 acres. A Bill has s in progress in Karimgan irom 12 to 135 acres. A Bill has soon has also been made for been introduced providing for transfer of ownership to tencelling on existing holdings as ants in non-resumable area.

The tenant has been given fixity of tenure subject to the subject to t Ceiling on Holdings:

By 31. 3. 1960, consolidation ever, entitled to retain a mininearly 6 lakh acres. The work mum of 3.1/2 acres until he is was in progress in 6.7 lakh Consolidation of Holdings:

The consolidation of Holdings:

The consolidation of Holdings:

The consolidation of Holdings:

Jammu & Kashmir Tenancy Reform:

tenant has been given fixity of tenure subject to Madras landlord's right to resume for Abolition of Intermediaries:

Intermediaries have be acres. The rent payable by Intermediaries have been tenants of landlords holding abolished with the exception more than 121/2 acres is not to of post-1936 inam estates and exceed ¹/₄ of the gross produce minor inams. in case of wet lands and ¹/₃rd in case of dry lands.

Tenancy Reforms:

Ceiling on Holdings

Ceiling has been imposed at 22.3/4 acres and 4.5 lakh acres which becam which became surplus have been distributed to tenants in ion or allotted to displaced persons. Consolidation of Holdings:

The State Government has provides for conferm enacted legislation and has taken up consolidation work.

Kerala

Abolition of Intermediaries: Legislation has been enacted for the abolition of jenmi tenure in Travancore area. Edavagal tenure has also been abolished.

Tenancy Reforms:

Resumption is not permitted in Cochin and Malabar where

most tenants had acquired full security of tenure under the

ownership rights.

Ceiling on Holdings:

The Kerala Agrarian Rela-Abolition of Intermediaries: tions Act provides for fixity of tenure for cultivating tenants and crop sharers. The landlords are permitted to resume lead for non-respective tenures has been completed with the exception of certain inams. land for personal cultivation and 28.1/3 per cent in case of irrigation by baling.

In Telengana area, the tenants have been conferred security of tenure subject to landholders' right to resume land for personal cultivation not exceeding three family holdings.

Right of occupancy accrues to an under-raiyat after 12 years of continuous possession. Lease has to be in writing. A person bolding on ornal lease is not liable to ejectment.

Produce rent is not to exceed the personal cultivation in respect of non-resumable area protected and by the immediate landholders than the calling area are the tenants of special provisions for small holders (persons owning less than ten acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop paddy land and having less than 5 acres of double crop pad

visions follow br Hyderabad pattern. personal cultivation) who are permitted to resume half the area from the tenants and crop sharer. Others are permitted to resume land area are permitted to resume land area. Hyderabad pattern.

In Marathwada area, where the provisions follow broadly the Hyderabad law, 37176 tenants have acquired ownership mitted to resume land gene-rally from crop sharers only.

ants have acquired ownership in respect of 386430 acres. Rent is not to exceed

previous laws. With effect from a date to be notified, tenants of non-resumable land acquire tenants Ceiling on future acquisition of non-resumable land acquire varies between 12 to 180 acres.

A Bill has been introduced in the State legislature for ceiling.

between 1/4 to 1/10th the gross produce (for paddy lands). on existing holdings. The ceiling limit varies from 16 to 156

Up to 31. 3. 1960, 11.7 1akh acres had been consolidated. Work is in progress in 12.8 Consolid Consolid lakh acres.

Orissa

Abolition of Intermediaries: Superior rights in zamindari estates have been abolished. Intermediary tenures have been abolished, except muafis and inams in Madhya Bharat Abolition of inams and sub-

ordinate tenures is in progress Tenancy Reforms: Interim protection had been given to tenants pending enactment of Orissa Land Regiven to

25 standard acres. In respect of the non-resumable land tenants get ownership rights without payment of any com-pensation. The rent is not to has been made for ceiling on Ceiling on Holdings:

ing limit varies from 25 to 100 acres. The landholders are re quired to dispose of the sur-lakh acres. The work is in pro-plus lands to ejected tenants gress in 43.55 lakh acres. plus lands to ejected tenants the small holders and the

have been consolidated. Work Punjab is in progress in 2.5 lakh Abolition of Intermediaries:

Tenures of intermediary nature have been abolished.

Tenants have been given

fixity of tenures subject to the landlord's right to resume land

for personal cultivation upto 30 standard acres. The tenant

tive land is provided. In non-

if he is in possession for six

an optional right of nurch

The rent is not to exc. 1/3rd of the gross produce.

mer Punjab area, there is a

provision for ceiling on future acquisition. There is

ejected tenants

lakh acres. Rajasthan

plus lands

1200. The exc

standard acres. Steps

been taken to determine sur-

121 lakh acres had been onsolidated upto 31. 3. 1960.

Work is in progress in about

Abolition of Intermediaries:

Jagirs have been resumed with the exception of certain jagirs held by religious or charitable institutions where

resumption is in progress. In 1959 legislation was also enac

ted for abolition of zamindari

A tenant is entitled to retain

resumed by the landlord. In

espect of non-resumable area

Rent is not to exceed 1/8th

plementation is in progress.

Consolidation of Holdings

Tenancy Reforms:

is to retain an area

standard acres until

Interim protection from eviction has been given since 1955. Rent is not to exceed 40 per cent of produce for irriga-ted lands (35 per cent where irrigation is supplemented by lift irrigation) and 33 per cent years or more.
The rent is not to exceed in other cases. A Bill is before the Select Committee which Ceiling on Holdings:

In PEPSU area, there is a provision for ceiling on future acquisition as well as existing holdings. The limit is 30 standard acres. In formar Punish area, there is security of tenure on tenants subject to landlord's right to resume land not exc standard acres (5 to 20 ordinary acres)

Ceiling on Holdings:

A Bill has been introduced for imposition of celling at 30 standard acres)30 to 120 ordialso a provision empowering the Government to settle nary acres) under personal cultivation of land holders in excess of 30

Maharashtra

Tenancy Reforms: a minimum area which yi a net annual income of

(throughout the State) 1/th of the gross produce or 3 to 5 times the land revenue. Ceiling on Holdings:

tenants have been conferred ownership rights: of the gross produce in case of produce rent and twice the land revenue in case of cash

Ceiling on Holdings: Legislation has been enacted Consolidation of Holdings: for imposition of ceiling on

Consolidation of Holdings: Consolidation has been com-pleted in 8 lakh acres. It is in progress in 6.4 lakh acres

Uttar Pradesh

Abolition of Intermediaries: Abolition of intermediaries has been completed except in Kumaon Division, Jaunsar, Bawar and urban are implementation is in progress.

Tenancy Reforms: enactment of Orissa Land Reforms Act. The Act provides for fixity of tenure subject to the landlord's right to resume 2/27d to 3/4th of the area leased.

The limit of resumption is 55 standard case. In respect ship with the State.

land Ceiling on Holdings:

The ceiling on future acquisition is 12½ acres. Provision exceed 1/4th the gross produce. existing holdings as well and

Consolidation of Boldings:

Consolidation had been cometed upto 31. 3. 1960 in 37.3

PAGE FIVE

What is the law and order situation? In reply to a question in the Assembly it was said on October 4, 1960, that in the ten months since the Coalition Government assum-ed office, there had been 127 murders and 650 suicides. ooperate with every are beneficial to the

The most dangerous aspect of this police policy is the in-terference with police admi-nistration by leaders of the coalition parties.

> TAVEACE COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKS

EW AGE PRINTING PRESS 5. Jhandewallan Estate, M., Road, New Delhi, and p by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Boad New Delbi

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PAGE FOUR

accused who were given bail by courts had been taken back to the lock-ups and tortured. Not only lock-up torture, lock-up murders have also taken place.

This is a picture of one year of the Coalition Government. It has not been able to solve any of the problems of the State, it has not even been able to get on to the path of solving any one of them. The Communist Party appeals to the people to calmly think of

haved as a

nist Party has not hesitated

Aboard this magnificen

jet you will enjoy superl' 'vibration free' comfor

elicious food, lavish

s personalized

service.

Book now! First Class or Economy Cla

This is a picture of one year

this situation.

Ever since this Government came to office, the Communist Party has behaved as a responsible Op-position. Despite being con-tinuously ignored by the Government, the Commu-

only tried to gain their narrow partisan interests and satisfy the vested interests. People's

KERALA COALITION'S RECORD But the ruling parties have

Opposition

This cannot be allowed to continue. The people have to oppose this corruption, nepo-tism and political discrimination. Every injustice that goes unchallenged will strengthen the anti-people character of this Government. Hence, the people have to come forward

fight every anti-people issure of this Government and develop mass agitations. CSA let flights take you from Bombay to Cairo and Europe at....

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JET.

MARCH 5, 1981

NEW ACE

In C.P. area 34.43 lakh acres

Provision has been made for ceiling on holdings. The ceil-Legislation has been enacted limit is 30 standard acres

* SEE PAGE 14

SOUTHERN RAILWAY UNIONS MERGER-VICTORY FOR UNITY

by Kalyana Sundaram

A N event of far-reaching significance for the rail-A N event of tar-reaching signmenter for the rain- decision to renew the members waymen and their trade unions, not only on the ship campaign immediately southern railway but the entire railway trade union and fixed a target of 50,00 movement in India, was the unity conference held in March 31, 1961. The activist Madras on January 21 and 22 last.

gates of the Dakshin Railway yees.
Employees' Union Vijayawada, The merger is being hailed

The unity conference, in the trade union movemenet.

Memorial Hall, Madras in the presence of veteran trade union leaders like S. Guruswamy, President of the AllIndia Railwaymen's Federation, M. Kalyana Sundaram, MLA and K. Anandan Nam-biar, and others, was attended by nearly 1,000 delegates re-MSM, SIR and Mysore State

Guruswamy's Approval

AIRF President Gurublessed the merger of the ernment employees two unions and assured the delegates that he would stand by any decision they took for achieving unity on the Southern Railway.

The resolution for the merger of the two unions was moved by Anandan Nambiar, respected railway trade union leader of the Southern Railway, and was seconded by Sivarama Sarma. The resolution adopting a new Constitution for the merged union was all sections and all shades of
moved by Ragavanandam views and ideologies and only

P. K. Sharma

P. C. Joshi

S: Bhattacharyya

The delegates of the South— who had played a worthy role ern Railway Labour Union, in the recent struggle of the Golden Rock, and the dele- Central Government emplo- Trade union leaders, regates of the Dakshin Railway vees.

Employees' Union Vijayawada, unanimously decided at this as an event of great imporconference to merge their tance, all men on the railway unions into a new powerful organisation—the Dakshin Railway Employees' Union (Madras).

The merger is being hailed as an event of great imporconference in the history of the railway the history of the railway.

The mitty conference in the trade union movement.

The merged union reprepresenting all the three regions comprising the Southern
Railway—the former MSM, ers who had participated in
SIR and Mysore regions. railwaymen including the last one in July 1960.

The list of office bearers includes a large number of railwaymen who have parti-AIRF President Gurucipated in all the struggles swamy was unanimously during the past two decades. elected President of the new almost all of them were union amidst great ovation arrested and had faced from the delegates and visitors. Guruswamy personally struggle of the Central Govblessed the merger of the ernment employees.

Excepting S, Guruswamy, K. Anandan Nambiar and K. Anandan Nambiar and Kumaran, all the other office-bearers of the new union are railwaymen in active service. Even Anandan Nambiar and Kumaran have been railway employees who had to sacrifice their waymen's struggle for their trade union rights.

moved by Ragavanandam views and ideologies and only station-master of Villupuram, such a union can unite the one

lakh and sixty thousand rail waymen on the Southern Rail-way. They have rightly taken a decision to renew the membermembers to be enrolled before March 31, 1961. The activists

presenting different political trends including some Con-gressmen and several non-party trade union leaders, are supporting the merger of these two unions. The lone disgruntled section is the PSP who

led section is the PSP whose leaders are accusing both Guruswami and the other trade union leaders.
Guruswami gave a fitting reply to all criticisms in the public meeting held at Perambur on the evening of January 22 1961. This reply received. 22, 1961. This rally was attended by thousands of railway workers and was one of the biggest rallies of railwaymen.

Guruswami making a policy speech on the occasion explained the meaning of the merger of these two unions. He explained how this merger had taken place as a symbol of the genuine desire of the rank and file railwaymen and not as a result of the top manoeuvres of leaders It is the railwaymen who wanted unity and

achieved unity.

"That is why I agreed to be the new union's President. No political group or ideology will be allowed to dominate in the union. At the same time, nobody will be excluded for any political prejudices", said Guruswami

He also emphatically stated that this union was the most representative union on this railway and such, it should be recognised by the railway ad-ministration in accordance with the assurances made by the Minister for Railways.

He recalled two statements made by the Minister: one, that merger with the railway Labour Union was no bar to ************** recognition and two, that affiliation to AIRF has no precondition for recognition. This means that a union will be recognised on its own merits without stipulating any conditions that any group should be excluded or that the union must be affiliated to any all India organisation.

lessons from the recent struggle of the Central Gov-

ernment employees. He also criticised those who were against unity for political

Dealing with the question of implementation of the re-commendations of the Pay

Commission, he demanded that the recommendation

must be implemented with good faith, particularly in the matter of fixing of new scales. The authorities have Tailed to

give effect to the principle re

commended by the Pay Com-mission resulting in loss of increments to all the emplo-

yees. He further demanded that the city allowance must be revised with retrospective effect on the basis of new

census figures taking place

Unity

- An Aspect of India's Indus-Stressed -He stressed the need for unity on every railway and in the whole country taking - Land Reforms in India - Private Foreign Capital and

Perspective for the Decades to Come - Size of the Working class in

— Population and Economic Growth

- A Plan without Policy

trial Policy

Subrid Gupta A. K. Biswas - Planning and Choice of

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Contents of the First Number

Marc Bloch - On Feudalism

(Translated from French) The second number will include articles by Charles Bettelheim, Gyanchand, Ashok Mitra, Ajit Dasgupta, Amarendraprasad Mitra, A. Rudra, Ajit Roy and S. Naqvi. Others who will collaborate with the review include K. N. Rai, Amartya Kumar Sen, H. K. Ma dar, Vir Bahadur Singh, K. Naqvi, Sulekh Chandra

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NATIONAL COUNCIL. CPI

Resolution On Orissa

THE Coalition Ministry Orissa when the third gene to an end.
The Ministry of Dr. Mah-

would give Orissa a stable Government, 22 well as promote the State's deve-lopment. The Communist Party inside and outside the State Legislature warned the people that none of these things could be expected of a Ministry which has been brought into existence to obstruct the growth of democratic these

on from the experience each other.

of Congress-Ganatantra ral election is hardly ten Parishad in Orissa has come months ahead. If the leadership in the Congres The Ministry of Dr. Mah. Party are in favour of mid-tab and Maharaja of Patna term general elections in was formed twenty months. Orissa, it is because they ago and it promised that expect that such an election would be advantageous to the Congress Party and equally disadvantageous to

These circles are fully aware that it would be diffi-cult for smaller political parties to bear the burden of two elections, one being the State Assembly istence to obstruct the tions now and the Parlia-growth of democratic forces mentary general elections in Orissa and buttress the within a few months. Only positions of reaction. The resignation of the Coalition Ministry now proves the correctness of our Party's warning. warning.

The Party hopes that the for two general elections people would draw correct within a few months of lesson from the experience.

The National Council of It is reported that the Communist Party of Congress authorities are India strongly opposes all now planning to foist midmoves for such mid-term term general elections in elections.

The meeting was addressed by other leaders representing different political trends and non-party leaders like T. S. Ramanujam of the Wir unions, R. Ramanathan of unions, R. Ramanathan of the UTUC and R. V. Krishnamurthy of the Madras State Bank Employees Federation. K. Anbazhagan, MLA, leader of the trade union wing of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), sent a message supporting the marrer and on porting the merger and ap-pealing to the delegates to strengthen the new union.

strengthen the new union.

Thus has come into existence, a union representing the glorious traditions of the past three decades and it has great-future. There is no other

Indian Railwaymen has lost its registration and has failed to stand up to the scrutiny by the Verification Officer of the Government of India

This unity on the Southern Railway is likely to have its influence on the course of the entire railway trade union movement all over India. S. Guruswami without sent to think of a railway trade union movement is fully backing this unity.

If the leadership of the AIRF is guided only by political prejudices alone and if they fail to take into account this rebirth of unity on the union on this railway which is registered and recognised. The so-called Employees' Sangh of the National Federation of the railways. ***********

STATEMENT

About ownership and other particulars about newspaper NEW AGE (Weekly) to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

(FORM IV)

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P. C. Joshi. Indian.
7/4, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Communist Party of India, New Delhi

I, D. P. SINHA, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and

Date: 28. 2. 1981

RESOLUTION ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

(The following Resolution was adopted (The following Resolution was adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting held in February 1961. It will be placed before the forthcoming Congress of our Party as the Draft of the National Council. All units of the Dagter should discuss the Paralleting and and Party should discuss the Resolution and send their comments and suggestions to the Office of the National Council.)

INDIA IN A NEW WORLD

Since the end of the Second World War, vast changes have taken place in the inter-national arena. Socialism has triumphed in countries with more than one-third of the world population and socialist society has registered spectacular success in every sphere. The national liberation movement has won sweeping victories. Forty new sovereign States have come into existence in Asia and Africa. Colonialism is being shaken to its very foundation even in areas where it still exists. The working class and democratic movements have made sweeping advance. Forces of peace have grown more powerful than ever be-fore. With all these developments, mankind faces today a situation radically different from what it faced in any previous period.

The essential features of this new situation have been described in the Statement adopted at the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 in Moscow. The Statement, a document of world-historic significance, which arms the Communists all over the world with an exceptionally powerful weapon says:

"Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two op posing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperia-lism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peop socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is be-coming the decisive factor in the develop-ment of society."

The Statement also points out the magnificent prospects that have opened up before

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable."

The question before us is: What part have we to play in this great development? Where does our great country stand in its duty towards its own vast masses and towards man-

The hope and aspirations of the Indian people on the attainment of independence were aptly expressed by Prime Minister Nehru in his message on August 15, 1947, wherein he held up the promise of a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, the creation of social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fulness of life to every man and woman.

In spite of the difficulties of the period immediately following the attainment of freedom and the immensity of the tasks that confronted the nation, conditions were ex-

ceptionally favourable for the fulfilment of the promise. In the first place, the party which had come into power had the confidence of the people in abundant measure, upon which they could entirely rely. Reactionary vested interests who had opposed the national liberation movement stood ex-posed and discredited, and were in no posi-tion to thwart the national advance. Fur-ther, the world situation had been becoming increasingly favourable for the attainment of their objectives. Gone were the days when the imperialists could dictate their terms to economically backward and militarily weak countries. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were ready to render unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries to overcome their backwardness, build up their economy and consolidate their freedom.

While, therefore, national regeneration in a country of 400 million people was undoubtedly a vast and gigantic task, conditions, both internal and external have been exceptionally favourable for the carrying out of this task and for launching the country firmly on the path of all-sided national advance. It is in this context that the actual achievements of free India have to be assessed. Especially necessary it is to do so today because this is the year when the Second Five-Year Plan is to be completed and the There is a to be completed and the Third Plan is to begin. And if a proper estimate is made of the last 13½ years' record, it would be evident that, while some notable achievements have been made, the net advance on the whole has been so slow in comparison with the necessities and posand accompanied by such unjust and heavy burdens on the people, so much oppression and suppression that they feel angry, disappointed and even frustrated.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALIST AID

Our people welcome the fact that, as the result of the First and Second Plans, the industrial base of our economy has become broader and stronger. Many articles which we formerly imported are now produced in we formerly imported are now produced in the country. 'Inere has been considerable expansion of electricity and irrigation pro-jects. A number of heavy and basic indus-tries, which are of great importance for economic growth have been developed. The Public Sector has grown despite every effort by imperialists and certain monopolist cir-cles inside our country to thwart this growth. The Oil Commission has achieved significant successes in a vital sector of our economy, which so long was completely under the stranglehold of Anglo-American imperialists. It is also to be welcomed that the Govern-ment of India has not acceded to the demand of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries to cut down the size of the Third Plan and to abandon the emphasis on heavy and basic industries. Our national independence today on a firmer economic foundation

This strengthening of the economic foundations of national independence is the product of several factors. During the days of the national liberation movement, far-seeing representatives of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress had advocated a broad policy of industrialisation in order to overcome the backwardness of the country. After its advent to power, the national bourgeoisis got the opportunity to implement this policy. Nevertheless, the First Five-Year Plan paid very little attention to industries. The weakand shortcomings of this Plan, the objective needs of bourgeois development, together with the growth of the democratic

movement and the mass urge for economic advance led to the formulation of the Second Plan which stressed the importance of heavy industries as the basis for industrialisation, pointed out the key role which the Public Sector had to play in this process and recognised, to some extent, the need for land

Relations of cooperation that were established between India and other countries of the Socialist world, above all, the Soviet Union, were of decisive importance in the taking of the first major steps towards industrialisation. These relations enabled India to get credit, capital goods and technical knowhow on terms far more favourable than what could be got from imperialist countries—such as lower rate of interest, easier terms of payas lower rate of interest, easier terms of payment, involving no problem of foreign exchange, etc. Above all, aid from the Socialist world was of a qualitatively different type. It was aid for the building of heavy and basic interest with the page of the conomic inindustries vitally necessary for economic in-dependence in the Public Sector.

India's economic cooperation with the Socialist countries has also enabled the Government of India to get assistance from the advanced capitalist countries for heavy in-dustries. Even then, the contrast between the progress registered at Bhilai on the one hand and Durgapur and Rourkela on the other is glaring. Socialist aid has also helped the pa-triotic elements in the ruling circles to sucess-fully resist the pressure from the triotic elements in the ruling circles to sucessfully resist the pressure from the imperialist-controlled World Bank and other agencies to weaken the Public Sector. The USSR has already offered Rs. 240 crores for the Third Plan, the whole of which will help the development of key sectors of the economy in the Public Sector. These relations of cooperation with the Socialist countries are therefore of with the Socialist countries are, therefore, of great anti-imperialist significance. Lastly, due to the very fact that Socialist economy is not a crisis-ridden economy, India's cooperation with Socialist countries is of great benefit in many other ways. During the recession of 1957-58 in the USA and other capitalist countries, the prices of goods which India exported fell far more steeply than the prices of those which she had to import from the capitalist countries. The result was a heavy drain of foreign assets and heavier loans. It is evident, therefore, that the more we de-link ourselves from the capitalist world market and the stronger our links with the Socialist world market, the more beneficial it will be for our

While noting the advance in our national economy through planning, it should at the same time, be borne in mind that the two Plans which have been carried out and the Third Plan as formulated now are fundamentally defective. Apart from the defects inherent in all plans for capitalist development rent in all plans for capitalist development (due to the conflict between planning and the spontaneous laws of capitalism), the other shortcomings of the plans consist in the refusal to adequately mobilise the resources in possession of the rich propertied classes, to ban the wasteful and luxurious expenditure by them and, above all, to bring about such institutional changes as nationalisation of the institutional changes as nationalisation of the most important foreign concerns, of banking and such other sectors of economy as are necessary, as well as land reform in the interest

of the peasantry.

These defects are responsible for the in-These defects are responsible for the inability to mobilise adequate internal resources, while the policy of throwing the main burdens on the poor millions and confer the main benefits on the rich propertied classes has failed to rouse labour-enthusiasm for the fulfilment of the Plans. Because of these wrong and defective policies, extremely serious problems have arisen in relation to foreous problems have arisen in relation to foreign exchange that is required for the import,

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of capital goods, the internal resources that are required for investment, the maintenance of a stable price level, etc. Everyone of these problems has, at some time or other, led to a crisis in the implementation of the Plans. All the eminent economists of the country have noted that the solutions that have so far been offered by the planning authorities have not led to the solution of the basic problems

It is true that, in spite of the failure to offer solutions to the basic problems of plan-ning, advance has been registered in several respects, particularly in respect of India's inthe fact that progress even in that field is far less than what is possible and necessary. In several spheres, for example coal, the estimated targets, themselves moderate, have not been reached. The industrial progress, on the whole, has been slow and halting.

DANGER FROM FOREIGN CAPITAL

The Government of India has successfully resisted the pressure of imperialists and their friends who wanted our country to abandon the policy of building heavy industries and to weaken the Public Sector.

The total investment in the Third Plan is proposed to be Rs. 10.200 crores. Rs. 3.475 crores will be invested in industries, minerals and nower of which the Public Sector will account for Rs. 2,425 crores. The emphasis on heavy industries continues, as also the policy of building these industries mainly in the Public Sector.

At the same time, certain facts should be

FIRST, there has been a rise in price of nearly 20 per cent since the Second Plan was launched. The sum of Rs. 10,200 crores is, therefore, not as big as it seems at first sight.

SECONDLY, during the Second Plan, actual investment in the private sector was far heavier than was targetted. The same can happen again unless effective measures are

Further, there are a number of developments and trends which are full of dangerous potentialities and cannot but cause grave

Huge loans have been taken from America and other Western countries at heavy rates of interest. Figures given by the Reserve Bank of India show that official foreign debts have increased from Rs. 200 crores in 1955 to Rs. 925 crores in 1959—of which the share of the USA Government and American agencies comes to nearly Rs. 600 crores. Further loans have been contracted during 1960. Moreover, between 1956 and 1965 India will have imported foodgrains and agricultural commodities worth nearly 1,000 crores of rupees from the USA. And, now, under the Third Plan, the Government con-templates borrowing 2,600 crores of rupees, a large part of which is expected to come from the USA. Payment of interest and repayment of loans already contracted will ave rage Rs. 100 crores a year.

This constitutes not merely heavy economic drain but something worse. When one remembers the role that American imperiaremembers the role that American imperia-lism plays in today's world as the bulwark of world reaction and the mainstay of colo-nialism; both of the old and the new type, one can easily guess the purpose for which these loans and aids are being advanced and the forces they are meant to strengthen. It is not accidental that growth in American aid has been accompanied by ingescing. has been accompanied by increasing pressure for concessions to create "suitable climate" for foreign private investment.

It should also be noted that oil refineries owned by American and British Oil Com-panies had the audacity to refuse to refine crude oil imported by the Government of India from the USSR at a much cheaper rate than was available from imperialist sources.

Prompt and sterner action was needed against them in national interest. But our Government dared not act as Cuba did.

Foreign private capital, mainly British, still controls several vital sectors of our economy and nets colossal profits. While being curbed in certain spheres, it has grown in others. There has been an overall increase in the book-value of foreign private capital from Rs. 256 crores in 1948 to Rs. 570 crores in 1958. There is increasing trend towards collaboration between Indian big business and foreign private capital, even in such industries as fertilisers. The Government is giving all facilities for such collaboration and has, in practice, modified its own Industrial Policy

From all this, it would, of course, be erroneous to draw the conclusion that the Government of India is becoming more and more subservient to imperialists or that our more subservient to imperiansis or that our independence is being bartered away. A considerable part of the rise in foreign private investments is due to reinvestment of profits earned in India. Moreover, Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate. The Public Sector has become a major factor in our

Nevertheless, the links that are getting forged between Indian big business and their counterparts in imperialist countries have to be viewed with apprehension, especially in the context of the new strategy of imperial-

Imperialists, above all American imperialists, are conscious that feudal elements and pro-imperialist compradore sections of the pro-imperialist compradore sections of the bourgeoisie lack a broad social base in the country and cannot, by themselves, halt the advance of the people towards economic independence and full democracy. Hence, the imperialists strive to find new allies, especially among the right wing of the national bourgeoisie. By utilising the economic difficulties which the country force and to release which the country faces and by playing on anti-democratic sentiments the imperialists seek to forge alliance with the big monopolists who wield enormous economic power and are closely connected with many leaders of the ruling party. These sections of the bourgeoisie, too, in their narrow selfish interest, often adopt a friendly attitude towards monopolists in imperialist countries, strive to enter into collaboration with them, bring pressure on the Government to give them. more and more concessions.

This process, which has been accelerated in recent years, can be ignored only at our peril. Strengthening forces of reaction in economic and social, political and ideological economic and social, political and later social life, it holds out serious threat to our econoadvance, to our national independence and to democracy. Our people must be made vigilant about this menace and roused to fight

STATE SECTOR

The growth of the State Sector, embracing strategic industries such as iron and steel, machine-building, coal, oil, etc., has been one of the most welcome developments of the recent period. Nevertheless, the investment in the private sector has been far greater than what was targetted. Heavy concessions have been made to monopolists even in respect of several industries originally scheduled for the Public Sector, such as aluminium and fertilisers. The Public Sector is still far from attaining a commanding position in our economy. Moreover, under the pressure of monopolists and their friends in the Government, the proposal has been made to sell shares of Public Sector industries to private interests—a proposal which, in effect, amounts to partial "de-nationalisation".

The people must see to it that in the interest of the nation, this dangerous proposal is immediately withdrawn.

It is also necessary to eliminate corruption and mismanagement which discredit the State Sector. It is necessary to place the State Sector on a democratic basis and

duct it in such a manner as secures enthusiastic cooperation from workers and the general All this is lacking today. The Government's methods of running the State Sector, its attitude towards the workers and towards criticism from the public leads to waste and inefficiency, intensifies strife and conflict and gives rise to public discontent—all of which are utilised by enemies of the State Sector.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The employment situation has registered no improvement, the total number of un-employed at the end of the Second Plan is greater than it was at its beginning. cond Plan aimed at providing eight million additional jobs outside agriculture. The actual achievement is estimated to be only 6.5 million. The Third Plan will start with a backof two million unemployed. If the entire Plan is put through, it will create additional employment for 14 million, while the number of new entrants in this period is estimated to be 15 million. This will add another one million to the backlog of unemployed. The total number of under-employed in rural and urban areas, according to the sample survey, has already reached 15

This inflicts tremendous misery on millions of our working people and means a big loss of productive power and talent of the

SEMI-STAGNATION IN AGRICULTURE

Despite the industrial advance, our agrarian economy on which depend the over-whelming majority of our people for liveliwhich contributes nearly half of our national income, is in a state of semi-stagna-tion. Agriculture lags far behind the requirements of India's development. The rate of increase of agricultural output during the first three years of India's Second Plan was only 4 per cent per annum. The total output of foodgrains increased from 65.7 million tons in 1955-56 to 75 million tons in 1960-61 (anticipated). The result of this meagre increase is that India has to import annually about 3 million tons of foodgrains under PL 480.

The fluctuation of agricultural production from year to year clearly indicates that our peasants are still helplessly dependent upon weather—in spite of the expenditure of about Rs. 1,000 crores under the two Plans. about Rs. 1,000 crores under the two Plans. Only about 50 per cent of the targets of area to be irrigated under the Second Plan through minor irrigation works has been attained and not more than 25 per cent of the demand for nitrogenous fertilisers is expected to be produced in our country by 1960-61.

But the most important factor behind the failure to step up agricultural production on a significant scale is the fact that due to the Government's policy of compromise with landlords, the remnants of feudalism, though weaker than before, have not been abolished. The Government has refused to carry out such land reforms as would give land to the mass of peasants. Even the recommendations of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee and of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission have been, on the major issue of ceiling, disregarded. Semi-feudal land relations are being sought to be gradually transformed into capitalist land relations without abolishing the concentration of land in the hands of ing the concentration of land in the hands of a few. A small stratum of rich and well-to-do peasants has derived some benefit but the condition of the majority of peasants remains wretched and their productive energy has not been unleashed. The failure to assure fair price to the peasants for agricultural com-modities, the monetary burden of taxes of various types and lack of expansion of chean various types and lack of expansion of cheap rural credit have left the peasants at the mercy of grain monopolists, speculators and prevented adequate investment in land. Due to all this, agriculture continues to be the bottleneck of our planning. Therefore, in spite of the fact that there has been an overall increase of agricultural production by about 40 per cent in the last ten years (a consider-able part of which increase is admittedly due to better statistical coverage) the rate of to better statistical coverage), the rate of

increase is neither adequate nor stable

The much-talked of Community Development and other schemes which, it was claimed, would achieve a non-violent revolution in rural areas, have been, on the whole, a failure. Instead of the mass of peasants getting land, as was promised by the Congress, a characteristic phenomenon of these years has been eviction of peasants on a big scale in almost every State.

The agricultural workers together with their families number over 70 millions. The sharp deterioration that has taken place in their condition in the recent period can be seen from the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee's Report. By the end of Enquiry Committee's Report. By the end of the First Plan, the tendency to exploit child labour had grown, employment of children on wages having increased from 165 days in a year in 1950-51 to 204 days in 1956-57; on the other hand, casual adult male workers were unemployed for 138 days in 1956-57 as compared to 90 days in 1950-51. The average daily wage rate of adult male workers decreased from 109 nP. in 1950-51 to 96 nP. in 1956-57: for adult women, the rate fell from 1956-57; for adult women, the rate fell from 68 nP. in 1950-51 to 53 nP. in 1956-57. The average income of an agricultural labour household declined from Rs. 447 in 1950-51 to Rs. 437 in 1956-57. The average accumulated debt per household increased from Rs. 47 to Rs. 88 in the same period, while the number of households in debt rose from 45 per cent to 66 per cent.

The agrarian policies followed by the Government have not only hampered rapid growth of agriculture, expansion of the internal market and creation of a surplus with which our economy could be placed on a firm foundation. They have also had adverse effect on the political and social life of the country and hampered the growth of democracy. The landlords who, despite the curbs imposed on them, own vast areas of land, in alliance with the topmost strata of rich peasants, some of whom have grown into a new type of landlords use their search. into a new type of landlords, use their economic power to dominate rural life, to buy over local officials, to control many district boards panchayats and cooperatives and exercise powerful pull over the Governments in many States. Acting in close cooperation with profiteers, they create artificial scarcity and fleece the mass of people. A large number of them have joined the Congress and strengthened the forces of reaction inside the ruling party. Also in several States they have become the spearhead of extreme reaction, backing such parties as the Swatantra, Jan Sangh and others

It is evident, therefore, that India's economic development, as well as the cause of Indian democracy require resolute measures to abolish all remnants of feudalism and carry out land reforms in the interest of the pea-santry. Without this, the living conditions of the vast majority of our people cannot be im-proved, the problem of creation of internal resources cannot be solved, the basis of rapid industrial advance cannot be laid and democracy itself cannot become real and effective for the majority of our people.

CONTRAST BETWEEN WEALTH AND POVERTY

The methods of the Government in raising resources have been such that, while the main burden of development has been laid on the common man the main fruits have been garnered by the rich. National income has increased by 42 per cent during the last ten years and per capita income by 20 per cent. But where has this increased income gone? To those in the fields, factories and offices whose labour has created this extra wealth or to the parasitic classes? The very fact that such

questions are asked incessantly and the Gov-ernment itself has appointed a Commission to find out the answer shows how serious the situation is. It constitutes a devastating commentary on the economic policies of the Government and reveals callous disregard of the objective of reduction of disparity of income.

Through phenomenal increase in the burden of indirect taxes, through continuous mounting in prices of essential goods, through virtual wage freeze and other means the income of the workers, peasants, toiling intelat a miserably low level, their share in the national income steadily declines, while at the same time profits reach dizzy heights. Big less is enabled to concentrate enormous wealth in its hands, profiteers are allowed to fleece the people and blow up the schemes for State-trading in foodgrains. The contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many has, instead of diminishing, grown more glaring than ever.

The enormous increase in the power of big business and its close links with many Congress leaders have facilitated the growth of corruption on a vast scale. Charges of misuse of the public funds for partisan purposes of the ruling party or group are being levelled in every State. Conflicts inside the Congress over spoils of office have grown sharper and more intense than ever, leading to virtual split in Uttar Pradesh, one of the main strongholds of the Congress. In many States, reactionary elements who had nothing to do with the national movement and who even opposed it, have come to control the local Congress Committees, pushing aside honest veterans who gave their lives to the service of the Congress and the country. The relation between big business in towns and landlords in villages, many local Congress leaders and bureaucratic officials is growing ever closer— curbing democracy, corroding public life, reducing administrative efficiency.

A number of progressive measures have been announced but due to the pull of reactionary vested interests on the Government and also the Government's policy of exclusive reliance on the bureaucratic machinery, thes are often implemented in such a way as to defeat their very object. Huge budgetary allocations for social services and community and other developments are often spent in a wasteful way and in such a manner as to strengthen the position of the ruling party and even factional groups inside it.

MASS DISCONTENT AND **POPULAR STRUGGLES**

It is not surprising, therefore, that despite the relative progress which our industries have made and despite a certain amount of strengthening of national economy, the Plan evokes little interest among the people. The dominant mood is one of discontent and frustration.

As a result, the mass enthusiasm that existed when the country attained freedom has been dissipated. The masses who are under the influence of the Congress suffer from the same hardship as the masses follow-ing other parties. Many of their hopes have been belied by the actual practice of the Congress Government. Many members of the Congress and considerable sections of the mass following of the Congress are becoming increasingly critical of their own leaders and

Inevitably, strifes and conflicts, instead of lessening, have grown continuously.

No one could expect that the masser could take all this lying down. The period since the last Congress of our Party has wit-nessed numerous actions of the people all over the country and a number of major struggles—such as the strike of the workers in the steel city of Jamshedpur, the food satyagraha in U.P., the anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab, the food struggles in West Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the struggle

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of the landless agricultural workers in Mahaof the landless agricultural workers in Maharashtra, the peasants' struggles in West Bengal for proper implementation of ceilings, the all-India strike of the Central Government employees—the first of its kind in India. In many of these struggles, masses following all parties stood teachings. all parties stood together and fought together.

Some of these struggles embraced lakhs of people and assumed statewide dimensions.

They revealed the deep discontent of the masses at their growing misery and the They revealed the deep discontent of the masses at their growing misery and their readiness to fight. They also showed the spontaneous support and sympathy that people fighting for just demands get from the broad democratic masses. On a number of cossions, the Government was formed to reoccasions, the Government was forced to re-

In the context of rising discontent against the ruling party and its policies, it was but natural that the Communist-led Government natural that the Communist-led Government of Kerala, the greatest single product of the democratic movement since the attainment of freedom, became a rallying point of the hopes and aspirations of the masses. By its resolute defence of the interest of the people, in face of heavy difficulties and under continuous attack from vested interests and the Congress and other parties, the Kerala Government not only strengthened its base among congress and other parties, the Kerala Government not only strengthened its base among the toiling masses of Kerala but also had powerful impact on the people of other States—discrediting the Congress Governments, giving rise to the demand that these Governments should be about the congress of the con ments, giving rise to the demand that these Governments should do what the Kerala Government was doing, heightening the prestige of the Communist Party, drawing people towards it. Many Congressmen also in all States who are not supporters of the Communist Party, watched with sympathy and goodwill how the Communist-led Kerala Government was serving the people. Kerala was accelerating the process of mass radicalisation.

The results of many by-elections local elections are also an indication of the dissatisfaction of the people with the ruling party—though this dissatisfaction, where democratic forces are weak, often gets utilised by reactionary, opportunist and unscrupulous

LOGIC OF THEIR POLICIES

Despite the growing discontent of large sections of people, including its own followers the Congress Government has refused to ers the Congress Government has refused to change its policies. The logic of these poli-cies, combined with reactionary pressure, both from inside and outside the Congress has led to a shift towards the right on many issues. The difficulties which the Plan was facing were sought to be overcome by making more concessions to foreign private capital and to Indian big business. Landlords were sought to be appeased by not implementing the Nagpur decisions in a proper way. In Orissa, a Coalition Government was formed Orissa, a Coalition Government was ruling in alliance with the feudal Ganatantra Parishad. Brutal repression was let loose to supshad. Brutal repression was let loose to supshad. press the struggles of the people—over 80 persons being killed in Calcutta during the food movement and over 21,000 being arrested during the Central Government employees' strike. Every effort was made to utilise the dispute between India and China in order to divert mass attention from burning problems and mount a vicious and sustained attack on the Communist Party—the spearhead of the democratic movement.

But on no issue was the cynical disregard of the ruling party of every democratic principle seen so clearly as its attitude towards the Communist-led Kerala Government. The attitude adopted by many leaders of the Central Government towards Kerala was openly hostile from the very beginning and this hostility mounted as time passed. Finding that the Kerala Government was winning popularity, both inside Kerala and outside, and the contrast between it and the Congress Government was becoming ever more glaring, the leaders of the ruling party, including Prime Minister Nehru, threw over-

* SEE OVERLEAP

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board all the principles they had hitherto pro-fessed. In alliance with forces of casteism and communalism—the reactionary leaders of the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and the Muslim League—and backed by the disgruntled leaders of the Praja Socialist Party, the Congress launched a violent campaign in Kerala and later utilised the chaos and disturbances created by this campaign as the pretext to dismiss the consti-tutionally-elected Kerala Government. If was an eloquent demonstration of the extent to which the ruling party could go in order to restore its monopoly of power.

The powerful all-India campaign that developed in defence of Kerala Government and the mighty demonstrations that took place in every area against its dismissal were convincing proofs of the people's appreciation of what the Government had done during its 28 months of office and their resentment against the Central Government's action. Th fact that in the mid-term elections that followed, the Communist Party and its allies polled many more votes than before, effecti-vely nailed down the lie which formed the basis of its dissolution

It is to be noted that the opportunist policy of the ruling party's compromise with forces of casteism and communalism is bearing its evil fruits. Congress attitude towards the Muslim League in Kerala has given powerful impetus to Muslim communalism in many States. Hindu communal reaction, already active and vociferous, uses this as a pretext to strengthen itself further.

With no positive and rousing programme with which to maintain the unity of the Congress and to strengthen its mass base, with factional squabbles corroding it from within and assuming alarming proportions in several States, there is increasing tendency on the part of many Congressmen to resort to appeals based on caste and community. Sometimes, provincial passions are roused by rival actions in order to discredit the ruling group —leading to ghastly tragedies as in Assam.

Due to the position that the Congress occupies in the political life of the country, these pernicious practices on the part of many of leaders set the pattern and are imitated by other parties. Ideas of secularism, of nation alism, of unity of the country—ideas fostered by the Congress in the days when it fought the British—are becoming weaker. Some-times such economic policies of the Government as tend to perpetuate and even accentuate the economic disparity of different regions, also strengthen provincial animosity.

RISE OF RIGHT REACTION

Together with the strengthening of the right wing inside the Congress, the forces of extreme reaction have now established an open independent political party of their own the Swatantra Party. Comprising within its ranks a number of big landlords and monoolists, ex-Generals, former Princes, disgrunt ed politicians and American Lobby-men, the Swatantra Party has nevertheless acquired, in some parts of the country, a certain amount of respectability due to the leadership of Sri Rajagopalachari. It is trying to link itself up with other reactionary parties. The wide gulf that separates the actual practices of the Congress from its many noble declarations, the growth of factionalism and intrigues in Congress Committees, the blatant way in which the machinery of the State and its funds are often used to serve the interest of the Congress Party o its dominant group, give rise to revulsion and disgust among the people. At the same time, the Communist Party and the genuine democratic forces are too weak in many areas to give adequate expression to the popular discontent, to rally the people and wage an effective fight against the anti-people policies of the Government. Such a situation helps parties like the Swatantra.

The Right inside the Congress feels emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra Party. The Swatantra finds powerful allies among the Right inside the Congress. The im-

mediate aim of both is to push the Congress further to the Right.

Striving to build itself up as the "main party of opposition" so that its capacity to pressurise the Congress may increase, the Swatantra Party skilfully utilises the popular discontent against the Government. It argues that the shortage of foodgrains is due to the "killing of incentive" of "agriculturists" by agrarian reforms and the slogan of cooperation, that the high prices of industrial goods are due to "burdens" on the industry in the form of high taxes. It thunders against corruption, waste and inefficiency in Government enterprises in order to discredit the Public Sector. It openly assails India's foreign policy on the plea that this policy has left us "without friends" and advocates a "defence pact" with Pakistan.

Enjoying the support of imperialists, backed by many feudal elements and some of the most reactionary big businessmen and often acting in close cooperation with com-munal parties, as well as reactionary elements inside the Congress who are rightly called "veiled Swatantraites", the Swatantra Party tries to combat the growing influence of Socialist ideas and of the Communist Party. It assails all the positive gains which the nation has made since the achievement of freedom—such as India's independent foreign policy, the growth of the Public Sector, the formation of linguistic States, etc. It attacks Nehru and those closest to him. In alliance with other forces of Right reaction, it seeks to modify Indian foreign policy and give it a pro-imperialist orientation; create feelings of hostility against Socialist States, belittle the significance of economic assistance them; discredit and whittle down the Public Sector; sabotage all agrarian reforms; under-mine and weaken democracy.

Right reaction constitutes a growing menace to our independent foreign policy, to consolidation and strengthening of our national freedom, to democracy. The extent and gravity of the menace cannot be assessed by mere reference to the strength of the Swatan tra Party or communal parties like the Jan Sangh. Right reaction consists not merely of these parties but has powerful supporters and representatives in key positions in the country's economic life, in the administration and military apparatus and inside the ruling party itself-even at the highest level. Its slogans are supported by many of the biggest newspapers. The Government's policy of heavy concessions to the vested interests is continuously emboldening it, while the increase of dissatisfaction among the masses forms the fertile ground for its expansion. Moreover, the anti-Communist campaign indulged in by Congress leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru, diverts attention of people from the menace and aids its growth.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC TRENDS

Closely linked with the strengthening of the position of the Right in the Congress and the growth of reaction in our political life is the phenomenon of increase of authoritarian and anti-democratic tendencies. The arbitrary dismissal of the Kerala Government was a blow not only against the Communist Party but against Indian democracy, against demo-cratic norms and practices. Since then the ideological-political offensive against democracy has gathered momentum. Sedulous propaganda goes on that "parliamentary democracy is not suited to India". Praja Socialists and Swatantraites with the tacit support of Rightwing Congressmen backed Thimayya's move. But for the firm stand taken by Nehru, they would have succeeded in removing the Defence Minister and that success would have marked the dangerous intrusion of the military in political affairs. Recently, Dr. Rajendra Praced coulty and Recently, Dr. Rajendra Prasad openly made the astounding suggestion that the President of the Republic should not be a mere constitutional head but should have real powers. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President. in his Presidential address at the Bhavnagar Session, suggested that direct elections to the

NEW AGE

State Assemblies and Parliament should be given up. All these are ominous pointers—especially if we bear in mind what has happened in many countries in recent years—the-latest instance being the establishment of a regime of dictatorship in Nepal.

Complacency based on the assumption that "such things cannot happen here" would be utterly unwarranted. Not merely do reactionary forces, profoundly anti-democratic in their outlook, occupy important strategic positions in the economic, social and political life of the country but many policies of the Government, breeding widespread frustration. tion, are creating those very conditions in which the people become apathetic and acquiesce in the establishment of anti-democratic regimes as a supposed "way-out", as a "remedy" for the worsening conditions of life, bureaucratic callousness to their needs, ram-pant corruption and other evils.

These developments which are creating conditions of grave peril for our country and our people are neither fortuitous nor inevit-They are the result of a number of able. They are the result of a number of factors. Firstly, the national bourgeoisie, the ruling class, while being objectively interested in independent economic development, pursues policies of compromise with antinational vested interests and, where its leadership is challenged seriously by the Communist Party and demonstrate forces as Communist Party and democratic forces, as happened in Kerala, tends to lean on reactionary forces for support. Secondly, the policies of the national bourgeoisie in so far as they curb in a certain measure the interests of foreign and internal reaction, engender conflict between the latter and the national connect between the latter and the national bourgeoisie. Thirdly, the absence of a strong Communist Party in many parts of the coun-try and the weakness and disunity of the democratic movement embolden Right reaction to launch an offensive against limited advance in national life. They utilise the mass discontent created by many policies of the Government for their own consolidation and strengthening.

While popular forces have registered some advance and have won certain successes—the most significant of them being the splitting up of the bilingual Bombay State and the formation of the States of Maharashtra and Chirage to the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat—taken as a whole they have not been able to defeat these anti-popular policies.

DISUNITY OF DEMOCRATIC **FORCES**

The situation that has grown in the country is causing re-thinking among many honest supporters, members and even leading cadres of the Congress. They are alarmed by the growing attack on the progressive achievements of the last 13 years and the attempt to take the country back. They have seen the proud position which India has acquired as the result of her foreign policy. acquired as the result of her foreign policy, and they want that policy to continue. They detest the fact that big business grows ever powerful, corrupts our social and political life and they dislike the concessions being made to it. They would like the Public Sector to grow rapidly. They expected honest implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on ceilings and State-trading in foodgrains and were disappointed when this did not happen. Many of them do not desire the Congress to have alliance with forces of feudal and comalliance with forces of feudal and communal reaction and are unhappy over the growth of casteism. Quite a number of them were critical of Congress tactics in Kerala. They would like Parliamentary democracy to be preserved. It is true that these views have not crystallised into a clearcut platform.

Vacillations and inconsistencies are to be seen quite often in their practice. Some, for example, who take a progressive stand on one matter, fail to take a similar stand on another. While detesting factional squabbles inside the Congress, they very often fail to see its political roots. Moreover, the leadership of the Congress tries to allay their discontent by demagogy about Socialism, by talks of the

* SEE PAGE 13

MARCH 5, 1981

AISE MARCHES AHEAD

ONSISTENT efforts made by the ruling party, more particularly during the last decade, to discourage the growth of democratic organisations among the students on the one hand, and, the continued offensive of the reactionaries and communal ideologies on the other, have led to the general weakening of the idents' movement in our country.

Both these attacks have, however, been strongly resist-ed by the student masses under the leadership of the All India Students' Federation

Since the Udaipur Conference of the AISF in January 1959 a revival of organised atudent activities has taken place in almost all the States. At the time of the Udaipur Conference the AISF was still active in W. Bengal, Andhra, Kerala Rajasthan, Orissa and U.P. During the onsa and o.F. buring the last two years in spite of the fact that a number of experienced cadres and leaders have left the movement and central office of the AISF faced a number of difficulties, the organisation has been kept alive and activities undertaken in all most all the States of India. Mention may be made briefly of some of these activi-

Problem Of Discipline

Those at the helm of affairs in the University Grants Com-mission and the Central Education Ministry in the re-cent past tried to put all the blame for certain instances of indiscipline on the students' unions and they recommend-ed their curbing.

Rightly a number of educationists voiced their concern over such a move. The AISF did not lag behind It discussed the situation in August 1960 and submitted a memorandum opposing this move of the authorities and suggested some concrete measures to deal with the problem of discipline.

Resolutely fighting the com-umal offensive the AISF has grown in its stature as a nonnimunal students organisation. It fought the joint communal offensive of the Catholics, Muslim Leaguers and the castelsts in Kerala Its local units opposed the communal and linguistic hysteria worked up by communal and semi-communal bodies in Assam, W. Bengal and Punish recently. At times it was found that even the Youth Congress, which works both among the students and youth, joins the communal and

Fighting communalism, sometimes alone and at others in unity with other demo-cratic organisations, the AISF has come out as the champion communal harmony and the defender of the mir

Another aspect of activities which emerges from the re-ports sent from the various States is the joint anti-imperialist actions organised and initiated by the AISF.

Thus, recently in Rajasthus, recently in majasthan, in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Vyawar and Alwar, in a number of colleges big meetings were organised under the auspices of the students' unions, where the representatives of Goan liberation movement addressed the ovement addres students. Protest meetings

MARCH 5, 1961

Lumumba and his associates.

A big strike of students took place in Calcutta and many other towns of W. Bengal.

Academic Demands

Yet another plank of our activities has been in the academic field. In Sri Venkata-raman and Andhra universities in introducing the pre-University course the authoriti grouped English and Telugu as one subject and any student failing in one was to be treat-ed as having failed in both the subjects: The AISF agitated for spliting it and succeeded. In U.P. and Madhya Pradesh in U.F. and mannya Francish our units organised petitions against the mass failures of students in the matric and intermediate examinations.

In West Bengal for continu ing refugee students stipends In Kerala we organised and against the anarachic students camps in various implementation of the new places where a large number three-years degree course and the eleven years multi-purpose higher secondary scheme the AISF, jointly with other stu-dent organisations, organised signature campaigns and deputations. The movement is

In Bihar on the question of the adoption of Hindi as the medium of examinations our units took the initiative to organise the campaign for the give relief to the flood-affected given a rebuff to this offen-retention of Urdu and Bengali, people of Orissa and Punjab.

Andhra, Bihar where this also as the medium of examialso as the medium of examination in those places where a In Orissa we organised offensive has become a menace this offensive has become a menace of the democratic rights of the offensive has become a menace of the democratic rights of the offensive has become a menace of the democratic rights of the offensive has become a menace of the offensive

sion to submit a memorandum on educational demands to the Government. To popularise the memorandum amongst the newly revived Bombay Stu-dents Union runs a library, study circles and reading rooms. In almost all States our nits organise meetings to disthe memorandum amongst the students, a cycle-relay was organised which covered more than 500 miles within 20 days. They visited all the important educational institutions, held and spoke innumerable meetings and, nised to discuss India's finally, the memorandum was submitted on November 1.

Campaigns on educational general meetings were organised to discuss India's foreign policy, where Krishna Menon and other emeniment personalities also spoke.

demands have also been con-ducted in Orissa. An all-Orissa strike organised by us and other organisations against the abolition of the Oriya language from the Calcutta University is one of the many campaigns of educational de-

Everywhere we are participating in broad-based committees to celebrate the Tagore Cenference efforts have also been made to give a new orientation to the students movement. In various pro-vinces we took the initiative, whenever possible jointly with student organisations, to organise multifarious activities like self help, relief, social work, academic and cultural activities. It is very significant that under the leadership and active cooperation of the AISF, student's unions in many places have widely extended

Since the Udaipur con-

Welfare Activities

and demonstrations were organised at a number of places against the cold-blooded assassination of Lunumba and the cold-blooded assassination of the cold-blooded a of organise financial help to the poor students. In addition to this cultural activities are also

In Andhra we organised students' festivals where a large number of students took part, irrespective of their caste

A separate girls' festival was ex-officio chairman—creating, organised where three hundred girls took part in diffettons. dred girls took part in different competitions. At Vijaya-wada students repaired a damaged road where 300 boys and girls took part. In cooperation with the youth organisations we are trying to organise libraries, clubs, waiting rooms, etc., and also publishing a joint magazine of youth and students.

students' camps in various is becoming an all-India places where a large number phenomenon. of students participated. They Despite the growing attacks organised a relief campaign to the students have successfully

rooms. In almost all States our nits organise meetings to dis-

Our units took a prominent

part in organising broad-based

recentions to the Soviet Vouth

Bihar, West Bengal (Calcutta) Orissa, Andhra, Kerala, etc

influence took the initiative in receiving the delegation in the academic institutions.

Since the Udaipur Con

ference our units in all the States have taken a two-fold

On the one hand, we defend and seek to extend their rights and activities and on

the other to run these as the

united forum of students is

a democratic spirit. This idea

was further elaborated and

attitude towards the union

Student unions under

welfare activities amongst

this cultural activities are also organised. The joint effort of the AISF-led unions and other student organisations during the West Bengal floods is also

and creed.

this understanding in Pun-jab we are fighting to unite all sections of the students against the onslaught of the hundred seats.

In Orissa and Rajasthan we authorities against the students unions

The General Secretary of our Punjab unit, Ajit Singn Basi discloses in a report that the Punjab University authorities dealt a mortal blow to democratic college unions in 1959. Lifeless central college associations were brought into existence, in each of which four teachers were nominated and the principal became the ex-officio chairman—creating

a Union Rights

HIREN DAS GUPTA

General Secretary, AISF

The authorities often delay or sometimes do not hold the elections of the unions, which helps in paralyzing them. This the whole stephenomenon is not confined to in the State. the Punjab. The mounting offensive against union rights is becoming an all-India position in helps in paralyzing then

which gave a call to our election results in different units everywhere to take States.

the intiative in bringing all In West Bengal the over-

the students unions on a common platform of the National Council of University Students of India (NCUSI). On the basis of this analysis in Puri In West Bengal the over-

won significant victories.

In Kerala this year the AISF has won presidentship of the Kerala University union. The victory of the AISF in Kasargod college in Cannanor trict, Mahatma Gandhi C trict, Manauma Ganom College at Trivandrum which is owned by Mannath Padmanabhan, Teachers Training College in Trivandrum, Varkala Tea-Trivandrum, Varkala Tea-chers' Training College, S. N. College and Engineering Col-lege at Quilon, and Ayurvedic College Trivandrum, are signi-ficant.

In many other places AISF sympathisers and independents have won in the union elections. This is very significant in the background of the tense political polarization victories in Kerala are fast changing the texture of the whole student movement

In Andhra the AISF has definitely strengthened its position in unions while in U.P. we are regaining our

position.

In the background of these activities the AISF workers all the everywhere, despite all the difficulties, are forging ahead.

The recent conferences in all the districts of Kerala as well as its State conference; the Bihar, Orissa, Tripura State conferences; the district conferences in Andhra: the Council meetings and conventions in West Bengal, Assam and in Bhopal show that our units are not only functioning but also

Silver Jubilee

Using even the limited scope of nominated students association to broaden the democratic nature of these bodies the AISF has advanced the idea of a full fledged student union. The united effort of the students have
won university unions, for entered its 25th year, It is coing to hold its Silver Jubilee won university unions, for example, in Patna, Trivandrum and other places.

The formation of new units in Kutch, Gujarat, Bombay, Tamilnad and the further activisation of units of Punjab and Mysore has made AISF th strongest all-India body of the students community.

session. The AISE Working By adopting a correct attitude towards union functioning, the AISF has won the confidence of the student masses. The call for the Jubilee Session has created to all its units to make it a great
success. The call for the Jubilee Session has created to all its units to make it a great
success. The call for the Jubilee Session has created to all its units to make it a great
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success. The call for the Jubilee Session has created tremiddle session has created tremiddle

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FEBRUARY ISSUE:

CONTAINS .

Editorial: For a Mass Kisan Sabha, for a Joint Front of Peasantry

Food Situation: Tendency to abandon State Trading
Ceiling Under Congress Agrarian Legislations

Some Aspects of Land Reforms in Indonesia
Struggle for Land Reforms in Indonesia Struggle for Land Reform in Kerala: Pantalam

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CUBAN W.H.O. **DELEGATES**

From Our Correspondent

THE Fourteenth World Health Assembly which concluded in New Delhi on February 24 had brought to India some unique delegations, among them one from Cuba. Its leader was the Deputy Minister for Health Dr. Mario Escalona, a man in his thirties who has won a number of medical awards, including one called the National Medical Award in 1954.

Tripled

Caneu the National Medical Station and agricultural dever-fixe his colleague Dr. Carlos isation and agricultural deve-front, a veteran revolutionary, lopment of the country, un-fixed on also had been taking employment will have dis-Escalona also had been taking active and leading part for appeared from Cuba within years in the underground the next two years. 32,000 movement against Batista's class-rooms have been provided dictatorship. The youngest of the delegates, 28-year old, ed during the 58 years which had alarged from the founds. the delegates, 28-year old, ed during the 58 years which bearded Dr. J. R. Balaguer had had elapsed from the founda-joined the Rebel Army in 1957, thon of our republic. cipated in a hunger strike in Budget prison and is now the Executive Director of the Ministry

The All-India Peace Council gave a reception to the Cuban Delegation on February 21 when Pandit Sundarlal welcoming them gave impressions of his recent Cuban visit and paid glowing tributes to the Cuban people and the leadership of Dr. Fidel Castro.

Glowing Tributes

Dr. Escalona in a brief speech drew the picture of his militant people where not only every man and woman but even children carried machine-guns, ready every moment to defend the revolution. He emphasised the key role the agrarian reform had role the agrarian reform had played in consolidating vic-tory. "Divide the land, and give it to the tillers", he said, "That is the only way to make

"The past meant illiteracy: over 50 per cent of the rural population were illiterate" towns play an important in moulding public opinion In the evening a meeting over three thousand was or

Cuban Example

As a result of the victory of the revolution and con-tinuous struggle, said Dr. Escalona, "our people has succeeded in little more than 700 days there's the 700 days—thanks to its efforts, its ability and its

which clearly shows how much imperialist industrialist and exploiting companies were costing our country".

Dr. Escalona revealed that the budget allocations for health had risen from 21 mil-lion dollars in 1958 to 71 mil-lions in 1961.

Health

Services

"This is an increase of 228 per cent, or, in absolute figures, a sum of 11.66 dollars for each of the 6½ million inhabieach of the 6½ million inhabitants of the country. It is beyond doubt," he said, "that sants receive medical care and this figure is one of the highest per capita expenditures on charge"

vice, and it has available 50 weeks ago. "We feel veery depressed with all this", said Dr. Escaper capita expenditures on charge"

this figure is one of the highest per capita expenditures on public health of any of the countries of Latin America".

It had made possible the increase in number of beds in State hospitals from 11,411 on the attribute of the revolution of the countries of the revolution of the charge".

Dr. Escalona told the Peace Council reception that the presence of the revolution of the charge.



From Left to Right: The Cuban Ambassador Escalona, Balaguer and Font

"We have 32,000 new teachers, whereas there were only 18,000 before the victory of the revolution. 25,000 rural dwellings have been built.

"The total national budget", Dr. Escalona said, "has risen from 400 million dollars during the last year of the Batista tyranny to 1,200 million dollars this year. It has thus tripled, "an increase of 80 per cent in the brief two years of our liberation."

The rural Medico-Social Service which had been instituted had reached most out of the way districts. "There are at present over 500 doctors and nurses working for this services that it had nothing to do with report that it had nothing to do with report that it had nothing to do with report the country first day the battle over the chiral triple and politics, was all wrong. The

sants receive medical care and drugs completely free of charge".

Dr. Escalona told the Peace Council reception that the pretence sought to be put up at the World Health Assembly that it had nothing to do with politics was all wrong. The realised in Cuba. Cuba has regained its national dignity and is defermined never to lose it again.

The Ambassador for Cuba in his brief remarks thanked all countries

his brief remarks thanked all countries particularly the Soviet Union, People's China, India and the United Arab Republic for the support they had been giving Cuba in various

ANDHRA'S GREAT RESPONSE TO GOA'S CALL

From Our Correspondent

S a part of the All India campaign being conducted by the National Campaign Committee for Goa to focus attention on the Goa question, George Vaz, a Secretary of the National Campaign Committee for Goa was asked to undertake a torus of the near future. Goa was asked to undertake a tour of Andhra and later Madras. It was unfortunate that Dr. H. O.

it to the tillers", he sat is the only way to make evolution".

In his speech at the World ealth Assembly on February, Dr. Escalôna had said: "The Juban people is fighting to avoid a return to the past, a past which is identified with the regime of the great landowners. A mere 28 undertakings, familles and sugar companies owned 2,000,000 hecters of land and more than in Freedom for Goa and welcoming the Goa delegates. Over two hundred people had assembled at the Station. There was not a little displantations.

"The past meant a one-crop "The past meant a one-crop "Coan delegate could come to Annatapur as leaflets announcing the coming of Dr. Mascarenhas affu others were ready to enroll for the Soar each of the two hundred people had assembled at the Station. There was not a little displantations.

"The past meant a one-crop "Coan delegate could come to Annatapur as leaflets announcing the coming of Dr. Mascarenhas affu others were ready to enroll for the Soar each of the evening was held president.

All-Parties "The Mascarenhas affu others were ready to enroll for the ed with accit to the politic value of the politic value of

Cuban exports.

"The past meant unemployment: in 1957 there were 33,000 unemployed in Cuba.

"The past meant poverty: the annual income per head in 1958 was about 330 dollars.

"The past meant illiteracy: Mascarenhas and others were already distributed.

The day was spent in meeting important leaders and members of the Bar Association which in such district towns play an important role in moulding nublic onling.

In the evening a meeting of over three thousand was organised by an all parties com-mittee for Goa in the Central maidan. The main speakers being Lakshmi Narayana Reddy, Nagl Reddy, MP, and Y. Sashagiri of the PSP. George Vaz spoke at length on Goa which was today the burning issue.

the whole day meet-

Critical

Most people were critical-of the Government of India's delay in solving this problem, including local Congressmen. One fact which stood out during this tour was that the Congress is working in the closest collaboration with the opposition, Communist

parties of the opposition, especially the Communist Party, on the Goa issue.

In the evening a meeting was held presided over by N. Ranga Reddy, ex-Minister, in the composite State of Madras which was a crowded meeting addressed by a second of the composite of the composite state of meeting addressed by a second of the composite of the composit meeting addressed by all party leaders. A resolution on the struggle to free Goa was passed with acclaimation.

The meeting had been convened by the leader of all the political parties and private citizens, viz., N. Sunbu Reddy, Congress MLA; Nagi Reddy; Suba Reddy, Secre-tary, District Congress Committee; N. Shivram Reddy, Secretary, District Commu-nist Party; N. Narayan Red-dy, Secretary, District Swan-tantra Party; T. Krishnamurty of the Panchayat and Samiti; and Mohd. Rahimtoola, Chairman of the Municipal Committee and where others. It also resolved to Press

everywhere and loud speakers mounted on bullock carts went mounted on bullock carts went round the town announcing the arrival of the Goa dele-gate and the mass meeting to be held in the evening. A procession was organised, with a band in attendance, and the guest was given a hero's welcome with the whole town wescome with the whole town turning up at the evening meeting, over 5,000 people attending. Almost 25 organisations offered garlands and flowers. A resolution on Goa was passed.

Volunteers Promised

The meeting was presided over by K. S. Subharao, Muni-cipal Councillor and addressed. by leaders of all parties which included V. Sathanarayana of the Youth Association and Y. Eswara Reddy, Mi.C, and ex-MP, who had volunteered to march into Goa as a mem-ber of the Parliamentary Committee for Goa formed in

The organisers of the tour in Andhra have invited Aruna Asaf Ali to come to the State and promised to enlist thousands of volunteers to march in to Goa at a call given by the Goa Campaign Committee for the liberation of Goa, Damaun and Diu.

From Proddatur the delega-tion proceeded to Madras Andhra Pardesh was not the suffer are being gradularing the 1955 Satýagraha during the 1955 Satýagraha momber of unemployed has been reduced by more than 300,000 and that in accordance with the plans for industrial
Andhra Pardesh was not the said, "Is that in this short time the number of unemployed has 300,000 and that in accordance with the plans for industrial
PAGE TWELVE

Andhra Pardesh was not the important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem their important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem their important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem their important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem important district town. George Vaz was accompanied to hearing about the Goa problem in Andhra was Proddatur, which is a beautiful town with the houses and decorated most town to be covered in Andhra was Proddatur, which is a beautiful town with the house and decorated most town to be covered in Andhra vas Proddatur, which is a beautiful town with the legist and remains and decorated problem in Andhra vas Proddatur, which is a beautiful town with the legist and remains a product to a few prodes. The list tow a very representative Conference was held

RESOLUTION

responsibilities of the ruling party and the need to preserve the unity of the Congress in face of attack by opposition parties, and above all, by appeals based on loyalty to

Nevertheless, however vacillating and Nevertheless, however vacillating and inconsistent these members and supporters of the Congress may be, they must not be placed in the same category as Right reaction—whether inside or outside the Congress. Basically, they are progressive. With the tightening grip of the Right over the Congress organization in many States they are getting organisation in many States, they are getting apprehensive about the future of the country. Inevitably, conflicts over policies have arisen in the Congress, conflicts which, though still in the initial stage, sometimes find expression in speeches in the legislative assemblies and

But, by themselves, these forces are too organised and weak to make an impact on Congress policies. They tend to rely too much on Prime Minister Nehru and feel helpless when he compromises with the Right. They when he compromises with the right. They sometimes succeed in getting progressive resolutions adopted by the Congress, but are unable to get even these resolutions implemented. Anti-Communism to which many of them have succumbed also prevents them om cooperating with the most powerful and organised democratic force in the country in order to develop a strong movement.

As for the Praja Socialist Party which still wields considerable influence in some States, its leadership has become more and more opportunist. It joined hands with the Congress and the Muslim League to overthrow the Communist-led Kerala Government, securing as reward the office of Chief Ministership. It tried to disrupt the glorious food movement of Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the food movement in Punjab and other struggles. It took a leading part in the anti-China campaign during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Tibet and subsequently. With its mass base weakening in many States, it now counts on alliance with reactionaries and disgruntled Congress fac-tions, as well as the goodwill of Congress leaders in some places for success in the ensuing general elections.

The attitude of the PSP has disrupted Left unity even where it existed in some form earlier. At the same time, many of the cadres of the PSP are radical-minded, its following is largely a Left following. On certain occasions, e.g., the Central Government employees' strike, Communists and Praja Socialists

Our Party, the Communist Party of India, has been in the thick of practically every major struggle that took place in this period -struggles which have been mentioned ear-lier. Trade unions, where we work, have become stronger than ever before. The main fire of the Government and the Congress has been concentrated on us. Despite this, we have registered advance in several areas. We won the Nowgong Assembly bye-election at the height of the anti-China campaign and the Parliamentary bye-election in Calcutta; secured impressive victories in Bhopal and won many panchayat and local elections in several States. The campaign in defence of Kerala was one of the biggest all-India campaigns conducted by our Party in its entire history, as also the campaign to help the Kerala unit of our Party for the mid-term elections. Vast masses participated in the "pad yatras" (marches) in Kerala and Tamilnad for agrarian reforms. Impressive also was the mass mobilisation achieved in many States during the rallies which were held at the culmination of State Conferences.

Notwithstanding all this, it must be admitted that our activities have, on the whole, been of a sporadic character. The working class has gone into action on a national and industrial level to defend its wages, its trade union and democratic rights from the attacks of the Government and the employers. But political actions by workers, working class action in support of struggles of the peasantry

and on general democratic issues have been very few. Working class action has not reached to the level which could bring about a major political shift in the position of the a major political shift in the position of the masses and have an impact on the policies of the Government. Except on Kerala, there was no all-India campaign. Above all, the Party's weakness among the peasantry which was one of the main factors for the weakness of the whole democratic movement, continues.

Due to the absence of a broad nationwide united campaign for progressive policies, the disruption of whatever Left unity existed in the past, the inability of the Communist Party to move the working class on a big scale on general democratic issues, and the weakness of the peasant movement, the democratic forces have not been consolidated. They have not been able to defeat anti-people policies or even compel the Government to implement its own declarations in such a way as would benefit the people. Extreme reaction has taken advantage of this situation to strengthen its own base and mount an offen-

FORWARD TO UNITY

Confronted with these economic and political developments which, if continued, cannot but mean more misery for the masses, heavier burdens on them, further enrichment of the ourcens on mem, turtner enrichment of the rich and increasing attacks on democracy, millions of people in all parts of the country and following all parties are asking the question: What is the way out? How to go forward? Historic responsibility rests on the Communist Party and on the most advanced and conscious democratic forces to give and conscious democratic forces to give a proper reply to these questions.

They must continue organising the defence of the interests of the people against attacks by the Government, expose the class character and policies of the Government, propagate the need for radical changes now and for people's power and Socialism in the future. But they cannot content themselves merely with this. They cannot wait till extreme themselves merely with this. till extreme reactionary forces have grown sufficiently strong to achieve complete victory and throttle Indian democracy. Direct struggle against Right reaction, which is a growing menace to the country and the people, must be launched immediately and with all seriousness in order to isolate and smash it.

In spite of the advance they have made, the reactionary forces are not so strong as they appear to be. Their positive slogans they appear to be. Their positive siogans evoke little response among the people. True, they have powerful representatives and supporters inside the Government and hold key positions in the country's economic, political and social life, but this alone would not have enabled them to achieve the successes that they have achieved. One of the main reasons why they have been able to acquire their present strength is the dis-unity and division among the democratic forces in the country. forces in the country—among workers who remain divided in unions affiliated to several. all-India centres; among peasants, a big section of whom, though critical of the Congress, still retain loyalty towards it and the peasant masses that follow the Communist Party and other Left Parties; among students, youth and women; between democrats who follow the Congress and those who

Reaction can be smashed and the compromising policies of the Government defeated if serious and sustained efforts are made to overcome this disunity and if struggles and campaigns are developed on a really wide basis.

Immense possibilities exist for overcoming the disunity and for advancing the demo-cratic movement. On a world scale, reaction is getting more and more weakened. The Socialist world, by its example and by its deeds, exercises powerful influence on the whole course of world events and revolutionises the minds of men. There is growing awareness among the Indian people of the need and urgency for solution of national problems in a really democratic and popular way. Reaction lacks a broad social base inside the country. All these are favourable conditions which can and must be utilised.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TASKS

The tasks on the fulfilment of which depend our national regeneration and all-sided national advance are: further consolidation national advance are: further consolidation of our independence, by defence and strengthening of our foreign policy and forging of closer links with the Socialist and Afro-Asian States; by preventing further penetration of foreign capital and gradual elimination of its existing hold on vital sectors of our economy through nationalisation; by the rapid expansion of the State Sector. Nationalisation of banks and of such other concerns as may enable the State Sector to acquire a commanding position in our economy. Democratic control over the State Sector, combating of waste, corruption and inefficiency, and the building of more heavy and basic industries in it. The corruption and inefficiency, and the building of more heavy and basic industries in it. The carrying out of agrarian reforms which would really benefit the mass of peasantry, reduce the heavy burden on them and make possible the neavy burden on them and make possible more capital investment on land so that agricultural production may increase. A just system of taxation whose main burden falls on the rich. Fixing of minimum wage for all workers and employees and sliding scale of dearness allowance. Improvement in the living standard of the nearly Reneal of reliving standard of the people. Repeal of repressive laws and guaranteeing of unfettered civil liberties. Restriction of the power of bureaucrats, greater powers for States, for local elected organs and extension of demo-

These are national-democratic tasks. These are national-democratic tasks. They conform to the interest of the vast majority of our people. Most of them are in the objective interest of the national bourgeoisie itself, except of a handful of monopolist reactionaries. They can be carried out by united action by all who desire national regeneration. If carried out, they would launch our country on the path of all-sided advance, generate labour enthusiasm, dissipate the spirit rate labour enthusiasm, dissipate the spirit of frustration, reduce strife. They would weaken the forces of reaction in the country and bring the people to the position when the struggle for basic changes and for socialism can be waged more effectively. It is necessary, therefore, that all patriotic and democratic forces should come together to carry out these tasks and form, for this purpose, a broad-national democratic front.

Not merely is there urgent necessity of Not merely is there urgent necessity or such unity but conditions are extremely favourable for it. Thirteen-and-a-half years of experience are teaching the people what price they have to pay if the ruling classes are permitted to continue the building of capitalist and or of society giving concessions to foreign order of society, giving concessions to foreign capital, making compromise with landlords and relying on the profit-motive of big business. Thirteen-and-a-half years of experience are teaching democratic elements inside the Congress that by reliance on individual leacongress that by remance on individual leaders, no matter how great, they cannot attain the cherished goal of a happy and prosperous India and that even progressive declarations will not be implemented by passive waiting or even by their own exertions alone. Thirteen and a half wars of experience are teachers. teen-and-a-half years of experience are teaching the democratic forces outside the Congress that in order to fight effectively the danger of Right reaction, in order to alter the policies of the Government and in order to defend the people against the ever-mount-ing attacks on their standard of life and liberties, they have to build united action with Congress masses, encourage the streng-thening of democratic forces inside the Con-gress and join hands with them for common national tasks. The urge for unity has grown among all sections of people, especially among those who toil, suffer and fight.

* SEE OVERLEAR

On the February 4 a special Goa Convention was held at Anantapur where a Goa Committee was elected

Goa Committee was elected with Gondi Kondappa, a

veteran Congressman, as its Chairman. S. P. Ranghaih was elected the Secretary of the Committee. The Ananta-

pur Committee for Goa would work in cooperation with the National Campaign Committee for Goa.

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ROLE OF OUR PARTY

As the vanguard of the democratic movement, as its most conscious detachment, it is our Party that must give concrete expression to this urge. This demands the establishment of unity of action among all democratic forces in the country for common objectives. It demands correct approach on our part to patriotic forces in other parties, an approach which takes into account their organisational loyalties, united front approach in agitation and the evolving of such immediate concrete slogans as can serve as the basis of unity. It demands utmost emphasis on united mass organisations, especially of the working class and peasantry—which can be done only by running the existing mass organisations in such a way that they unite all, irrespective of their political affiliations. It demands ideological-political and organisational remoulding of our Party.

We have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the menace represented by Right reaction, making Congressmen, including progressive-minded Congress leaders, aware of the seriousness of the menace, approaching them in terms of Congress declarations, in terms of commonly accepted ideas and digits. We shall expose the demagogic slogans of Right reaction, the slogans with which it seeks to utilise popular discontent. We shall strive to move into action the masses under our influence in opposition to the slogans and tactics of parties of extreme reaction and their attacks on our foreign policy, on our cooperation with Socialist States, in defence of peace and our national interests, on the Public Sector, etc., and seek the cooperation of Congressmen and Congress organisations for this purpose.

We have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the compromising policies of the Congress Government, policies which facilitate the further penetration of foreign imperialist capital, retain the remnants of feudalism, encourage casteist, communalist and regionalist and other fissiparous tendencies, policies which, instead of encouraging growth of democratic forces, try to suppress them, which help the rich at the cost of the poor. We have to explain to the people and to the progressive-minded Congress followers that without fighting these policies, the growth of reaction cannot be checked and the country cannot advance on the path of progress and prosperity.

The struggle against the slogans of the extreme Right; the struggle against the policies of compromise pursued by the Government, as well as the struggle in defence of progressive policies and declarations made by the Government—all these struggles cannot be effective if they are waged only or even mainly through speeches in the Parliament and legislatures and through articles in our journals. They have to be waged on a mass scale—by efforts to build popular unity and also through independent mobilisation by the Party. For this, we have to lay utmost stress on the task of raising the political level of the masses who follow our Party so that they move into action on political issues. Such action will also facilitate the process of radicalisation among the masses who follow the Congress and other parties, and be a powerful lever to forge democratic unity.

DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN FOREIGN POLICY

One of the main targets of attack of imperialists and their friends is India's foreign policy. This is not surprising in view of the position India occupies in world affairs. Ours was the first party in the country to advocate that a foreign policy of peace, anticolonialism, cooperation with Socialist countries and close friendship with African and Asian countries is in our genuine national interest. We have been extending general support to the Government of India's foreign

policy. In the period since Amritsar, reactionary pressure on India's foreign policy has increased—both from imperialists and by extreme Rightwing elements in our own country. Imperialists have been striving to change our foreign policy and for this purpose, they are utilising their economic "aid". The Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the Rightwing PSP leaders, Rightwing elements inside the Congress, the big bourgeois-controlled press—all have been active on the issue, making full use of the India-China dispute for the purpose. The slogan is given of "common defence" with Pakistan. The argument is advanced that India should be "really neutral" and not associate itself "too closely" with Socialist States. The whole purpose of this pressure, these slogans and arguments, is to bring about a reactionary modification of our foreign policy—a modification which imperialists desire and have been striving for for several years.

By and large, these pressures have been resisted. There have been powerful counteracting forces, too. India's association with the USSR and economic cooperation with it has grown closer. A large number of African States who have won political independence in recent years take an anti-imperialist stand in the UNO. The interest of the Indian nation demands a continuation of the present foreign policy. Nehru, who has been the main architect of this policy, has shown no inclination to abandon it. India stands in the camp of peace and anti-colonialism, against war and for disarmament.

At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that on many issues, especially issues of an anti-colonial nature, the Government of India often shows unwarranted vacillations. It takes too long a time to take a correct position and even then the position is not always sufficiently firm. Only a few years ago, India was looked upon as the leader of the newly-independent Afro-Asian countries in opposition to colonialism. That situation is changing. Today several of the African States, which won their freedom only a short while ago, take a more consistently anti-imperialist stand than the Indian Government. We are failing to keep pace with many newly-independent countries. This cannot but cause regret to patriotic Indians and embolden those who want to shift our foreign policy to the Right.

Therefore, while continuing to support the general foreign policy of the Government, it is the task of all democratic forces in the country to exercise vigilance so that there is no sliding back, to combat the yacillations and weaknesses.

A major reason for this weakness is the fact that, while inside the country, the reactionary forces who want to change the policy are vocal and active, the progressive and democratic forces, including the members and mass following of the Communist Party are not so active in counteracting their pressure. The tendency is one of leaving the initiative in the hands of the Government, of waiting to see what it does when an issue arises. The democratic forces do not seize the initiative. They do not act to shape Government's policy; they only react to declarations made by the Government. Inevitably, their role becomes merely one of supporting or opposing the acts of Government in the sphere of foreign policy.

It must be the endeavour of all patriotic people to ensure that the foreign policy of our country becomes increasingly anti-imperialist, a policy of increasingly close association with the freedom-loving countries of Asia and Africa and of cooperation with Socialist and other States in defence of peace. Our Party and the mass organisations under our influence will have to play a far more important role in this direction than hitherto.

TASKS ON MASS FRONTS

The working class movement has registered a big advance. In recent periods, on a

number of occasions, all workers of the same industry have gone into action. The strike of over five lakh employees of the Central Government, which came about because of the united decision of all organisations of the Government employees united in the Joint Council of Action was, despite all limitations and lack of preparation, a major event and focussed attention on the most outstanding grievance of all people, that is, the steep rise of prices. Nevertheless, that consciousness which would move the entire mass on a general issue affecting the workers as a whole and on general democratic issues is yet too inadequate.

Even in the field of wages, the working class is facing a serious crisis. Although the continuous struggle of the workers has wrested some increases in money wages from the unwilling hands of the employers, their real wages show a markedly declining trend since 1955. The real wage level in 1960 is no higher, if not actually lower, than the level of 1939. At the same time, production, productivity and profits in the organised industries have been rising throughout the Second Plan period.

By fighting for higher wages, Dearness Allowance, bonus, more amenities and better conditions of work, the worker fights for a larger share of the wealth he is producing and of the goods which are the real national income, a share which the employer always wants to reduce in some way and for which the worker must always fight in the ways open to him. This day-to-day struggle is, therefore, the necessary and constant daily task of the trade unions. The entire working class, irrespective of different affiliations, is vitally interested in the fight for a sliding scale of Dearness Allowance, the raising and fixing of minimum wages, for a general rise in basic wages and against high prices and rationalisation and productivity schemes leading to retrenchment.

At the same time, this struggle of the workers is increasingly sought to be suppressed by the ruling class through use of the repressive machinery of the State and free hand to the capitalists to practise victimisation. Attacks on democratic and trade union rights, including those which are 'legally' recognised on paper are mounting. These attacks can be effectively resisted and repulsed only on the basis of united and determined mobilisation of the working class backed by democratic public opinion.

All these factors, together with several other aspects of intensified capitalist exploitation, are daily strengthening the objective basis for forging the class unity of the workers and mobilising them for united action in their common interest. The recent struggles and strike actions of the textile, jute, plantation, cashewnut, tramway (Calcutta) and other workers in various States and above all, the historic strike of the Central Government employees, are eloquent testimony to the growing urge of all sections of the working class for unity. Great new possibilities are opening up provided the trade unions utilise them with confidence and bold initiative.

If the trade union movement is to be raised out of the rut of localism and narrow economism, a determined campaign for trade union unity and united actions must be developed. On this question, a basically sectarian outlook still persists and must be constantly combated. Developing broadest unity of all sections must be combined with principled exposure of disruptive and anti-unity elements and planned expansion of trade union organisation among the lakhs of still unorganised workers.

In order to overcome the serious lag in the political consciousness of the working class, it is necessary to educate, organise and mobilise the workers as part and parcel of day-to-day trade union activity itself. Popularisation of the all-round advance of the Socialist countries, the need for active solidarity with the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and

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with the working class struggles in imperialist countries; campaign on the concrete issues of disarmament and peace; vigilance, exposure and action against the reactionary conspiracies and manoeuvres of imperialists and monopolists against democracy, against national economic development and freedom—these are some of the most important issues around which we must carry on cease-less efforts to bring the organised working class into action so that it may increasingly play its vanguard role.

This vanguard role also requires that the working class comes out in action in defence of the demands of other classes—above all, the peasantry.

The democratic forces must adopt a correct attitude towards the small and medium industrialists who suffer from the fiscal and other policies of the Government and from the activities of the monopolists. In matters of trade union demands, these sections of the bourgeoisie cannot be placed in the same category as the big bourgeoisie. We must bear in mind that in order to defend and strengthen democracy, as well as for the broadening of the mass movement, it is necessary to support actively the just demands of the small and middle bourgeoisie and draw them closer to the democratic masses.

In an agrarian country like ours, national regeneration demands, above all, rapid development of agriculture. Experience of the last thirteen and a half years proves that this cannot be done except through democratic reconstruction of agriculture. Experience also proves that left to itself and in the absence of a mass movement, the Congress and the Government will not implement in a proper way even their own declarations. The fate of the Nagpur Resolution on land reforms is the latest instance. Ceilings are being imposed in such a way as to leave practically no land for distribution—thus defeating the purpose of ceiling.

At the same time, it has to be admitted

that our own approach towards the progressive declarations made by the Congress from time to time has been defective—arising from partial and inadequate understanding of the factors that lead to such declarations. To some extent, they express the needs of national bourgeois development as against imperialism and feudalism. Then there pressure of the masses exerted through the rank and file and progressive Congressmen. Finally, there is the attempt to create illusions among the masses, illusions about possibility of gradual and smooth advance, through the benevolence of the ruling party, without struggles, without mass movement. The Nagpur resolution was also due, to a considerable extent, to the agrarian reforms proposed by the Communist-led Government of Kerala. In these circumstances and in view of the certainty that the Rightwing-controlled State Minis-tries were bound to sabotage the reforms, it was all the more necessary for the Commu-nist Party, the Kisan Sabhas and other democratic forces, to launch a mass campaign and develop common activity so as to ensure proper in plementation of the declarations, mplementation in such a way as benefits the peasants and agricultural workers. This we failed to do.

Alliance of the working class with the peasantry forms the pivot and core of the national democratic front. And one of the most important means by which such alliance is forged is the initiative taken by the Party of the working class to organise the peasantry. The Amritsar Resolution of our Party stressed that "the failure to organise kisan sabhas and agricultural workers unions, in spite of the most favourable conditions, constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement." That failure, in the main, persists. In several places, the peasant masses, dissatisfied with the Congress, are falling prey to the propaganda carried on by parties and elements of extreme reaction.

Our tasks on the kisan front, which arise out of the present serious situation, are MARCH 5, 1961

—to abolish the remnants of feudalism, bring about a proper redistribution of land, democratise rural society, create a productive upsurge in agriculture and effect radical improvement in the living conditions of the mass of peasantry and agricultural labourers.

The most important task for fulfilment of these aims is the forging of unity of all sections of the peasantry, including agricultural labourers, in common campaigns and struggles for the carrying out of radical agrarian reforms and for securing immediate economic relief for the rural masses.

In these campaigns and struggles, the agricultural workers, sharecroppers and poor peasants will constitute the most firm and the most reliable force, but it is essential that the middle peasants should be decisively won over and the rich peasants should be drawn into common actions on as big a scale as possible on specific issues.

There are several issues on which broad-based mass campaigns can be built and all sections of the rural population mobilised in view of the growing food crisis, mounting taxation, the increasing grip of the moneylenders on the peasantry, the price-scissors which cheat the producers in two-fold ways, by exacting from them higher prices for manufactured goods and by denying them a just price for their own products, A ringing call and mass mobilisation for food, adequate credit, for fair prices, for a just distribution of resources for agricultural improvement, for developing rural industries, for various development works and employment, for irrigation schemes, for the lowering of taxes and rents, for fair wages, for a reasonable ceiling and its strict implementation and the distribution of surplus land, is bound to get response from all sections of the peasantry.

The strengthening of the democratic movement in the rural areas necessitates the organisation and moving into action of the most consistently militant force in the villages, that is, agricultural workers. The unity of the mass of peasantry for immediate economic relief and for radical agrarian reforms would lack firm foundation without the movement of agricultural workers for their specific demands (wages, hours of work, employment, fallow land, homesteads etc.) and their active and organised participation in all common peasant movements and popular struggles in the countryside.

One of the most serious obstacles in the way of building peasant unity today is the existence of political divisions among peasants who owe allegiance to different political parties. A very large section of the peasantry be-longing, not only to upper and middle strata, but also to the class of poor peasants and agri-cultural labourers is still under the influence of the Congress. The gulf that exists today between this section of the peasantry and that which follows the Communist Party cannot be bridged without our making very serious and conscious efforts to that end. The sion. Experience has shown that adequate response is not always secured by issuing appeals to peasants over the head of and against the political parties to which they owe allegiance. It would, therefore, be advisable and necessary to approach the peasantry following the Congress in such a way that they can be drawn into common actions and in certain cases, it would be advisable to appeal to local Congress Committees and other local organisations to which the peasants, who are not under our influence, are politically attached, for joint front actions for the redress of common grievances and the achieve ment of common mass demands of the rural population.

The existing political divisions among the peasantry can be overcome only if the Kisan Sabha itself is sought to be built as a united mass organisation of the entire peasantry regardless of the allegiance that different sections of the peasants owe to different political parties. Serious attention has to be paid to this task.

Broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the Government but also in order to ensure that many of the declared policies which are in the interest of the people are properly implemented; not only to secure new concessions but also to ensure that the concessions already won are used for the benefit of the people; not only to extend democracy but also to ensure that the limited rights which local elected bodies enjoy are fully utilised in the interest of the people and so on. Without this, without a sustained effort to make full use of all opportunities and all possibilities, it is impossible to rouse the people for struggle for basic reforms. And for such effort, it is necessary and desirable that all those who want to serve the masses should

ORGANISE MASS STRUGGLES

The ruling party and even some Rightwing PSP leaders frown upon mass struggles. The Government strives to crush them. It says that such struggles dissipate mass energy, divert people's attention from the task of national reconstruction, weaken the unity of the country. Our Party resolutely rejects these contentions. The fact is indisputable, as has been pointed out earlier, that while more and more burdens are being laid on the common people, the rich grow richer; that while wages have yet to rise above the 1939 level and minimum wage and adequate Dearness Allowance to compensate for the rise of prices is denied to workers, profits have mounted; that the mass of peasants have benefited little from the agrarian reforms and the condition of agricultural workers has actually deteriorated in recent years; that soaring prices are fleecing all sections of people; that corruption is rampant and the bursaucratic callousness to the needs of the people has grown. Nor can the Government deny that whatever concessions the people have been able to win, wherever they have been able to stop or slow down the offensive of the vested interests, it has been due primarily to the struggles waged by the toiling masses, the resistance put up by them, combined with bold advocacy of their cause by their representatives in the Legislatures. This is proved by the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Second Pay Commission, the taking of certain steps, though half-hearted, to reduce cloth prices after the Central Government employees' strike, the stoppage of advance collection of betterment levy after the great struggle in Punjab, the failure, after mass campaign, of the Pattom Ministry to sabotage completely the agrarian reforms enacted by the Communist-led Government and so on.

Moreover, we have to bear in mind that it is the worsening condition of the life of the people and consequent discontent that are major factors creating the very conditions in which Right reaction can thrive. Had not the Communist Party and the democratic organisations acted resolutely in defence of the people and organised their struggles and movements, wherever they could, parties of extreme reaction would have been far stronger today than they are

The proposals of the Third Plan show clearly that, while determined to go ahead towards industrialisation of the country, the Government does not propose to make any, basic changes in its policies. In this way, some economic development will undoubtedly take place. But the limitations inherent in the capitalist path of development, further accentuated by the attempt to build our economy without radical agrarian reforms, by concessions to foreign capitalists and without serious curb on monopolists cannot but make progress slow and halting, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to profound contradictions and sharp conflicts. With such policies the food situation will remain highly unsatisfactory; unemployment will grow; conditions of the masses will remain

* SEE OVERLEAF

RESOLUTION

wretched. In these conditions, the dangerous anti-democratic trends which have already manifested themselves will further

Our Party cannot, therefore, relent its opposition to these policies or weaken the struggle against these attacks on the people. We seek and shall strive to secure the support and cooperation of all democrats for these struggles, which are an essential and integral part of the mass movement to build the national democratic front. They have been important in the past in rousing the people, in defending their interests and in building their organisations. They will ac-quire even greater importance in the coming

Mass action in defence of the interests of the people and for progressive policies are themselves powerful factors helping to bring people together. They do not disrupt national unity as Congress leaders allege. On the contrary they facilitate the rementing of the contrary, they facilitate the cementing of unity on a genuine democratic and popular

We must broaden the basis of the struggles and win general democratic support for them so that they acquire greater sweep and momentum. Also, in view of the attitude dis-played by the Government during many re-cent struggles, when draconian measures were adopted, the masses, their organisations and the Party have to prepare themselves organi-sationally, politically and ideologically for stubborn resistance.

Our Party will, at the same time, mobilise the people for carrying out the tasks of na-tional reconstruction. We shall cooperate with all patriotic forces in order to ensure speedy fulfilment of the Plan targets. We shall make every endeavour to build popular unity so that the resources allocated for nation-building activities are utilised in a proper way and in the interest of the common people.

FIGHT DISRUPTIVE **TENDENCIES**

The Communist Party and the democratic forces cannot but note with grave concern the growth of disruptive and fissiparous ten-dencies in our country—tendencies of casteism, communalism, regionalism, provincia-lism and so on, tendencies which threaten one of the most precious heritages of our anti-imperialist movement, the unity of the anti-imperialist movement, the unity of the nation. Lacking any common ideal or common programme of action, sharply divided into cliques based on personalities in many States the ruling party is unable to maintain that unity. Many of its leaders are themselves fostering the growth of casteism, regionalism and provinced in the common co alism and provincialism as a weapon of factional struggle against their rivals. In such a situation, it becomes the task of our Party and the democratic movement to come forward as defenders of national unity. Striving to ensure balanced economic development of the country so that all regions may advance, fighting for greater power for the States, defending the just interest of minorities, we must at the same time, give Party and the democratic movement to come no quarter to disruptive tendencies, refuse to use them for narrow partisan ends and wage a resolute battle against them

ANTI-COMMUNISM-A BANKRUPT BANNER

Democratic unity requires, together with the conducting of struggles for immediate demands, together with fraternal approach towards the mass of Congressmen, members of other parties and masses who are under no party's influence, together with campaigns on policy issues, sustained ideological battle. The Government says that what it is building is Socialism but the reality is that there is not a grain of Socialism in it. Not marely that The Second Fire Year. in it. Not merely that The Second Five-Year Plan had declared the following four objec-

- "(a) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of heavy and basic industries;
- a large expansion of employment opportunities; and
- reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distri-bution of economic power."

e have already seen, a certain amount of industrial development has taken place and there has been some increase in national income. But the main benefits have gone to the rich, the level of living of the vast majority remains miserably low, unemployment figures continue to mount and inequalities in income and wealth have grown continuously. The pledges given by the Government have remained unfulfilled and will remain unfulfilled in less the masses units and strictle. The led unless the masses unite and struggle. The ruling party, with a view to prevent such unity and such struggle, raises the slogan of anti-Communism, for it is in the Communist Party that they see the most resolute defender of the people. Anti-Communism has always been the bankrupt banner of those who want to keep the masses away from struggle and divert mass attention from their own failures. In the ultimate analysis, it helps im-perialists and Right reaction.

While seeking to develop common actions with Congressmen who stand by the progressive declarations of the Congress, our Party will, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation among these Congressmen in order to point out to them how the men in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are totally inadequate in the present-day conditions of In-dia and the world. The process of intense heart-searching that has started among them is bound to gather momentum as the difficul-ties of foreign exchange, internal resources, price policy, administrative inefficiency, etc. become more and more evident. All efforts should be made to raise the level of consciousness and understanding of democratic ele-ments inside the Congress. In other words, united action on common issues against reactinited action on common issues against reac-tionaries inside and outside the Congress, combined with planned and systematic cam-paign of explanation by the Party among Congressmen with a view to bringing them nearer to the acceptance of the basic slogans of national rebirth—such should be the approach of building unity with the democrats inside the Congress and of fighting the antipeople policies of the Congress Government.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS LEFT PARTIES

Our Party has always advocated close co-Our Party has always advocated close cooperation and unity among the Left Parties.
Despite the policy of blind anti-Communism
followed by the leaders of the PSP and the
Socialist Party, it will be wrong to forget that
the following of these parties consists largely
of people who want a genuine democratic
change in the policies of the Congress Government. Many of the workers of these parties
are Left-minded people who broke with the
Congress. They wield considerable influence
in certain States. In view of all this, exposure
of ideology and policies of these parties should
be combined with united front approach towards them. wards them.

PATH OF NATIONAL ADVANCE

The general objectives to realise which the national democratic front has to strive have been narrated earlier. Their main contents are: strengthening national freedom; rapid building up of national industries; extension of the Public Sector and democratic tension of the Public Sector and democratic control over it; genuine agrarian reforms; extension of democracy in political, economic and social life. Formulating concrete slogans on each of these issues, our Party will develop countrywide mass campaigns for their realisation, seek cooperation of patriotic elements in every party. It will wage struggles in defence of the interest of the people in the context and as an integral part of such a campaign.

Such a campaign, if sufficiently sustained Such a campaign, it sufficiently sustained and broad-based, sufficiently militant and powerful can help the people win their immediate demands, bring about changes in the Government's policies, foil the attempts of Right reaction, expose and isolate it. It can alter the correlation of forces in our country in favour of democratic forces and lead to a citation when it becomes a practical possible. situation when it becomes a practical possibi-lity to raise the slogan of the establishment of a Government of the national democratic of a Government of the national democratic front—a Government representing the fighting alliance of all democratic forces in the country and pledged to carry out a genuine national-democratic programme. Such a Government, if formed, will be an organ of struggle against reactionary forces, a Government which will pursue a consistently peace-loving and anti-imperialist foreign policy, eliminate the hold of foreign capital on vital sectors of our economy, carry out agrarian reforms our economy, carry out agrarian reforms which really benefit the peasantry, severely curb monopoly capital, rapidly expand the State Sector so as to make it the decisive factor in patiently economy extend decrease. tor in national economy, extend democracy and bring about such changes in the State structure as enable the mass of people to influence and shape governmental policies. The formation of such a Government will enormously strengthen the position of the toiling people in all spheres and facilitate the transition to Socialism.

Advance along these lines would correspond to the best interest of our country and our people. Conditions for such advance are more favourable today than ever before. Our Party fervently appeals to all national, and patriotic forces to come together so that the vast possibilities that are opening up are fully utilised and our people speedily realise their cherished ideals.

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believe in socialism even to the extent of paying lip service to it and he cannot be charged with having even once used that word in his whole 90minute speech.

minute speech.

He, however, claimed: "We have set ourselves the onerous task of raising the standard of living of our people and of speedily building up a self-sustaining economy. We are

doing this with the willing consent of the people through democratic processes". And on that strength he told them that they would have "no res-pite from sweat and sacrifice". To these claims and de-

mands the people will give an appropriate and fitting reply. However, tongue-tied and platitudineus in their public reactions the majo-

down Communist and other Leftist members have truth-fully voiced the feelings of the people. Gopalan has called the budget a challenge to the people.
Only Asoka Mehta—in contrast to other members of his

rity (Congress) members party—has showered encomitative cohorts will of Parliament may be at the ums on Morarii and actually have it both ways—cat the moment, the people will regretted that Morarii did not cake and have it too, reap all make them speak up or go take enough courage in both down. Communist and other hands to launch a bigger same time to make capital out

regretted that Morarii did not take enough courage in both hands to launch a bigger attack on the people—and impose more taxes on them.

The big business representatives in Parliament like Somani and others have expressed unabashed glea. It is their victory, although they and

··········· BUDGET

of the resultant anger.

In any case a challenge has been flung at the people—in utter disregard of their hopes and aspirations, and of the ruling party's promises and proclamations.