

FINANCE MINISTRY PUSHES

● FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT 8 196

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NEW AGE has been fairly systematically forecasting that the big targets of the Third Plan were not safe because the reactionary elements were busy manipulating the resources position and policy in such a manner as to be able to hurl the decisive argument, at the right and opportune time, that there were no resources available to realise the ambitious targets publicised!

Enough news has appeared in the daily press of how the various Central ministries as well as the States have been demanding increased financial allocations to be able to fulfil the targets assigned, and discussions have been going on. The time has now come to square things up and finalise the Draft of the Third Plan.

India Press Agency, January 9, reports, "No finished draft of the Third Five Year Plan, as earlier expected, will be presented before the National Development Council when it

to ask why the Planning Commission is going back on its word now? How is it that the Planning Commission experts changed their estimates so easily? This is no scientific mastery of the resources position but statistical jugglery with the same.

These discussions cannot but assume the form of Centre versus the States. To direct the economic affairs of the nation this way leads straight to heightening political tensions and encouraging separatist tendencies. This is the

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Commission and this is the utmost limit to which the Finance Ministry will let them go. The Finance Ministry, however, does not commit itself to finding these extra Rs. 250 crores for certain. Morarji's Ministry sticks to the letter of the original estimates.

During the latest round of discussions when the issue of resources loomed large again and came up in a decisive form, Prof. Mahalanobis was generally absent and his man-on-the-spot Sri Pitamber Pant did not fight for their earlier standpoint that more resources are available. They

their specialist and adviser and if he stated that there are no resources, the position had to be accepted unless other experts challenged his stand.

Pitamber Pant was present in the meeting and he took no stand nor did he care to explain how it was that the

U.S. INTRIGUES TO WHITTLE

meets here this week-end, it is learnt. The Planning Commission is expected to merely place before the Council the various possible solutions of the problem posed before the Commission in the course of its recent studies. This has been necessitated because the estimates of the Third Plan Draft have been upset following the demands of the States and the Central Ministries for increase in their allotments. The Planning Commission was thus faced with the highly ticklish problem of the size of the Plan."

During the discussions of the Planning Commission with the representatives of the States the Planning Commission had earlier agreed after long and complicated discussions to raise the outlay of the State Plans by Rs. 312 crores from the figure anticipated in the Draft outline.

After the State representatives left and the Planning Commission experts discussed the matter further among themselves and with the Finance Ministry, they changed their position and began insisting that the States' Plans will have to be pruned by about Rs. 100 crores and the cut proportionately applied to all of them.

When the National Development Council meets and the Planning Commission comes face to face with the Chief Ministers and other State representatives the fire of hot words is the least that is assured.

They are going to argue that it was after long discussions that the Planning Commission itself agreed to Rs. 312 crores extra for the States Plans, as a matter of compromise. They are going

way to play with the unity of India.

The demand for increased allotments has come not only from the States. The Central Ministries have also been pressing for the inclusion of some of their favourite new schemes in the Plan. The cost of these new schemes will be anything over Rs. six hundred crores.

New Age has published exclusive stories earlier indicating how the other ministries had been inflating their financial demands, especially, S. K. Patil's Food and Agricultural Ministry, to leave less resources for the public sector industrialisation projects and thus serve the demands of their Western monopolist patrons.

The latest position of the Planning Commission is that nothing more than Rs. 250

The key question that has arisen as a result of these long-winded and confusing discussions is whether the Finance Ministry has the right of veto over the Planning Commission. Is it the job of the Finance Ministry to find the finances for the Plan or to dictate the shape and size of the Plan by keeping the whip hand over its resources policy and their availability?

Morarji's Whiphand

Let there be no mistake. This is just what has happened. During all these discussions, Morarji and his top Civil Servants sat quiet. They have bared their teeth and showed their real hand only now when it came to the stage of finally clinching the final size and

did not pick up the challenge of the Finance Minister and his experts. Their silence is a mystery that is being widely talked about.

A big role in smoothening the way for Sri Morarji to come out as the Plan Dictator was played by Prof. Anjaria who enjoys a dual position. He is the adviser to the Planning Commission but he is also the economic adviser of the Finance Minister. His primary loyalty is to the Finance Ministry, the bread is buttered that side.

When during this final round of discussions, Planning Minister Nanda plaintively pleaded that the Planning Commission must have its own view on the resources position and on its basis come to the final decision, he looked towards Prof.

Perspective Division was earlier clamouring that more resources were available and easily realisable.

The Finance Ministry argues that extra resources cannot be found without resort to large scale deficit financing. This is no new argument. Right-wing economists like Prof. B. R. Shenoy have been popularising this thesis ever since the draft of the Third Plan was published.

They were not being original either. All their arguments and most of their facts come from the papers submitted by the specialists of the World Bank and the herd of eminent Western economists that come swarming to advise the Planning Commission, lecture at the various Universities and do their hardest to influence the opinion of our

DOWN THIRD PLAN

crores can be raised and this too will have to be spread over to meet the demands of the States' Plans as also of the Central Ministries. The lion's share is to go to the States, to begin with Rs. 100 crores instead of the earlier 312 crores, leaving some elbow room for the horse-trading that will inevitably follow the National Development Council deliberations.

From where has this arbitrary figure of Rs. 250 crores being available for the Plan come? It has come from the experts of the Planning

the targets of the Plan, especially, in the Public Sector.

Some months back the press had reported that there were serious differences between the Perspective Division headed by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis and the Planning Commission and still more so with the Finance Ministry about the total amount of resources and their various sources available for the Third Plan. The case of the Perspective Division was that the Planning Commission experts were conservatives while Finance Ministry ones were ultras.

Anjaria with the remark, "I am not a technical man", for a helpful way out. Prof. Anjaria stood firm like a rock in his loyalty to Morarji Desai and disloyalty to the Planning Commission and it is he who dropped the brick with the statement that no more resources were available.

Sri T. N. Singh is another honest soul among the pack of the hounds of the private sector that constitute the Planning Commission. He pleaded that he had no estimates of his own. Prof. Anjaria was

Planners, economists and administrators.

The Finance Ministry has also patronised studies that try to prove that the cost of public sector industrial projects has gone up by Rs. 180 crores than envisaged in the original draft. This extra too has to be found.

Another ominous whisper that began from the Finance Ministry is now floating all over the Planning Commission. The evil tongues are

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BHAVNAGHAR CONGRESS

NOTES OF THE WEEK

THE Congress, as the ruling party, has come to such a pass that even its annual session fails to evoke the enthusiasm of the assembled delegates, and draws the popular audience less and less. The press reports that the plenary session at Bhavnagar had to be held inside the Subjects Committee Pandal and that too was not fully occupied.

This very phenomenon is reflected in the cynical comments of the traditional professional publicists of the Congress leadership. Typical is the editorial of the Hindustan Times, January 10, on the Bhavnagar session, "The question whether an elaborate and expensive annual session of the Congress serves any useful purpose is bound to be asked with greater insistence every year."

Pre-Election Session

This was the pre-election session and what really interested the hardened ones that make up the Congress hierarchy was the election to some of the leading organs of their own party, for example the election of one-third of the Working Committee and of the one remaining member of the Central Election Committee.

Despite Pandit Nehru's insistence that no candidate should be officially sponsored, despite the assurance of the High Command that there will be no official candidates, everybody knew that the real hard core of the High Command had a list of candidates in the field and that it left no stone unturned to see that they won. Thus the very purpose of having an elective element in the leadership, even as a trial measure was defeated.

Symptomatic was the defeat of veteran Muslim Nationalist Dr. Syed Mahmud who used to be in the Working Committee decades before anybody heard the name of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, favourite of the Rightists inside the High Command for his anti-Menon and anti-China antics.

Similarly for the Central Election Committee the "strongman" of Bengal Congress, the hated reactionary Atulya Ghosh "won" but he had to go through four ballots.

These bitter contests disclosed that the Rightist reactionaries inside the High Command are prepared to give so quarter and none except their loyal henchmen are welcome to them as new entrants inside the Congress leadership.

The General Secretary's report highlighted what it admitted had become "a cause of serious concern" to the Congress itself, as an organisation. It recognised that the Congress stood torn amidst "rigid groups" which "centre round personalities", and whose aim is "power to be obtained by group pressures". It was no more a case of "damnation by others, the

disease had spread so far that the leadership stood self-condemned, through the report of its loyal Secretariat.

This admission, however, was only formal. Nothing was done during the Bhavnagar session to create the confidence among loyal Congressmen that henceforward the state of affairs inside the Congress will be better.

The party itself rent with internal dissensions, displayed the amazing boldness of passing a resolution on national integration. The Congress leaders of today lack the humility and seriousness to pose and answer the obvious question, how is it that their own party, which grew in influence and strength by combating and overcoming fissiparous and disruptive tendencies in the struggle against imperialism, is now faced, after 13 years of independence, and under their own regime, with a state of affairs under which, in the words of their resolution, "the old evils of communalism, casteism, provincialism and linguism have appeared again."

The only honest answer writ large in our post-independence political experience is that the Congress leaders after becoming the rulers of the land themselves began the evil game of compromising with the traditional spokesmen and leaders of communalism, casteism, etc. They pursued policies which instead of completing the tasks of our national democratic revolution only compromised it by making concessions to the vested interests and very supporters of casteism, communalism etc., and other reactionary elements that agreed to support and switch over to the Congress ministerial band-wagon. This evil game, despite ups and downs was played over and over again and the chicken have now come home to roost!

The present situation has been causing the deepest worry to all thinking persons whose memory remains green and whose faith in the nation's future undimmed, and this irrespective of all party differences. The ruling party may not accept its own responsibility for producing the present situation when national unity is under attack but the very fact that it has come out in defence of it is a healthy sign. Again healthier still is the sign that a large number of delegates spoke up on the subject, critically and sharply, and some were bold and honest enough to place the responsibility on their own leadership.

Ominous For Democracy

Really dangerous, however, is the statement in the Bhavnagar resolution that "democracy, with its widespread system of election, ... has also resulted in some ways in encouraging certain disintegrating forces." This line of thought may ultimately lead to ending democracy to be able to fight "the old evils" of communalism, casteism, etc! Living experience, however,

shows that it is the policy of compromise with the leaders of communalism, casteism and other forms of reaction that has encouraged their spokesmen to demand more and more, resort to demagoguery, and misuse the democratic institution to exert further pressure on the Congress leadership.

Democratic institutions can and must be used to unmask the leaders of communalism and casteism before their own mass following and defeat them politically at the polls as well. Democratic Congressmen can help to bring the good day nearer by holding back their leaders from compromising with the "old evils".

The resolution on the Panchayat Raj was widely welcomed. Its positive features were uncritically played up while the negative ones were not mentioned at all. Experience everywhere shows that wherever the feudals and the rural vested interests yet remain influential and powerful they render village democracy through the Panchayat Raj nugatory and dominate the Panchayats in their narrow and selfish interests. Wherever the rural toilers are able to unite and fight back the vested interest they are able to use the Panchayats to strengthen village democracy and usher in new hope. The remaining states have been rightly called upon to speed by Panchayat Raj legislation.

The Congress President made an ominous suggestion on the gradual replacement of the present system of universal adult franchise for assemblies and Parliament by indirect elections. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy is neither knowledgeable nor boldness all his own. The reactionary proposal is obviously not the product of his own head.

Together with the Rashtrapati's demand for more powers, against the Cabinet and Parliament and for the Rashtrapati, the Congress President's plea for indirect instead of direct elections to the legislatures only indicates that the anti-democratic clouds on the Indian horizon are getting thicker and closer.

The Congress President solemnly suggested that our electoral system, the very foundation of Parliamentary democracy be changed in a reactionary direction and yet he was not frontally countered. This unfortunately shows how dull the democratic conscience of his Congress colleagues has become.

The resolution on the Third Five-Year Plan was hardly discussed. The usual claptrap was of course repeated. Not one Congressman asked what happened to the Nagpur resolution on land ceilings. The Plan was not raised. The problems of resources, of just and effective policies and method of raising them were not discussed. Nor was the whole complex but urgent issue of foreign aid in view of the two different types of aid, from capitalist and socialist countries. Nor even how far almost uninterrupted participation of foreign private capital is consistent with the basic aims of the Plan and the in-

dependence of the country itself.

The resolution on the international situation is reported to have been drafted by the Prime Minister himself and he spoke at length on the same, but the spirit of the resolution was soiled with Chinese painted-all-black, which everybody conceded was for the purpose of the general elections, to beat the Communists with.

To fight our internal battles by vitiating our relations with our nearest and biggest neighbour is no sign of wisdom. How far the anti-Chinese diversion can cloud the minds of Pandit Nehru's own partymen is evident from the special correspondents' statements who noted that the Pandit Nehru's moving references to the tragic and dangerous developments in Laos and Congo failed to stir Congressmen emotionally.

The arch opponents of Pandit Nehru's independent foreign policy of peace and anti-colonialism Sri Morarji Desai and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh became the movers and seconders of his draft of the international resolution. The anti-Chinese string was happily grasped by these opponents of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy as having gained one wicket and in good company too!

JAN SANGH CONCLAVE

THE Bharatiya Jan Sangh held its annual session in Lucknow where they have their own Mayor and could get all the facilities they wanted to make a big mass impression. The Presidential address confirmed that the Sangh now pretends to accept non-alignment as its foreign policy but wants to give it "positive content", and this it did by pressing that India should take no active interest in and side on world issues that do not directly concern India. For example, the anti-colonial struggles in Arab or African or Latin American countries would be "no concern of ours and only poking our nose into others' affairs. Thus the Jan Sangh would make India keep off all solidarity with anti-colonial struggles and earn bukshaesh from its imperialist patrons.

It seizes on the ruling Party's characterisation of the Chinese as being the 'aggressors' and presses hard towards, the logical conclusion, "the inevitability of military action" and that "further talks with the Chinese were futile". The Jan Sangh has also made Berubari one of its main election planks and appealed to the Rashtrapati not to give his assent to the Parliamentary Bill. When the Sangh hopefully looks up to the Rashtrapati for support it tells his own tale. Of the new reactionary political alignment so eagerly being sought for by the Sangh.

The Sangh leadership is angry with the Planning Commission for failure to provide "for growing defence needs" and publishing instead a "big" Third Plan. The Sangh President, like the World Bank and Ford specialists wants greater

The coming general elections were the major pre-occupation of the Bhavnagar session, the 22-point resolution, constituting the outline for the election manifesto, therefore, of major importance. They were so worded as to mean all things to all men, no scaring the vested interests, no unleashing the initiative of the working people, keep them all looking towards Congress benefactors with hope. The Chinese were placed as the main election target while there was no mention at all of the ceiling on land holdings! The State trading and cooperative farming were mentioned as a matter of course but in quiet words.

The Swatantraites within and without were sought to be appeased by stressing along with cooperative farming, "on a voluntary basis" and to be "organised wherever possible".

It was not a battle of principles but of wits that was fought at Bhavnagar, the Ginger group and the young blood in the Congress feel themselves out-witted. If the bitter and nauseating experience of Bhavnagar leads them and their like to do some hard and serious thinking it will do the Congress and the country some real good.

emphasis on agricultural production. Their resolution on the "private sector can play a greater part" and that the public sector should "mainly plan for its own consolidation rather than expansion during next five years". Again the most faithful echo of the World Bank demands.

The Jan Sangh had also a resolution on the danger of political disintegration of the country, from the revival of Muslim communalism, from the Akali agitation, from the influence of Christian missionaries exerted for tribal separatism etc., that is from everywhere else except themselves! The Jan Sangh stand was summed up by Sri Rama Rao in his presidential address that if at any future time China became the leader of Asia "it will be because the Congress Party prepared the grave of democracy in India. ... They are even helping the Communist Party in negative way. Therein lies a serious danger."

The anti-Communism, international and national, of the Jan Sangh is only an ideological mask to attack India's independent foreign policy, progressive features of the Plan and the democratic and secular forces as a whole. They have become bold enough to seriously think about contesting 200 Parliamentary and 1,000 Assembly seats throughout the country and have declared their eagerness for "making adjustments with non-Congress, and anti-Communist parties."

—P. C. JOSHI

JANUARY 10

JANUARY 15, 1961

GOVT.'S BIAS FOR FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT EVOKES PROTESTS

THE Government of India's penchant for private capital being well-known it really sounds uncharitable when private entrepreneurs, so well treated by it, subject it to criticism. And yet at times some of their strictures deserve plaudits, since they relate to the Government's greater fondness for foreign private capitalists than for the local ones.

Piqued by this discrimination some among them divulged certain statistics last week which reveal ever increasing intrusion by foreign private investments into India's economy—sometimes all by themselves and often through partnerships with indigenous interests.

Of the collaboration schemes, they said, that as many as 279 such schemes were approved by the Government in the first nine months of 1960. The number of such approvals for new projects during three years ended 1959 was 36, and for existing schemes 33, totalling 69.

Again, of the 1960 schemes as many as 97 were from the UK, 43 from the USA, 53 from West Germany, 31 from Japan, 7 from Switzerland and six from Italy. Other countries' collaboration schemes numbered 42.

The Statesman (January 5) report, which carried this information, also stated that Indian commercial circles considered the present mode of taxation as "more favourable to foreign subsidiaries with major foreign holdings than collaboration projects with major Indian holdings".

According to another report in the Times of India (January 6), some of these circles also now feel that majority participation by foreign collaborators "is not in the long-term interests of the country".

The FICCI and other representative bodies of trade and industry have been ardent advocates of foreign private investments, since these, in their view, do not require to be repaid like Governmental credits. But now some of the Indian entrepreneurs argue that majority participation by foreigners would result "in repatriation of more profits over a long period... and that would add in the long run to the country's foreign exchange bill" (ibid).

This, no doubt, is a welcome realisation on their part of the evils of foreign private capital, but it is still confined to evils which directly impinge on their own interests. They are certainly not opposed to minority participation by foreign interests, although they know full well that repatriation of profits will even then be considerable.

Our entrepreneurs being an integral limb of our economic setup, we accord them sufficient scope to make their contribution to national development, but the extent to which they can fulfil their due role is dependent upon their capacity to rise above their narrow sectional interests and to view things from the national standpoint. The flicker of

understanding which some of them have now shown in respect of the dangers of indiscriminate private investments from abroad gives hope that not all of them will long continue to be so much blinded by immediate selfish gains as to lose sight of their own and the nation's long-term interests.

It also reveals the extent to which a Government pledged to building a socialist pattern, has gone in giving concessions to foreign private interests, so much so that now even the indigenous private interests have begun to criticise it on this score.

Surely, if these interests can learn through their experience, it should not be too much of a task for the Government to realise that the nation's interests are not always best served by relying on Morarji's tricky intuitions or on the World Bank's counsels.

IDA & EXIMP BANK LOANS

THE World Bank and its subsidiary, the International Development Association (IDA), are very much in the news these days. They are reported to have offered 150 million dollars in loans to India for the first year of the next Plan.

The World Bank's bias for the private sector is well-known, and in the allocation of the new loans, too, it is bound to be reflected. As regards the IDA, India's BK Nehru—otherwise an ardent supporter of foreign capital and Western assistance—had already said in the course of a recent UN debate that it reflects "the ideology, philosophy and even the theology of the group in control" (i.e. the US and its allies).

Organisations of this type, he had said "could not serve the needs of the underdeveloped countries, which did not subscribe to these philosophies... They could not and would not (for example) provide for the establishment of a steel plant in the public sector".

IDA's loans for the Third Plan are, however, still to be finalised, but another organisation—the Export-Import Bank of the United States—has already contracted to give a loan of 50 million dollars for the purchase of capital equipment during the next Plan period.

Sapping Industrialisation At The Root

Apart from being repayable in dollars, and bearing a rate of interests of 5.75 per cent per annum, this loan will be spendable only in the US. It is about this type of loans that the Times of India's Washington correspondent, H. R. Vohra, wrote recently that "it is sapping Indian industrialisation at the root".

Vohra's despatch in the Times of India January 9 also contains the following: "Some of the industrial items that India needs are so expensive that, if bought here (i.e. in

the USA), it is doubtful if her nascent industries will be able to compete in the wide world. How then can India acquire independence of aid in the foreseeable future?"

Vohra has really hit the nail on the head in putting this query, but knowing the US ruling circles, as he does, he should have also been able to provide the answer: that to Washington "aid" is not a means to put the recipient country on its legs, but a lever to so twist the development ab initio that it may never be independent of foreign aid.

But the days when the US rulers could have it all their own way are gone. Now even Americanophiles like Vohra are beginning to see things somewhat as they really are. There is, besides, the Socialist world, ready to give unstinted fraternal assistance to our country to help it along its independent economic development.

JUTE is a vital foreign exchange earner for our country, and as such the affairs of the industry, appertaining to it, deserve to be seriously handled by the Government. And yet, the only attention it periodically gives to it is to acquiesce in the sealing of looms, or the cuts in working hours, which the mill-owners periodically decide upon.

The latest of these cuts has reduced the working hours in the mills from 45 to 42½ per week, while the percentage of the looms sealed remains 12.

The latest cut in working hours has been explained by the Jute Commissioner as being due to what he calls "an abnormal situation", created presumably by the lateness of the crop.

Comrade Indrajit Gupta, leader of the jute workers, and a member of the Wage Board, has, however, ascribed it to a desire "to intensify the atmosphere of crisis and to influence the final round of deliberations of the Wage Board to decide the question of interim relief for the workers".

The alleged "crisis" in the industry is said to be due to the alleged shortage of raw jute, but in creating this psychology of shortage also certain human agencies are believed to have had some hand.

These agencies are none other than the speculators, who fleece the jute grower at one end, and the industry at the other. And yet, the Government stays put, presumably to respect the "normal trade channels".

Jute is the golden fibre for us, which brings us dollars, but its position abroad is now increasingly threatened by substitutes and other rivals. Hence the need to put an end to speculation, which even journals like the Statesman have found it expedient to condemn. The Statesman (December 31) has gone even farther and said that "if the authorities cannot create more wholesome conditions by the powers that they now have, the obstacle may need

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

subject to audit, amounted to Rs. 8,05,195 in 1960 including Rs. 86,775 brought forward from last year. This is Rs. 2,61,445 higher than the net profit in the year 1959.

MORE COLLABORATION

THE Government's approval of collaboration agreements continues unabated. Last week it was in fertilizers that a number of schemes were reported to have been either finally approved, or were on the verge of approval. This week we hear of at least three schemes having been sanctioned for the manufacture of synthetic rubber, carbon black and polythelene from natural gas, to be available from the Upper-Assam oilfields. The first two of these are being set up by Messrs. Duncan Philips and Goenkas.

In this connection it is pertinent to recall that the Ministry of Steel Mines and Fuel was opposed to handing over these schemes to the private sector, but the Ministry of Commerce and Industry wanted them to be undertaken by the latter. Now, obviously, the latter's view has prevailed with the result that both the synthetic rubber projects (the other is being put up by Tulsidas Kilachand in collaboration with Firestone at Barilly) in the country will be in the private sector.

In aluminium, as our readers know, not a single scheme has so far been sanctioned in the public sector, while in the private sector there has literally been a proliferation of aluminium ventures. One of these—the Venkataswamy Naidu—Montecatini tie-up—has now devised what it calls a "unique system" to raise foreign exchange through issue of debentures worth Rs. 4.2 crores in Italy.

In other words, the Indian venture will now at least partly be on sale in the Italian bourse, with the result that instead of one Italian collaborator in it, there will now be quite a few. A fine example of diversification perhaps, but one which needs to be further probed by the Government before it gives it sanction.

PUBLIC SECTOR PERFORMANCE

THE State-owned Hindustan Machine Tools Factory at Bangalore produced 948 machines in 1960 as against the 1959 output of 616. For the past four months the rate of production has been 1200 machines per annum which is 300 per cent over the Plan target.

PRIVATE SECTOR PROFITS

THE net profit of the Devakaran Nanjee Banking Co. Ltd., recorded an increase of Rs. 10.49 lakhs to Rs. 23.54 lakhs, subject to audit, in 1960.

The net profit of the National Bank of Lahore Ltd.,

subject to audit, amounted to Rs. 8,05,195 in 1960 including Rs. 86,775 brought forward from last year. This is Rs. 2,61,445 higher than the net profit in the year 1959.


The Bank of Maharashtra has announced a dividend of 11 per cent for the year 1960 compared with 9 per cent for the previous year.

A recent count (by the Department of Company Law Administration) has revealed that there are a number of uneducated purdah women as directors of companies in India. These women directors are generally near relatives of the managing directors and directors of their respective companies. (The Tribune, January 3)

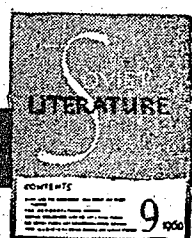
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Adcrafts
PAGE THREE

GOOD NEWS FROM PUNJAB

Editorial

AFTER MONTHS OF strike and tension, there is good news from the Punjab. Sant Fateh Singh's fast is off and that is welcome news. Master Tara Singh is out of jail and so are the other Akalis. This is also welcome news. The country needs peace. The people crave for amity. The Punjabis alone do not have their own Suba. They must have it. This is the next forward step.

It needs earthy wisdom, large heartedness, capacity to read the signs of the times and above all the strength to budge from one's poised position before the Punjabis can achieve their own Suba.

The Akalis should have seen by now that the communal approach and a pure Sikh movement leads to frustration and intensifies bitterness and not to the achievement of the Punjabi Suba. The ruling Party too should have learnt by now that the policy of the big stick succeeds no more, that the Punjabis cannot be denied their Suba when the rest of our countrymen live under their own linguistic States.

The press reports forecast talks between the Akali leadership and the Government. Such bilateral talks can produce no useful results. The Punjabi Suba is not the demand of the Akalis alone nor must the final decision rest with the Government alone. All the parties that matter in the life of Punjab must be drawn into the discussions if they are to be fruitful.

Our Party will know no rest till a just and scientific solution is found by the joint efforts of all Punjabis, whether Sikhs or Hindus who love their language, homeland and people as their own and begin to live like brothers under a real Punjabi Suba, firmly united as one family of equals under the Indian Union.

SINO-BURMESE ACCORD

THE exchange of instruments of ratification of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty in Rangoon became a veritable festival of Sino-Burmese friendship and fraternity. It is the harbinger of glad tidings of the further reinforcement of Asian solidarity.

Chou En-lai led to Rangoon for the ceremony a 400-strong delegation, the largest ever to journey from China. The date of the ceremony coincided with Burma's National Day, giving it to further joyful significance.

These gestures, as the Chinese Premier explained, reciprocated those of Burma's U Nu who had led a 300-strong delegation to Peking in October last to sign the Boundary Treaty on October 1, China's Liberation Day.

Nor were these gestures alone. They were the manifestations of the spirit of true fraternity that binds the peoples and leaders of the two countries. It was this spirit that made the Boundary Treaty a reality, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

The two Prime Ministers recalled that the negotiations had commenced as long as 1954, and it had taken six years of friendly negotiations to arrive at the present happy position. The boundary disputes bequeathed as an evil heritage by imperialism have been transformed into the boundary of perpetual peace and friendship.

U Nu correctly declared that "it has not been smooth sailing all the way. There have been difficulties and differences between us." But these difficulties and differences, he added, had not daunted the negotiators on either side. Both had consistently adhered to the Panch Sheel, both had been determined to uphold the Bandung banner. And the result was an agreement beneficial to both Burma and China and one which "helped to serve the general international interests."

The Rightwing politicians and pen-pushers in our country have naturally joined with the imperialists in bemoaning the agreement. Some of them call it a "surrender" by U Nu to Chou's blandishments. Others term it a "concession" by China to Burma to facilitate the "isolation" of India.

They are naturally furious at what the agreement really represents—a triumph for the principles of peaceful co-existence and of the settlement of all disputes by negotiations. They are naturally dismayed by what the agreement really signifies—a milestone in Asia's march to full freedom, to total liquidation of the colonial heritage.

The democratic movement in our country will hail this agreement and will congratulate the peoples and leaders of our two neighbouring States. It is confident that our present unfortunate boundary dispute with China will also be settled in the same spirit and in the same way.

(January 11)

PRESIDENT'S POWERS AND N.C. CHATTERJI'S VIEWS

The Supreme Court Bar has solidly backed the opinion of India's Attorney-General, M. C. Setalvad as the most authoritative pronouncement on the controversy recklessly raised by the President himself in his inaugural speech before the Law Institute.

THE Head of the Indian Bar gave what is claimed in Supreme Court circles as the clearest and soundest expression of Indian juridical opinion in his Hamlyn lectures on "Common Law in India".

"The designation of the head as president and his being elected creates an impression that the President of India would have the powers of the chief executive in the American Constitution. But the resemblance ends with the name given to the Chief Executive and the manner of his selection.

"However, you must not forget that the Constitution requires the President to act

with the 'aid and advice' of his Council of Ministers. This may be said to be one of the good provisions of the Constitution. The phraseology has been borrowed from the Government of India Act 1935 and its true meaning is to be found in British Constitutional practice and functions.

"He is competent to act in the discharge of all the functions vested in him by the aid and advice of his ministers."

"...The executive power really vested in the ministers or the Cabinet as in England."

Sri N. C. Chatterji is the solitary exception among the Supreme Court advocates with a different opinion. His mis-conceived approach was widely disapproved among his colleagues who, however, took it in good humour with the comment that he has the knack of getting on the wrong side where legal, Constitutional and political issues merge into each other. It is also well-known that M. E. Masani held intimate discussions with N. C. Chatterji before the latter spoke up.

The Supreme Court lawyers regret that an eminent and senior advocate like him spoke not like a Constitutional expert but a Swatantra Party politician on the controversy. We have received a communication on the subject from two members of the Supreme Court Bar which we publish below:

A COMMUNICATION FROM READERS

A RECENT press conference of the Prime Minister of India reveals a conversation between himself and the President of India. It was to this effect: when the Prime Minister discussed with the President of India certain observations made by the President regarding the President's powers at the Foundation Stone laying ceremony of the Indian Law Institute the latter told him that he had made those observations only casually.

Since he said so, it must be so.

However, from the facts that the relevant observations were made not in an extempore speech or during the course of a discussion but formed part of a prepared and printed speech a different impression is likely to be created; particularly it is so since the speech was delivered in the presence of the Prime Minister of India, the Judges of Supreme Court and the Attorney-General of India.

More Than Academic

Since the problem he posed relates to the extent of powers of the President vis-a-vis the Cabinet under the Indian Constitution those who were present at the function as well as others might read, though wrongly, more than academic interest in the problem posed.

Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Swatantra Party leader speaking under the auspices of the Diwan Chand Information Centre is reported to have observed that Mr. B. N. Rao, one of the makers of the Indian Constitution said:

"Acting on Ministerial advice does not necessarily mean immediate acceptance of the Ministry's first thought".

Mr. N. C. Chatterji would not

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rest content with that; he wanted to improve it by saying, "I would add that it does not also mean acceptance in every case and under all conditions."

Nobody can have any quarrel with the remarks of Mr. B. N. Rao quoted above. That quotation contains a well-accepted Constitutional principle, in a Parliamentary democracy with a responsible Cabinet the head of the State exercises a function of caution against possible hasty actions and measures on the part of the Cabinet.

But this does not and cannot mean that the Head of the State can prevent or veto the actions of the Ministry who are responsible only to Parliament and to no other. It is true that there is the fiction that the Ministers are appointed by the Head of the State. But really it is not so. Neither can he remove them. The convention that the Head of the State is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry is so well established that no serious student of Constitutional law or Political Science will be assailed by any such academic doubts.

Mr. N. C. Chatterji's suggestion that the President is not bound to accept the Ministers' advice in every case and reflect the correct Constitutional position. His inference is drawn from the fact that the Irish Constitution contains a specific provision that no power or function conferred on the President shall be exercisable or performable by him save on the advice of the Government and that there is a conspicuous absence of a like provision in ours.

One wonders whether this method of interpretation of the Indian Constitution in terms of the absence or presence of certain provisions in another Constitution is correct when the Indian Constitution does not derive its origin from or when it is

not a successor to the Irish Constitution.

President Bound

We have no hesitation in stating that the President is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry. The only power he possesses is to give caution and advice against possible hasty exercise of power. We would invite the attention of the readers to the situation where a strong President starts to veto the decision of the Cabinet and as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces begins to discard the Ministerial advice. There will be immediate deadlock in the day-to-day administration of the State and Parliament. This can have only one result and that is a breakdown of the Parliamentary machinery and dictatorship of the Head of the State who is answerable neither to Parliament nor to the people.

The sovereign people of India in their political wisdom can never have intended to have vested such a power in the Head of the State which will be a negation of all democratic ideas and institutions, for which we fought and which we won.

Considering the fact that all around us democracy has been trampled upon and authoritarian regimes set up one should discourage and resist all attempts and speculations which are harmful to the very foundation of our young and nascent democracy.

The tragedy of the Weimar Constitution is too recent and too fresh in our memory to be forgotten or to be repeated.

T. S. Venkataraman
V. A. Seyid Muhammad
Advocates, Supreme Court,
New Delhi.

REPORT ON PIMPRI—A MENDACIOUS DOCUMENT

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

The State Penicillin factory at Pimpri, Hindustan Antibiotics (Private) Ltd., is of vital importance to our people; their lives and that of their near and dear ones are affected by the quality of penicillin that it produces. It is the only source of this life-saving drug in India.

And yet this plant, employing very complex technology, is managed by a non-scientist law graduate, Sri S. T. Raja, utterly ignorant of this technology or, for the matter of that, of any other technology and who, judging by his press interviews and reports seems to be mainly interested in making large sales and huge profits.

IT has been felt for some time that under his management all was not well with the functioning of the factory. Progressively more and more doctors have begun to doubt the quality of the penicillin produced at the factory and some have even stopped using it altogether and begun to prescribe other antibiotics like tetracyclines, which are terribly expensive and beyond the reach of most of our people.

Death Of An M. P.

Last year there was a storm in Parliament on the death of a member of the Lok Sabha, Sri Vishambhar Dayal Tripathi, after an injection of Pimpri penicillin. It was asserted in the Rajya Sabha that the trouble had arisen because Sri Raja had removed the Quality Control Department of the factory, which certifies the goodness of the product, from under the charge of the seniormost scientist of the factory and brought it under his direct personal control although he is no scientist of any type.

Photostat copies of the registers of the Quality Control Department were produced in the Parliament to show that the provisions of the Drug Act were being contravened in order to rapidly pass batches of penicillin and streptomycin regardless of their quality, utterly unmindful of the injurious effect they may have on the health of the users.

Violation Of Rules Admitted Yet . . .

To allay these fears Sri Manubhai Shah, Minister for Industry, told the Rajya Sabha, on December 22, 1959, that "the Board of Directors (of Hindustan Antibiotics) have just appointed a Sub-Committee of the Board—to go into the whole procedure."

It is the Report of this Sub-Committee, which was placed on the tables of the two Houses of Parliament on March 9, 1960, that we propose to deal with in this article. It is a tissue of mis-statements and distortions utterly contrary to facts, concocted obviously to safeguard Sri Raja against the consequences of his actions.

However, in spite of the gross mis-statements in the Report, as we shall see below, Sri Manubhai Shah had to

tested in a manner which violated the Drug Rules? (3) Were Drug Rules contravened in other ways also? (4) Why was not this matter referred to the Expert Committee of Scientists of the Factory?

We shall now take up each of these issues separately.

Ministers Dole Out Falsehoods

The first question raised was whether the Managing Director, Sri Raja, a layman, removed the Quality Control Department from under the control of the senior scientist of the Factory and brought it under his own direct, personal control, and he assumed personal responsibility for it.

To this question Sri Karmarkar, Minister for Health, would not give a straight answer in spite of vigorous prodding by Diwan Chaman Lal and even the Chairman. Instead he kept beating about the bush. Then Sri Manubhai Shah, Minister for Industry, came to his rescue and said:

Notwithstanding this admission, Sri Raja, who as Managing Director is personally responsible under the law for any contraventions of the Drug Act which constitute a cognizable offence punishable with fine or imprisonment or both, is being let off and several junior officers are being victimised and are even being deprived of earning their livelihood.

Stranger still, Sri Raja's name, we understand, is being included in the Honours List for the Republic Day. We hope it is not true. Surely it could not be an award for his disservice to the plant at Pimpri; it could not even be for his discreditable service in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture where he was demoted in 1957 from the post of a joint secretary to that of a deputy secretary, we understand, in connection with the 'Fertiliser Scandal' of that Ministry. If the story of the award is correct, we are truly living in strange times!

Scientists' Committee Not Allowed To Investigate

In the above three short sentences Sri Manubhai Shah has managed to squeeze in three patent falsehoods. The Quality Control Department was never under the charge of the production man (Production Superintendent). The Quality Control Department (previously termed Analytical Section) was organised in October 1955 under Dr. K. Ganapathi, Superintendent of Research, the seniormost scientist of the Factory and a very distinguished antibiotic scientist of the country from whose data the Pimpri plant was built.

The Research Department was entirely independent of the Production Department and Production Superintendent (Mr. R. S. Kachwaha) Dr. Kulkarni, a junior officer, named by Sri Manubhai Shah had nothing to do with the

Department until he was brought in October 1957 to do bacteriological work (sterility) under the supervision of Dr. (Miss) R. J. Iranl. A positive change was made in April 1958. The Technical Sub-Committee of the Board of Directors, under the chairmanship of Sri Raja, recommended that "the Managing Director should have direct and personal responsibility for the overall working of the Quality Control Section" and Sri Raja removed the Section from under the control of the Superintendent of Research and brought it under his personal control.

The answers given by the Minister are obviously utterly contrary to facts. Whether Sri Manubhai Shah made them up on the basis of the wrong information provided to him by the Managing Director or whether they were his own creation, we are not in a position to say. Nonetheless it is very serious that such misleading statements should have been made in Parliament. When a clear question was put whether the penicillin

same contaminant, which was the case in this instance. Anyhow the Indian Drug Act under Rule 119(2) does not allow more than three tests without the batch having been re-sterilized in its entirety again, which was not done in this case.

Luckily the batch F-1573D was ultimately found to be sterile on subsequent tests but with fewer units of penicillin and more procaine than advertised on the label, which is an offence as we shall show below. The fact still remains that if attempts are made to pass batches without strict tests, good batches may pass so also bad ones.

As we have shown above the Drug Rule 119(2) had been contravened, and we shall show below that still more Rules suffered the same fate. But before we do so we want to stress the importance of the Drug Rules.

A doctor or a patient is not in a position to test the goodness of the medicine he buys. So to protect him the governments of all countries, including our own, have enacted very strict laws to ensure that every medicine put on the market is of good quality, and has been submitted to rigid tests to see that it conforms to the requirements of the pharmacopoeia of the country and that every statement on the label made by the manufacturer is correct.

Any contravention of these laws is a cognisable offence punishable with fine or imprisonment or both.

STORY BEHIND SORDID

PLAY WITH HUMAN LIVES

There has been no alteration as far as the control machinery is concerned. The only change effected was that previously the production man also was in charge of the Quality Control. The change now made was to make Quality Control Department independent, but remains under the overall control of the Managing Director as before. The same person continues to be in charge of Quality Control—and the information I have got is that Dr. Kulkarni still continues to be the head of the Quality Control Department."

But by the time the Minister spoke the second time the Drug Controller had issued a statement that four tests had actually been done, and he sought shelter under the plea that four tests were allowed under the United States pharmacopoeia.

So it is clear that the Health Minister gave a wrong answer to very clear questions on the basis of incorrect information supplied to him by the Managing Director.

And the attempt of the Minister of Industry to seek shelter under the provisions of the United States pharmacopoeia on December 22, 1959, did not help him either, because even the United States pharmacopoeia does not allow further tests if any two tests disclosed the presence of the

Batch F-1573-D, a vial of which was administered to the late Sri Tripathi, was put up for sterility test four times, Sri Karmarkar, the Health Minister, stated on December 2, 1959:—

"I made pointed enquiries from the Managing Director and he told me that it is absolutely untrue."

And then again on December 22, 1959, he said:—

"When it came to my ears that this was a serious question and asked the Director myself, he said 'no'."

Again the law very rightly demands under Rule 118(3) of the Drug Act that accurate record should be kept of observations of the inoculated tubes incubated for five days, so that the correctness of the test could be checked at any time by the Drug Controller. But the photostatic copies of the registers of the factory showed that a large number of batches had been passed as sterile without any record of observations having been entered.

In fact some pages of the registers were utterly blank except for the Numbers of the batches and the entries passing the batches.

More serious still, these photostatic copies showed that for testing batches of streptomycin the addition of L-Cystin to the culture medium had been omitted. This is an important requirement of all

Thus to ensure that the drug put up for sale for injection is sterile, Rule 116(b) of the Drug Rules demands that large enough vials of the product, taken at random, must be put up for sterility test and certainly not less than 10 vials in the case of batches containing more than 1,000 vials.

Yet the photostatic copies of registers of the plant showed that in the case of a large number of batches, only two vials had been put up for sterility test although each batch contained more than 10,000 vials.

And the attempt of the Minister of Industry to seek shelter under the provisions of the United States pharmacopoeia on December 22, 1959, did not help him either, because even the United States pharmacopoeia does not allow further tests if any two tests disclosed the presence of the

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JUDICIAL ENQUIRY CALLED FOR

A GREAT NOVEL OF BENGAL'S REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION

SABITRI RAY'S 'PAKA DHANER GAN' (Song of the Ripe Harvest) (Published by Mitratalaya, 12, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta-12.) Vol. I—Rs. 3-8; Vol. II—Rs. 4; Vol. III—Rs. 5.

Sabitri Ray's trilogy "The Song of the Ripe Harvest" (Paka Dhaner Gan), a novel of the people—people rising to a new consciousness of their strength and moving forward to break their age-old fetters of tyranny and exploitation recreates the spirit of Bengal in the stormy thirties. It traces the growth of a militant movement against the background of stirring national and international events of the forties.

THE Song of the Ripe Harvest is much more than a political novel, although its core is supplied by the revolt in the forties of a most oppressed section of the peasantry—a mixed population of Hindu, Muslim and Hajang peasants living on the outskirts of the Garo Hills and the Brahmaputra Valley in Mymensingh. Sabitri Ray with remarkable skill and imaginative delicacy has not only created the stirring scenes of the revolt and delineated its driving force; their larger social and political inter-connections as well have been finely woven into the texture of the narrative.

The Song of the Ripe Harvest might in a way be called an imaginative history of the transformation that took place in the revolutionary movement of Bengal in the thirties. The Congress in Bengal, landlord-and lawyer-ridden, was at no time willing to give a lead to the masses; the mass enthusiasm created by the first Civil Disobedience movement was quickly dissipated by the contradictions and evasions of Congress policy after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

The Bengal revolutionaries, however, had always carried on their own anti-imperialist struggle independent of the Congress; they began to feel the need for creating mass sanctions for the national liberation movement.

The cult of terrorism, which by its shining examples of individual heroism and sacrifice gripped the imagination of the patriotic youth of Bengal, nearly exhausted its strength and appeal by the middle of the thirties; its ideological sources and limits in the light of world events began to be re-examined by the revolutionaries themselves.

They Turn To Marxism

The great economic depression, the tremendous achievement of the Soviet Union and the menace of Nazism provoked new thoughts and inspired many of the revolutionary workers of Bengal—to study and apply the lessons of Marxism in charting the future course of the anti-imperialist struggle. The urge for transforming the revolutionary movement into a mass struggle for ending all kinds of exploitation took concrete shape in the jails of Bengal in the thirties and thus a new link was forged between the

revolutionists breaking out of their middle class shell and the militant workers and peasants led by Communists.

This was more than a political event since the message and meaning of Marxism transformed the very lives of those who dedicated themselves to the cause of social and political emancipation.

Go To The People

Sabitri Ray's trilogy opens with the first phase of this transformation of the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the thirties. Partha, a promising young student of peasant origin, comes out of jail with a new resolve to "go amongst the people" and organise the peasants under the banner of the Kisan Sabha. It is not roses all the way, but the soil is favourable. The peasants suffer from an agonising sense of betrayal because the local Congress workers has joined hands with the landlords' agents.

Disillusionment, which is passive, slowly breeds active resentment and life itself teaches the simple long-suffering folk to challenge the masters of Property and Order. The peasants launch a campaign for non-payment of

treatment and convalescence. He toured extensively in villages and towns, mixed with the common people and talked to them in their own language and all the stories he relates here are from his personal experience.

The challenge that prompted him to write the book is best described in the author's own words:

"I watched with considerable apprehension the rising trend of anti-Chinese campaign carried out by interested parties in India, ... designed to break up the close amity between the two countries, India and China, ratified by the five principles of Panca Sheela."

In this booklet, Biswas has replied to slanders dished out in some of the Indian papers about the People's Communism,

family life, "forced labour" and so on. It is not polemics nor is it the fanatic defence of anything that happens in the Socialist World.

Biswas, convinced as he is of the future of Socialism, believes not in the so-called defence of Socialism. What is important for him is to understand Socialism not merely in its theory but in its ever new and variegated expression in life.

The major part of the booklet is devoted to a description of China's economic construction. Biswas is not an economist. But being an artist he has seen things which an economist would miss. He has seen the human mind, the dynamo of construction. Economists would agree that any planning or development. For them incentive is a

colourless word, but Biswas has described, through innumerable stories and incidents of personal acquaintance how this incentive has developed in China. Of particular interest is the story of the construction of the Ming Tomb Reservoir near Peking where he was personally present.

Biswas has written for the common people of our country, not for the specialists. He has not used big statistics which remain beyond the comprehension of many. Charming story teller that he is, he tells stories one after another to make the construction of China a living reality. No economist could have added life to what he has done. The book, therefore, is worth being read by specialists as well as by ordinary readers.

—Kalyan Dutt

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road cess as the landlord refuses to spend a pie on improving the village roads. Hired bullocks of the landlord try to create terror and the police inevitably takes the landlord's side.

The first round of the struggle ends in the arrest of a number of Hindu, Muslim and Hajang peasant militants. This is not the end, however, the struggle never ends when tollers are roused to a consciousness of their collective strength as well as the strength of the cause of social justice.

Life flows on and Sabitri Ray's canvas is crowded with inimitable sketches of rural scenes, communicating a sense of space—broad rivers and green paddy fields, etc., as in Sholokhov's Quiet Flows the Don. Since the struggle to end exploitation and tyranny is as much social as economic and political, these simple village-folk on the foot hills of the Garo-range are filled with questionings about social orthodoxies.

They are involved in conflicts with domestic tyranny and social conservatism; each within the story has been finely individualised and worked into the texture of the broad narrative.

Sabitri Ray, unlike some other contemporary Bengalee women novelists, does not confine herself to the task of creating a woman's world only. Here, in the countryside, women work freely and act on their own; they live and move alongside their menfolk and fight jointly with them. Village-women are not the still pastoral silhouettes as they are often supposed or made out to be. Far from being static, they often grow in stature and in their under-

standing of the tasks of emancipation.

As the trilogy unfolds itself phase by phase the struggle for emancipation from feudal oppression and social orthodoxy, some of the women figures like Devaki, Saraswati and Megh, grow into the full consciousness of their conviction and assert themselves in defiance of all the threats and persecutions of the local oppressors. Even so, Sabitri Ray rightly has no use for the conventional conception of the hero and heroine; the village itself and its simple folk in revolt reveal the strength and vision of collective heroism.

Peasant Revolt Spreads

In the second part of the trilogy the political perspective is enlarged; the diverse streams of the class struggle coalesce and the smouldering fire of peasant revolt on the Garo foot-hills spreads far and near; Paharpur throbs with a new life whose ardour and agony are felt to be part of a world struggle. Partha and another comrade, Sulakshan, return to the field of activity after a spell in prison.

During his brief stay in Calcutta Partha meets Bhadra, a young educated girl-widow of the upper middle class who is soon attracted by Partha's personality and political mission. But Partha is suddenly summoned back to Paharpur to help the peasants organise their struggle. Sulakshan goes back to his village home in Sivbari, where he also soon hurls himself into battle against a variety of domestic and rural oppositions engendered by all sorts of class prejudices.

The peasants' movement

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AN ARTIST'S RECORD OF TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS IN CHINA

HEMANGO BISWAS, the poet partisan and one of the founders of the Indian People's Theatre, needs little introduction. In Assam and Bengal he is known and renowned as a writer, composer and connoisseur of folk music, a patriot, who through his songs has inspired our people to a spirit of love and amity. As in the past during Hindu-Muslim riots, so also in the recent fratricidal strife in Assam, he has been in the front rank of the artists preaching friendship and unity of the peoples of our great country.

Witnessing China With Eyes

was written by him on his return from China where he spent two and half years for

achievement of the will of the peoples, expressed in the U.N. Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, to see to it that the demands proclaimed in this declaration would not remain on paper only but would be embodied in practical deeds. It cannot be permitted that the realisation of the decision of the General Assembly be sabotaged by means of different ruses and tricks. If the U.N. decision asks for immediate end to be put to colonialism, appropriate measures should be really started with-

—Kalyan Dutt

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On my return from New York I attentively followed the persistent struggle on the colonial issue. This struggle was developing both in the Assembly itself and outside the United Nations Organisation.

Now, at last, the important decision has been taken and the peoples can congratulate themselves on great success.

The decision of the United Nations, in the same way as the Declaration submitted by the United Nations, is based on one main conclusion—the necessity of earliest and complete abolition of colonialism everywhere in all its forms and manifestations. The essence of our proposals, which are from the beginning to the end imbued with noble Leninist ideas of freedom, equality and friendship of nations and peoples, found its reflection in the United Nations decision. Thus, the Soviet Declaration can be regarded as a political substantiation of the United Nations decision.

Of course, the Declaration adopted by the United Nations bears traces of a definite compromise between the views of different states. However, the substance of the document is expressed with sufficient clarity.

This is why there is ground to regard the Declaration adopted by the United Nations General Assembly as a great victory of the countries which abide by a consistent position in the struggle for peace and independence of the peoples.

A Great Victory

This is a great victory of the socialist nations, which invariably come out for the national liberation and rejuvenation of all the oppressed peoples;

this is a great victory of the foreign policy pursued by the independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are fighting against colonialism;

this, finally, is a victory of all the peace- and freedom-loving countries and forces in the West.

The very fact that the decision was passed by such a great majority, is extremely indicative. Only the delegates of the colonial powers abstained in the voting (after all the vote of the representative of the dictator of the Dominican Republic, which does not have colonies but is actually a colony itself, cannot be taken seriously. As a matter of fact, its representatives themselves do not express the will of the Dominican people).

The Soviet people wholeheartedly welcome the expansion of the front of struggle against colonialism. Indeed, in order to abolish colonialism, it is necessary to expose and destroy it not only where it is committing its evil deeds, that is in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also where it nestles, where it takes its booty, that is to expose colonialism in its lair—in the metropolises proper.

I am sure that had an open and honest vote been taken on the question of the fate of the colonial regime not in the United Nations General Assembly conference hall but among peoples, the supporters of colonialism would not have polled the number of votes they need even in those countries whose representatives abstain in the General Assembly

plunder and the oppression of

the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

ed from voting on the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples.

Colonial policy and the colonial system of exploitation bring advantage and rich profits only to an insignificant handful of big capitalist monopolies entrenched in the colonies and to their menials. After all the working people of the metropolises also pay heavily for the colonialist policy and colonial wars and ventures like the Algerian or Congolese.

They have to pay with the lives of their sons. They suffer from the raising of taxes, from the loss of the democratic freedoms they had won and from other hardships connected with the rampage of reaction and militarism in their own countries.

The great importance of the worldwide front of struggle against colonialism lies in the fact that the collapse of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations will be accompanied by the collapse of the walls which imperialism had put up between different peoples and countries. The mistrust among nations, peoples and tribes, fostered for centuries, will disappear even quicker, while their fraternal solidarity and cooperation will grow and gain in strength. Thereby more solid foundations are being laid for the peaceful coexistence of States with differing social systems.

Of course, we cannot but see the difference between the decision passed by the United Nations General Assembly and the Declaration which was submitted for its consideration by the Soviet Government. The Declaration of the Soviet Union was much broader and more comprehensive, clearer and more consistent; it contained strong and thorough criticism of modern colonialism, expressed the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The proposals of the Soviet Government are more clear-cut. They are aimed at effecting a thorough reorganization of the relations between states and peoples that are a legacy of past times when imperialism dominated the world. This is why we believe that

upon the road of struggle for independence and freedom. But time will be needed to wipe out of their minds all the vestiges of old conceptions, views and prejudices, inherited from the past. The past always leaves many traces; old conceptions inevitably make themselves felt and will continue being felt.

Suffice it to glance at the tragic events in the Congo and around the Congo to realise that colonialism exists today not only with the help of its old methods. It increasingly makes use of the insufficient cohesion and unity of the oppressed tribes, peoples, and nations, it makes use of their insufficient experience in the struggle and insufficient awareness of their true interests.

Sometimes life teaches the peoples bitter but necessary lessons; it teaches them to choose more correct, shorter ways that lead directly to their goal, and shows which leaders and parties uphold their interests best of all.

Therefore, the point here lies not only in resisting outside forces, interested in perpetuating the colonial regime. It is very important that the lofty ideas, contained in the U.N. decision, should really grip the minds of the peoples; it is necessary to explain the meaning of the current events, to expose colonialism everywhere, in all segments of society, in all countries and in all its manifestations. Then colonialism will not be able to survive through any force, any bribes, or any bayonets.

The main task now is to achieve the realisation of the will of the peoples, expressed in the U.N. Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, to see to it that the demands proclaimed in this declaration would not remain on paper only but would be embodied in practical deeds. It cannot be permitted that the realisation of the decision of the General Assembly be sabotaged by means of different ruses and tricks. If the U.N. decision asks for immediate end to be put to colonialism, appropriate measures should be really started with-

The peoples have embarked

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KHRUSHCHOV

 A Draft Declaration on Immediate Independence for all remaining colonies in the world was presented at the U. N. General Assembly of Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchov on September 23, 1960. It was met with angry denunciation by Western Powers. Despite their bitter opposition and manoeuvres the General Assembly on December 14 adopted by overwhelming majority a Declaration denouncing colonialism and calling for its end. While 89 countries voted for the Declaration, nine abstained from voting, those nine being the U.S.A., Britain, France, Australia, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, South Africa and the Dominican Republic.
 In his statement of December 28 from which we give here extensive extracts, N. S. Khrushchov reviews the situation after the U.N. decision and indicates the further perspectives of the anti-colonial struggle.

On Further Perspectives Of The Anti-Colonial Struggle

the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

What joy it would be for our dear teacher and leader if he were able to witness the growth and quick advance of the numerous peoples, which were but yesterday downtrodden and rightless, but have today cast off the colonial yoke and acquired an opportunity to develop their independent national States.

The Declaration adopted by the General Assembly on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples shows how the united front of struggle against the disgraceful colonial yoke has grown and gained in strength in our time.

Fighting against colonialism are the peoples of Socialist countries and of the countries which have recently got rid of the colonial oppression. This is natural and understandable. Even capitalist countries such as Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Canada, New Zealand, and many more have subscribed to the decision on liquidation of colonialism.

All this bears out the correctness of the Soviet Government's assertion, expressed also in the Declaration we had submitted, that colonialism has become a heavy burden for all countries and peoples, that its last hour has struck and it must be buried.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly welcome the expansion of the front of struggle against colonialism. Indeed, in order to abolish colonialism, it is necessary to expose and destroy it not only where it is committing its evil deeds, that is in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also where it nestles, where it takes its booty, that is to expose colonialism in its lair—in the metropolises proper.

I am sure that had an open and honest vote been taken on the question of the fate of the colonial regime not in the United Nations General Assembly conference hall but among peoples, the supporters of colonialism would not have polled the number of votes they need even in those countries whose representatives abstain in the General Assembly

plunder and the oppression of

the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

ed from voting on the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples.

Colonial policy and the colonial system of exploitation bring advantage and rich profits only to an insignificant handful of big capitalist monopolies entrenched in the colonies and to their menials. After all the working people of the metropolises also pay heavily for the colonialist policy and colonial wars and ventures like the Algerian or Congolese.

They have to pay with the lives of their sons. They suffer from the raising of taxes, from the loss of the democratic freedoms they had won and from other hardships connected with the rampage of reaction and militarism in their own countries.

The great importance of the worldwide front of struggle against colonialism lies in the fact that the collapse of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations will be accompanied by the collapse of the walls which imperialism had put up between different peoples and countries. The mistrust among nations, peoples and tribes, fostered for centuries, will disappear even quicker, while their fraternal solidarity and cooperation will grow and gain in strength. Thereby more solid foundations are being laid for the peaceful coexistence of States with differing social systems.

Of course, we cannot but see the difference between the decision passed by the United Nations General Assembly and the Declaration which was submitted for its consideration by the Soviet Government. The Declaration of the Soviet Union was much broader and more comprehensive, clearer and more consistent; it contained strong and thorough criticism of modern colonialism, expressed the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

The proposals of the Soviet Government are more clear-cut. They are aimed at effecting a thorough reorganization of the relations between states and peoples that are a legacy of past times when imperialism dominated the world. This is why we believe that

upon the road of struggle for independence and freedom. But time will be needed to wipe out of their minds all the vestiges of old conceptions, views and prejudices, inherited from the past. The past always leaves many traces; old conceptions inevitably make themselves felt and will continue being felt.

Suffice it to glance at the tragic events in the Congo and around the Congo to realise that colonialism exists today not only with the help of its old methods. It increasingly makes use of the insufficient cohesion and unity of the oppressed tribes, peoples, and nations, it makes use of their insufficient experience in the struggle and insufficient awareness of their true interests.

Sometimes life teaches the peoples bitter but necessary lessons; it teaches them to choose more correct, shorter ways that lead directly to their goal, and shows which leaders and parties uphold their interests best of all.

Therefore, the point here lies not only in resisting outside forces, interested in perpetuating the colonial regime. It is very important that the lofty ideas, contained in the U.N. decision, should really grip the minds of the peoples; it is necessary to explain the meaning of the current events, to expose colonialism everywhere, in all segments of society, in all countries and in all its manifestations. Then colonialism will not be able to survive through any force, any bribes, or any bayonets.

The main task now is to achieve the realisation of the will of the peoples, expressed in the U.N. Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, to see to it that the demands proclaimed in this declaration would not remain on paper only but would be embodied in practical deeds. It cannot be permitted that the realisation of the decision of the General Assembly be sabotaged by means of different ruses and tricks. If the U.N. decision asks for immediate end to be put to colonialism, appropriate measures should be really started with-

The peoples have embarked

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voted for the Declaration, nine abstained from voting, those nine being the U.S.A., Britain, France, Australia, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, South Africa and the Dominican Republic.

In his statement of December 28 from which we give here extensive extracts, N. S. Khrushchov reviews the situation after the U.N. decision and indicates the further perspectives of the anti-colonial struggle.

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NEW AGE

JANUARY 15, 1961

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TASKS FACING THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

General Secretary's Report To 26th A.I.T.U.C.

"After completing two five year plans, the workers in our country have only that much real wage as they had before the Second World War," said S.A. Dange, General Secretary, in his report to the 26th Session of the AITUC. "That shows that it is only the exploiting classes that are appropriating the major portion of the wealth that is growing in the country."

IN his 20,000-word report, Dange noted that over the ten-year period 1951-1960, national income increased by about 42 per cent and per capita income by about 20 per cent, as stated in the Third Plan draft. The real wages of the workers in 1958, however, were only slightly above the 1939 level. In view of the continued price rise during 1959 and 1960, the report stated, the real wages of the workers cannot be said to have gone up during the period.

On the contrary, Dange noted, the index of profits rose to 168.7 in 1958, with 1950 as 100.

Quoting the Census of Manufactures, 1956-57, Dange pointed out that as against about Rs. 196 crores paid as wages to 16.8 lakh workers, the workers in their turn, by their labour contributed over Rs. 468 crores, in terms of value added by manufacture.

Dange also pointed out that for every rupee the worker got as his wages, he returned to the employer that rupee plus two rupees and thirty-nine paise (239%).

The worker not only reproduced his earning as wages but two and a half times more.

Examining the awards of wage boards and tribunals in the major industries, Dange observed that "though in these industries, the wage rise awarded has neutralised the rising cost of living to some

extent, on an all-India plane, for all workers as such, the real wages have definitely gone down."

Dange noted that even the pre-war level of wages could be maintained by workers only as a result of the continuous fight of the Indian working class for dearness allowance to neutralise rise in prices, by means of strikes or collective agreements, tripartite decisions, awards, etc.

WAGES MAINTAINED AT PREWAR LEVEL

The workers in the last fifteen years since the end of the war, by their struggles have made an advance on several other counts, and these gains, he said, should be noted while examining the fall in real wages and when comparing the present and pre-war conditions.

These gains, Dange said, were the 8-hour day, greater coverage of provident fund scheme, sickness benefits (although contributory), holidays and leave with pay, improved service conditions, right of the worker to demand neutralisation of rise in cost of living and in the struggle for standardisation of categories, grades and minimum wages.

The report dealt at length with the structure of wages in its five major aspects and laid down the five following tasks before the trade union movement.

1 The struggle for the sliding scale of dearness allowance with full neutralisation, in all organised industries, trades and professions, continues to be the central task on the wages front.

2 Wage Boards: To get Boards for the organised industries, not covered so far. To fight for good awards, and for their quick decisions and applications.

3 Fight for raising and fixing the minimum and fixing the grades and proper differentials in all trades and industries, and make collective agreements thereon.

4 Fight against rationalisation or productivity that leads to retrenchment, to greater workload and no commensurate rise in wages.

5 Fight for a general rise in basic wages and against high prices.

Reviewing the struggles of the working class since the 25th Session of the AITUC (December 1957), the report stated: "In the recent period, we have had to fight big battles for our just demands. And in these struggles, working class unity advanced further; both from below and from the top."

The report referred in this connection to the strike of the bank employees, of the workers in plantations, jute and cotton textiles and engineering industries as well as to the Central Government employees' strike of July 1960. The Central Government employees' strike was an event

unprecedented in the history of our TU movement.

Reviewing the economic situation, Dange said:

"In spite of the pruning that the Second Plan suffered at one stage, because of the attitude of the imperialist countries and their capitalists, our production targets in certain vital lines have come nearer fulfilment. In certain lines, though there is no production yet on hand, foundations of absolutely new and vital industries have been laid."

"We the workers and trade unions, whose labour is the prime creator of all these things, should rejoice that we are overcoming our backwardness in which the imperialists left us and still want to keep us. Our workers, technicians, intellectuals and the honest sections of the industrialists have discharged their duty to the country and the people."

Dange added: "But to say that is not enough. These production achievements had several drawbacks, several black spots, including treachery to the country's interests and people's welfare on the part of certain vested interests and their allies."

He then listed the activities of the foreign imperialists and investors which militate against our national interests. "The attack on our oil venture is so open and blatant anti-national that those who have been trying their hardest to sabotage our oil sector should have been thrown out of the country and some of them sent to prisons as saboteurs."

But, Dange said, "the Government of India divided within itself, some of whose ministers rightly want our independent oil industry to grow, while some others in the same Government oppose it and from within help those foreign monopolies, would not allow any drastic measures against the foreign oil monopolies."

Opposition to our industrialisation by the imperialists is, however, being successfully fought and in this, the disinterested and valuable aid from Socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is of immense help.

Reviewing the industrial situation, particularly in coal and oil, Dange pointed out that the "foreign imperialists and their friends in India among the big financiers and the ruling circles, entrenched in some of the key positions of the Congress ministries and public bodies, are doing everything to sabotage the State Sector of industry and the further rapid development of our economy, even in some parts of the private sector as in coal, unless the Government and the country agree to their terms."

A demand for "de-nationalisation" is being boldly put forward by the foreign and Indian monopolists, as a price of their cooperation for full-fledged and rapid industrialisation. This is a serious and new danger to our country's economic policy.

Dange said that "it is not our position that all private enterprise should or can be done away with in the present stage. But we have to see that the State Sector grows in extent and depth, that it embraces all the strategic lines of production, that nationalisation grows further and not that the State Sector is 'denationalised' as some propose."

The report stated that another serious danger to our economy is the failure to raise agricultural production to the required levels. The only corrective to the situation on the agricultural front is through land reforms and supply of capital to the peasant which alone can raise agricultural production to high levels.

Dange said that "it is good to see that despite the criticisms of some monopolists like Tatas and others, the emphasis on heavy industry, engineering and metals, has not been given up" in the Third Plan Draft. But one has to be vigilant, Dange warned, and see whether the private sector steals from the public sector as was done in the Second Plan.

Dange said: "Our trade unions will surely fulfil their duty to the people, where the Plan will work in national interest, and give efficient and honest work. At the same time, we cannot help raising the vital question as to who is gaining from all this prosperity, what is the share of the people and the workers in the vast wealth that they create."

Outlining trade union policy in this connection, Dange remarked:

"In order to guard the in-

terests of the country and the toiling people from the profiteering classes, who are robbing us of our labour and wealth, it is necessary to struggle. And that struggle has a two-fold aspect.

"One aspect is of general demands directed against the exploiters and their sources of power. Such demands are: extension of the State Sector of economy in strategic industries, land reforms in favour of the peasantry and State trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks and key industries like oil, jute, plantations and mines. In view of the record of the textiles and sugar millowners in robbing the people, it is time now to think of nationalising them also. Abolition of the stock exchange and specula-

tive markets. . . . "For this, the working class along with its allies have to wage a political battle against the ruling classes."

"Another aspect of the necessary struggle is against the direct employer for day-to-day demands on questions of wages, bonus, dearness allowance and bonus and conditions of work."

"This day-to-day struggle is the constant daily task of the trade unions. By fighting for higher wages, D.A., bonus, etc., the worker fights for a larger share of the wealth, the goods which he is producing and 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." Earlier in his report, Dange reviewed the international situation. The three significant features in the international situation are: the decisive advance of Socialism, retreat of imperialism and the liberation of oppressed nations.

Dange pointed out: "A powerful Camp of Peace has arisen which consists of the Socialist countries and also those which are neutral and peace-loving and opposed to war. India stands in this vast peace camp and, as such, is on the side of the Socialist camp for purposes of peace and opposition to war."

With such favourable circumstances, the report stated: "we should be able to cam-

paign better and secure vaster masses for our cause of aiding the liberation movements, for popularising the achievements of the Socialist countries, for international solidarity, for peace and Socialism."

The report noted with concern the developments in the Congo and the military coup staged by the King of Nepal. Trade unions were called upon to "learn to act positively in defence of democracy."

"We have to come to such a level of consciousness that the arrest of Lumumba or Koirala, the suppression of Parliament in Congo and Nepal, the attack on Cuba or Iraq ought to evoke a protest strike, in a few factories at least, for an hour at least, if not more."

Dange said in the report that the "platform of the AITUC which is the platform of the internationalism of the working class, of unity and solidarity" and led by the World Federation of Trade

Unions, must more and more campaign on these vital questions of peace, freedom and democracy and also act."

Concluding, the report stated: "The AITUC has grown in strength and influence during these years. It is proud to have been in the forefront of the workers' struggles. It has some very fine collective agreements and achievements to its credit. It has built up strong, functioning, fighting unions and federations in various industries and trades. It has helped to advance unity in the TU movement and working class solidarity."

"Though not free from errors, the AITUC has followed a correct policy in relation to our country's interests and in relations to the interests of our class."

"Guided by the best sons of the working class, the AITUC will always be in the vanguard of the struggles of the working class for peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism."

WAGE ISSUE WILL DOMINATE THIRD PLAN PERIOD—DANGE

The central issue before trade union movement in this country during Third Five Year Plan will be question of wages, said Comrade Dange in the course of a masterly analysis of the present situation, national and international from the point of view of the working class.

WITH a brilliant survey lasting one hundred and six minutes, Comrade Dange introduced his general report to the AITUC Session on Friday. He enjoined on the delegates to focus the main attention of the session on the question of wages, since defence of the real wage will be the principal task during the Third Plan.

Dange felt that the Third Plan policy on wages will be a continuation of the policy during the Second Plan. "Change for the worse is not possible because the working class is strong enough while change for the better will not come because the Government and the capitalists on their own will never advance the wages of the working class."

"Ask the employer: From my labour are you losing or gaining? You are gaining and not losing. How much are you gaining and what is my share?"

FOUR POINTED QUESTIONS

Dange said that trade union movement is directly concerned about the share of the working class in national prosperity. In four pointed questions, Dange brought out the issue clearly:

"First, has the worker fulfilled his job in raising the production for the Plan? Answer is, he has."

"Secondly, have some monopolists fulfilled their part for the Plan? Answer is, they have not."

"Thirdly, has the worker made substantial gain in terms of real wage? Answer is, no."

"Fourthly, has the bour-

geoisie made profits during the Plan? Answer is, Yes. Then where is the workers' share in national prosperity?"

Dange listed three central issues for the battle of wages—fight for sliding scales of dearness allowance; fight for minimum wage and fight for standard rate for standard job.

The Dearness Allowance-sliding scale protects the worker from depreciation of his share of the value produced by his labour. Fight for minimum wage means establishing the right of the individual as a human being to live at a particular level and not below. At the Delhi tripartite this fundamental right was won as a principle. Dange said that the fight for realisation of the minimum wage must begin in the organised industries.

The standard rate for the standard job helps unity of the workers and through facilitating their organisation helps collective bargaining and helps the workers to discipline the employer. In this, a very fundamental job is being done by the Wage Boards.

Dange also referred to the importance of bonus which has come to mean right to examine the boss's pocket. "It is for the workers and through facilitating their organisation helps collective bargaining and helps the workers to discipline the employer. In this, a very fundamental job is being done by the Wage Boards."

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Dange said, for every ill of the economy, the prescription is State sector, democratic management and nationalisation of key strategic heavy industry.

Dange condemned the

move to let the big capitalists buy shares in the successful State sector enterprises under the false plea of selling shares to the people.

Dealing with the agrarian front, Dange pointed out that although no fall in the agricultural production had taken place, the progress had been halting. While in the field of industrialisation, progress had been strategic, it was not so on the agricultural front.

WORLD EVENTS

Considerable part of Comrade Dange's speech was devoted to a review of the world events. Giving the slogan "make our worker conscious of his democratic task—his political task as also his task towards countries struggling to be free", Dange stressed the need to educate the workers.

Production of oil is being sabotaged by the foreign imperialists and their agents here. Coal production is being sabotaged by the mine owners—"the biggest criminals in the history of the Plan while the mine workers are faced with repression".

The working class stands for the State sector of the industry because in the newly liberated underdeveloped countries the State sector is a factor of progress, "jumping off ground" for economic advance, the sector from where monopolists could be curbed.

"The State sector serves the nation in spite of the State being run by the capitalists."

Dange said, for every ill of the economy, the prescription is State sector, democratic management and nationalisation of key strategic heavy industry. Dange condemned the

Fifthly, about disarmament, banning of the atom bombs and the peace movement.

Sixthly, about the reactionary conspiracies which the imperialists and the monopolists are hatching to turn the clock of freedom and democracy backwards, capacity of the people to halt them on the basis of united action.

Seventhly, against war, for peace.

Eighthly, for the defence of democracy and freedom, against the monopolists and dictators.

Dange pinpointed three issues—Congo, Cuba, Algeria—as immediate campaign slogans. Dealing with the Indian situation, Comrade Dange said that Parliamentary democracy was becoming an inconvenient thing for many people. "We must tell our worker about this danger. Parliamentary democracy with all its drawbacks is a far better condition than military dictatorship."

"Without political consciousness instilled among the workers you may win a wage battle but you may not win the worker. With the workers political understanding even if you lose a wage battle you may not lose the worker."

Reviewing the struggles, Dange said that the Indian working class could go into action totally in whole industry but they had yet to move the entire class in support of a section of the class. That was to be achieved and that was the task facing us today.

Concluding, Dange said that in the last three years there had been mistakes but what stood out was not Himalayan mistakes but new vistas of the AITUC forging forward to become the unquestioned champion of the working class of India.

OPENING OF THE SESSION

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Despite bad weather AITUC Session had a fine start symbolic of the determination of the organisers and enthusiasm of Coimbatore's working class. To watch it is itself an inspiration.

Just before opening of the session about two miles away, Comrade Dange hoisted the TUC Flag on a crowded roadside in front of a textile mill. For Coimbatore's textile worker this is a sacred spot because at this very gate of Stanes Mill (name of mill is Stanes) eleven workers were shot dead by the police in 1946, just fifteen years ago.

AFTER this solemn function befitting the occasion, the long procession of workers led by Ealyanasundaram and Parvathi Krishnan, marched to AITUC Nagar. Women workers marched in large numbers followed by workers on cycle carrying banners. Irony of the while thing was that this Stanes Mill today belongs to G. Krishnan, leading accused in the counterfeit fraud case.

When the procession reached AITUC Nagar, flanked by dense crowd another solemn function took place. Harbour workers from Madras brought the TUC Flag as a symbol of the working class solidarity and this flag was carried by foot rovers three hundred miles and borne by batches of workers representing different centres in Madras State

where working class, facing bullets had embraced martyrdom.

The flag was received by Parvathi Krishnan as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Amidst applause, veteran Tamilnad Trade Union leader A. S. K. Iyengar hoisted the flag, great flag of the AITUC. On either side of flag mast stood thirteen poles, each carrying the banners representing different centres of Tamilnad's working class martyrdom.

At the foot of the giant flag mast stood delegates and veteran leaders like Dange, Mirajkar and also fraternal delegates from Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Mongolia and also Dr. Menon, representing International Labour Office.

When the proceedings started in the magnificent pandal, workers vied with one another to get in but, when local textile leader Chinnan asked them to behave and be disciplined, the huge crowd of twenty thousand packed near the platform kept complete silence.

Throughout the long session, lasting for four hours with drenching downpour on all sides there was no confusion, no disorder. Right in front sat women workers, many of them grown old with wrinkles on their faces, telling what hard life they led, yet never losing faith in their trade unions. With keen interest they followed proceedings as could be seen from way they applauded every significant point.

Thunderous applause greeted when fraternal delegates were introduced. Biggest applause was, of course, for the Soviet delegates.

Great day in the annals of Coimbatore will this be and it is in fitness of things that AITUC Session should take place in the park named after the hallowed memory of Chidambaram Pillai, whose name is immortalised in country's freedom struggle as one who took up arms against the British rulers.

Message Of Greetings

GIVEN below is the full text of the message of greetings from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to the Session delivered on January 5:

"On behalf of industrial and office workers of the Soviet Union, All Union Central Council of Trade Unions extends its heartfelt and fraternal greetings to participants of twenty-sixth session of the All India Trade Union Congress and through them to all working people of India.

The Indian trade union movement, in front ranks of which is militant organisation of Indian working class, All-India Trade Union Congress, has in a short historical period developed into an immense force, which plays an important part both in life of the country and in international trade union movement. The whole world knows of struggle waged by the All-India Trade Union Congress for the interests of Indian working people, for consolidating independ-

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NATURE OF OUR EPOCH

People always have the urge to understand the meaning of events in which they take part. It is only natural for them to wish to grasp the meaning contained not only in the immediate results but also in the eventual outcome of their actions and efforts.

By evolving a scientific, materialistic understanding of history, Marxism provided the key whereby to explain the entire motley and contradictory picture of social evolution as one logical process.

THE transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to monopoly capitalism spelled the wane of capitalism's hitherto ascendant star. Imperialism is the eve of Socialist revolution. This revolution in itself cannot take place otherwise than as a whole epoch, a time combining the acutest of struggles by the proletariat against the exploiting classes in the capitalist countries with the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in imperialism's colonial fringes.

The present epoch crowned the immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism with unprecedented triumph. This teaching is being comprehensively developed and enriched by historic documents of the International Communist movement and resolutions of the Marxist-Leninist parties. These documents, which sum up the new experience of historical development, provide an increasingly comprehensive and plainer analysis of the times in which we live.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us to regard the transition from capitalism to Socialism, which was initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, as the basic content of this present epoch.

The Statement issued by the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, a document that

makes a fresh contribution to the treasure chamber of creative Marxism, supplies a profoundly Marxist-Leninist definition of our time as one of struggle between two opposing social systems, as one of Socialist and national-liberation revolutions, as one of the collapse of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, as one of the transition of more and more peoples to the Socialist road, and of the worldwide victory of Socialism and Communism.

What can bourgeois ideology oppose to this clear cut definition of the historic content of the present time? The monopoly bourgeoisie holding sway in the capitalist part of the world have long become an arch-reactionary class that is dead within. A lifeless class cannot have a live ideology.

Doomed Class Preaches Despair

In their efforts to supply at least an ersatz explanation for the turbulent torrent of present-day developments, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are scurrying to and fro in a vicious circle of contradictions. Their explanations disclose a vast amplitude—from despondent pessimism to feigned and utterly false optimism.

In the very first stages of capitalism's breakdown the pillars of bourgeois society started to drip away that mankind was foredoomed. The beginning of the end of capitalism was proclaimed the end of all of Western civilization.

Today this morose trend in the reactionary philosophy of the time is represented by ratiocinations about the inevitable demise of the human race in a nuclear-missile holocaust, in the flames of an H-bomb war.

This preaching of despair and disbelief has a quite definite political aim. It is summoned to demoralize, give currency to fatalism and divert the masses from the struggle for their interests, primarily from energetic resistance to the misanthropic designs of the imperialist warmongers.

Marxism-Leninism opposes to this ideological poison its firm conviction in man's bright future. The collapse of capitalism does not mean the death of civilization. On the contrary, the end of wage slavery, the emancipation of labour from the chains of the moneybag signifies the unheard of growth of material and spiritual treasures; the blossoming of culture, which from the exclusive preserve of a negligible handful of society's upper crust becomes the treasure of the masses.

The "atomic age" does not at all doom the human race to the fatalistic inevitability of self-annihilation. Socialism's grand victories have erected a mighty barrier in the way of nefarious schemes of aggressive imperialism. They have awakened to life forces that can straitjacket the madmen desiring to kindle the conflagration of nuclear-missile war.

Hence the need of a most vigorous effort on the part of the peoples to avert war, the need to muster all forces capable of bridling the foes of mankind.

Realising that the hobby-horse of pessimism alone will not carry it far, the propaganda machine of the monopolies also resorts to cheerful tunes at the other end of the scale. On paper which, as you know, will take anything, desperate attempts are being made to rejuvenate dying capitalism, by giving it all sorts of new-fangled, glib names. Here you will find "people's capitalism," "democratic capitalism," and "human capitalism," as too, the "general welfare state" and even the "affluent society."

The "make-up" men even proclaim capitalism non-existent and abolished. There is no exploitation, they say, there are no capitalists and workers. This was all, they claim, in the past century, or, at best, up to the first world war. Now, they claim, we have a prospering "free world" on which the sun would shine forever, were it not for the fog of "World Communism."

—Saroj Acharya

The transition from capitalism to Socialism is a most deep-going revolution, embracing every aspect of man's life.

The unprecedented acceleration of the march of history, which Lenin foresaw, has now come. The aspect of whole countries and continents is changing with staggering rapidity. We saw taking place before our very eyes the miraculous transformation of long backward agrarian areas, considered once the backyard of capitalist Europe, into flourishing Socialist states with modern industries and high cultural standards. Or what about the changes in Africa, in the last year alone? Or the sharp turn in the destinies of Latin America, owing to the victory of the People's Revolution on Cuba?

The principal characteristic of our time, the Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties emphasises, is that the world Socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. Such is the result of history's logical process in the present phase of the life of mankind. At the same time, under the onmarch of the national-liberation movement the colonial system is crumbling and this is a development second in historic significance only to the emergence of the world Socialist system.

Socialism Has Proved Its Superiority

In the last few decades Socialism has displayed its superiority both in peace-time and in the trials of a war thrust upon the Soviet Union by imperialist aggressors.

The existence, growth, and consolidation of the world Socialist system dooms to failure also all imperialism's attempts to rescue the system of colonial oppression. The regime of colonial bondage is breathing its last. The day is not far off when the last nail will be hammered into the lid of its inglorious coffin.

The balance of forces is steadily tilting in favour of Socialism against capitalism.

In the economic competition between the two systems that between the Soviet Union and the USA is decisive today. It is common knowledge that the indices of the USSR's economic advance are several times greater than those of the USA.

In the last six years ending 1959, the average annual rate of increase in industry was 11.3 per cent in the USSR and 2.4 per cent in the USA, being in agriculture respectively 7 per cent and 2.3 per cent.

In 1959 the USSR's national income was 2,471 per cent of that of 1913; the corresponding increase in the USA was only 333 per cent.

In 1959 all the Socialist countries had multiplied their industrial production 6 times over in comparison with the output on their territories in 1937. Meanwhile in the capitalist countries industrial output only slightly more than doubled in this time.

These figures ring capitalism's death-knell.

Capitalism's complete defeat in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, in the production of material values, is no longer a remote prospect.

The French say that to cook a hare ragout you must first have the hare. To make "power politics" a success you must be stronger. But neither the USA nor the whole of the imperialist camp in general, is stronger. That is why the American "positions of strength" policy is sustaining one fiasco after another. That is why Washington's foreign policy has become synonymous with a solid row of failures, for complete insolvency.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the process of capitalism's demise fills a whole historical chapter—capitalism's overall crisis. This crisis goes through a whole number of phases in its evolution. In this process, as in all processes of evolution in both nature and social life, the gradual accumulation of changes in quantity results, at a definite stage, in a change in quality. The essential changes in the world of late, signify the onset of a new stage in the development of capitalism's overall crisis.

Such is the conclusion drawn in the Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The specific feature of this new stage in capitalism's overall crisis, is, the Statement says, that it has set in not as a result of the world war but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems and increasing

change in the balance of forces in favour of Socialism and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism; that it has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful coexistence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation, and Socialism.

The Statement's analysis of the new stage in capitalism's overall crisis deals one more blow at anti-Communist propaganda. The Communists as the propaganda machine of the monopolies would have the gullible believe, stake their hopes on another world war; it is only war, they contend, that will create universal chaos and undermine capitalism to an extent enabling Communism to win new victories.

Life is showing, however, that capitalism is on the downgrade not merely because of military disaster. This process is taking place in peacetime as well. Time is working for Socialism and Communism, against capitalism and imperialism.

Imperialist Hypocrisy Must Be Exposed

The Communists are in the van of the worldwide popular movement against war, for the preservation and consolidation of peace. They would not be doing their duty to the peoples were they not to rip off the mask of feigned peacefulness from the imperialist politicians hatching new ventures to carry out the insane schemes of Wall Street's monopolies in their bid for world supremacy.

War is capitalism's constant attendant. Today U.S. imperialism is the shock force of aggression and war.

"After us the deluge!" is the motto of all dying ruling classes, when they feel their inevitable doom. This is precisely the meaning contained in the rather frank statements of certain bourgeois politicians. British Foreign Secretary Home declared, for instance: "The people well know the risk of the nuclear age, but they prefer to take it rather than bow to an alien ideology."

Translated into plain human language, this British Tory politician's statement means that it is better to madly gamble with nuclear missile war than let Socialism go on winning more victories.

Fortunately enough, the day when the imperialist moguls held the question of war and peace wholly in the hollow of their hands, has receded into the past. Today possibilities for nipping in the bud attempts of imperialist aggressors to let a world war loose are realistic enough.

Suffice it to recall the Suez

venture and the attempts on Syria and Iraq. Again and again the peace forces cut short in time the nefarious schemes of the aggressors and thus saved mankind from the calamities menacing it.

Peace Forces Must Unite

The Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties emphasises that a world war can be prevented provided the world Socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all countries opposed to war and all peace forces pool efforts.

The mighty camp of Socialist countries and the international Communist movement have advanced a clear and bright prospect in opposition to the monstrous schemes of the imperialist aggressors. "Though we are sure," N.S. Khrushchev has said, "that as the result of a new war, if let loose by imperialist quarters, the system that engenders war, that is the capitalist system, will perish, while the Socialist system will win, we Communists do not seek to win that way."

The Communists in all lands, the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world proceed from the premise that war is not necessary for Socialism to win over capitalism. On the contrary, it is imperialist reaction which maintains that only war can help rescue the insolvent exploiting system.

That is how matters stand with regard to the cardinal question of today—that of war and peace. Hence it follows

that all who really prize peace must, disregarding differences of views rally together to rebuff the imperialist aggressors.

"We, Communists, consider it our sacred duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war," says the Appeal to the Peoples of All the World, adopted by the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Imperialist reaction is striving might and main to distort and denigrate the international character of the So-

cialist revolution. The aim of hysterical screams about the "hand of Moscow" and the "intrigues of Peking" is to deliver the helmsmen of the capitalist ship from the patient too formidable task of comprehending the real causes of the collapse of their favourite orders in one country after another.

But these causes are crystal clear. In the race for profit, capital has sprawled all over the globe, establishing its autocratic rule everywhere. It

unity of the countries that comprise the world Socialist system and in which more than a third of mankind live. In this camp the principle of internationalism has become the bedrock of relations between states. The imperialists hope in vain if they think they will be able to shake the unity of the Socialist camp.

The source of the tremendous might of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, is the solidarity and cohesion of the Marxist-Le-

has made wage slaves out of the bulk of the population in the metropolitan countries and has put the fetters of colonial bondage on hundreds of millions inhabiting large continents.

Now when history is presenting the bill and the decayed edifice of capitalism is cracking and tumbling down, the handmaidens of the golden calf are looking for scapegoats.

Capital is an international force. To successfully combat it, international working class solidarity is imperatively required.

The greatest triumph of the principle of Socialist internationalism is the firm-knit

minist parties of the world—of those that captain the peoples of the Socialist countries with those that are followed by the majority of the working class in several capitalist States and those that have been driven deep underground by the reactionary tyrannies in many countries of the much vaunted "free world."

The solidarity of the international Communist movement, which is based on the inviolable creative principles of Marxism-Leninism, assures us that Socialism and Communism will win new victories.

It was Lenin who foresaw that the land of socialism

A 'Pravda' Article

by L. LEONTIYEV

triumphant would influence the development of the world revolution chiefly by its own economic unbuilding. The course of history has fully confirmed this prediction.

By successfully solving the grand tasks of economic construction under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties the Soviet people and all the other nations of the mighty Socialist camp are bringing closer the day of the full worldwide triumph of Socialism and Communism.

KHRUSHCHOV ON COLONIALISM: U.N. Resolution Must Be Implemented

* FROM PAGE 7

out delay, instead of being put off on different pretexts. The abolition of the colonial regime in this or that country must not remain a formal act and must not be reduced to naught by actual preservation of the colonial order there. Nor should it be permitted that strongholds in the form of some possessions or leased areas should remain at the disposal of colonialists.

Colonialism Takes New Forms

Representatives of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America justly emphasized that colonialism, clinging in every way to its remaining positions and influence is trying to carry on colonial oppression and exploitation of peoples in new forms, making use of dissenters and tral-

ters of their peoples, and the puppets of the Mobutu-type, political corpses like Chiang Kai-shek and others.

They would like to grant peoples, for instance in Africa, nothing but the national flag and anthem but practically to keep the old colonial order in the political and economic spheres.

This happens when some countries of Africa, and Asia for that matter, proclaimed to be independent are immediately bound with a new chain of unequal "treaties" and "agreements" which deprive these countries of their real sovereignty.

The Declaration of the U.N. General Assembly has in view a genuine and not fictitious liberation of all the peoples from colonial yoke. Therefore, the peoples will fight for real and not false liberation, for real freedom and not a coun-

terfeit. As it is said in the East, a traveller needs a real spring and not its mirage.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that all the countries which voted in the United Nations for the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples will continue supporting in practice the measures for combating colonialism. The days of colonialism are over and one cannot disregard the demands of the peoples that are striving for independence, national freedom and a worthy, prosperous life for all.

If the colonial powers, challenging the United Nations, continue hampering the liberation of the oppressed peoples and resisting their independence, these peoples will have no other alternative but to smash in a resolute struggle all the obstacles put up and fighting to bring it closer.

AN EPIC OF THE PEOPLE

* FROM PAGE SIX

from Kerala, supply to the main story a necessary link showing that the struggle of the peasants of Paharpur is part of the world-wide movement for people's emancipation.

The struggle in Paharpur comes to a head; a pitched battle takes place between the peasants and the military is called in to defend the landlords and suppress the peasant revolt.

Partha is killed after a hand-to-hand fight in which the young peasant pair, Sarathi and Saraswati, bravely risk their lives to save their comrade and leader. The thread of romance and unfulfilled love between Partha and Bhadra is snapped by Partha's death. The Song of the Ripe Harvest ends, but life marches on and there is no end to the struggle of the heroic peasants of the Garo foothills.

The epic story ends on a triumphant note as Paharpur, bedecked with red flags, greets Bhadra; she comes over to carry on the unfinished and interrupted melody—the song of the ripe harvest—the task of Partha, and stands side by side with the heroic peasant pair, Sarathi and Saraswati, suggesting a limitless horizon of heroic striving.

No Bengal novel, not even any of Sarat Chandra, Tara Sankar and Manik Benerjee, could, in spite of their broad humanism and superior artistry, claim to have so vast a canvas, such close understanding of political issues, so much variety in theme and characterisation as Sabitri Ray's Song of the Ripe Harvest. Her other novels (Srijan, Tisrota, Malasri, etc.) have admirably shown her social vision and political acumen. But the Song of the Ripe Harvest is her best and most ambitious attempt to produce an epic—a people's epic—in which a phase of the people's struggle, also a phase of life in East Bengal has been recreated with remarkable truthfulness.

Free from didacticism, also avoiding political cliches and jargons for their own sake, the style of the narrative comes at places nearest to the language of the unsophisticated masses; at other places, descriptions of nature-scenes and rural festivities have beautiful lyrical undertone. In all, it would not be overpraise to say that the Song of the Ripe Harvest has no equal, nor even a parallel, in Bengali fiction as a people's novel satisfying the test of truth and the test of artistic roundness as well.

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SCANDAL OF INDIAN PENICILLIN

* FROM PAGE 5

pharmacopoeias because without the addition of this inactivating agent the tests become worthless.

On December 2, 1959, Dr. H. N. Kunzru pointedly asked why the Minister had not referred these serious technical malpractices for investigation to the Expert Committee of Scientists constituted for the Factory, and what were his objections to its being asked to investigate the matter? To this Sri Manubhai Shah replied that "this technical committee is not there for this particular purpose" and that it was for a specific purpose, and that was—

"To suggest in what manner to re-plan the drug industry, in what manner the drug industry should function, and in what manner the production of antibiotics should be extended."

When Sri Dhage raised the question again on December 22, 1959, Sri Manubhai Shah had had 20 days to correctly inform himself if he had made a wrong statement unwittingly and take the opportunity to tell the House the truth. But no, he struck to his falsehood.

Sri Manubhai Shah's statement is utterly untrue, entirely contrary to facts. The Committee never had anything to do with the re-planning of drug industry and never had dealt with the matter in any way during the three years it functioned.

Committee's Terms

Its terms of reference were:—

"To examine the technical side of the Penicillin Project from the production as well as the research aspects and to advise Government from time to time on the steps necessary to ensure the technical excellence of the Plant"

"Give independent advice to the Government of India on the suitability of the methods adopted and the degree of success achieved by the Board of Directors of the Company."

The Committee of Expert Scientists was constituted specifically to help the plant to keep its technical methods up-to-date and work efficiently. It had two topmost antibiotic scientists of the country among its members. In its three reports it made valuable suggestions to improve the efficiency of the working of the plant, gave technical advice to increase its production and suggested suitable production and testing methods to secure excellence of the quality of penicillin produced.

It is to be noted that regardless of the composition of the Board of Directors of the Plant and regardless of any scientist that might be members of the Board, Government wanted the Expert Committee to function independently of the Board and to report to Government direct on the suitability of the methods adopted and the success achieved by the Board of Directors."

Thus in fact the Expert Committee of Scientists was the most competent body to

deal with the matter complained of by Members of Parliament. Yet for reasons best known to Sri Manubhai Shah, he not only did not refer the matter to the Committee, but had taken steps to prevent the Committee from functioning—with dire consequences, as are now apparent to all.

Not only malpractices in testing the quality of penicillin had crept in, but the technical efficiency level of the Plant is just where it was when the Expert Committee was inactivated in 1957. It has made no advance since then; the plant is still getting only about 3,000 units per milli-litre of broth, when other plants the world over have moved on to yields of 6,000-8,000 units per milli-litre of broth.

Pimpri is now producing only 30 million mega-units of penicillin a year while it should be producing at least 60 million mega units.

The most serious charge that the Members of Parliament made and to which they wanted a reply was that Sri Raja, Managing Director, a layman, had removed the Quality Control Department from under the control of the seniormost scientist of the plant and brought it under his own direct control and assumed responsibility for its efficient working.

The two Ministers concerned tried to soothe the House by all sorts of prevarications without end, such as that the Managing Director has always been in control, the same scientists are in charge, and so on. Dr. Kunzru was annoyed and stamped them by asking Sri Karmarkar to give the name of the senior scientific officer who was in immediate control of the testing operations and the name of the officer now, together with his qualifications and experience. Sri Karmarkar replied that he would find out that information and place it before the House.

This brought the immediate and obvious retort from Dr. Kunzru:—

"How is it that the hon. Minister said without knowing the facts that he was certain that no change had been made in respect of the officers concerned with the testing of quality of the penicillin prepared in the Pimpri Factory?"

Neither this nor any other question raised had been answered to the satisfaction of the House.

So there was nothing for it but the announcement by Sri Manubhai Shah of the appointment of a sub-committee of the Board of Directors consisting of Dr. G. B. Yodh of Bombay, Dr. Jhala, Director of the Haffkine Institute, Dr. K. Venkataraman, Director of National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, Dr. Pandit, Director, Indian Council of Medical Research and Sri Boarkar, Drug Controller, India, to investigate and report.

Extraordinary Features

The Report of the Sub-Committee is a truly mendacious document, but before we deal with it, we want to draw attention to its two most extraordinary features. Right through the two debates in

the Rajya Sabha, it was Sri Raja, Managing Director, who was under attack. So the Sub-Committee appointed would of necessity have to investigate into Sri Raja's conduct in the matter. Under the circumstances one would naturally expect Sri Raja not to be a part of the investigating agency.

Incredible though it may be yet it is a fact that Sri Raja was not only made a member of the investigating committee, but worse still, he was made its convenor. The effects of this circumstance are visible all over the Report.

Then again, though the Sub-Committee submitted its Report on January 17, 1960, Sri Manubhai Shah held it up, for reasons of his own, for days in spite of the keen anxiety the House had shown in the matter, and he placed it on the Table of the House only on the last day of the session, i.e., March 9, 1960.

Members of Parliament had questioned the conduct of Sri Raja, Managing Director, but the two Ministers concerned, Sri Karmarkar and Sri Manubhai Shah, by their prevarications to save Sri Raja from the consequences of his actions, had made themselves accomplices in the affair.

So the members of the Committee, loyal Government servants, eager to retain their well-paid posts, seem to have forgotten their role as investigators and seem to have assumed the more agreeable and pleasant job of white-washing Sri Raja and thereby also establishing the probity of the two concerned Ministers.

This task was made easy, it seems, by Sri Raja presenting to the Committee fabricated evidence to enable it to draw the desired conclusions suited to the occasion. This also incidentally brings out the "beauties" of the device to make the very person charged: the Convenor of a committee of investigation on his own misdoings!

The scientist members seem to have taken the easy path of accepting any evidence vouchered by the Convenor, Sri Raja, and not taking the trouble to examine the documents themselves with any care, or to put pertinent questions to individuals who could shed light in the matter. Worse still they seem to have lost all sense of their scientific integrity and signed a document full of false statements.

History Concocted

The main anxiety of the Sub-Committee seems to have been to prove that nothing much had changed in the Quality Control Department; more or less the same officers or officers of the same standing remained in charge as the Ministers had said in Parliament. This is accomplished by introducing a piece of concocted history of the Quality Control Department in the Report.

The Report's version of history is made up for you to believe that though Pimpri started producing bulk penicillin at the end of 1955, the Testing Department was started at Pimpri only in May 1956 on the transfer to Pimpri of the

Bottling Plant of the Company at Bombay, which till then had been testing, among other things, Pimpri bulk penicillin, and that from that very day, i.e., May 1956, Dr. P. D. Kulkarni, a Junior Bacteriologist, started looking after the biological tests at Pimpri.

The same impression is sought to be conveyed in the Table on page 3 of the Report that in May 1956 there was an Assistant Superintendent of the Quality Control Section and also a Junior Scientific Officer.

If only the distinguished scientists on the Sub-Committee had taken the trouble to carefully examine the records, they would have found that the Quality Control Section (then called the Analytical Section) was set up at Pimpri in October 1955, that is long before Pimpri had started producing bulk penicillin.

To keep it absolutely independent of the Production Department it was organised in the Research Department which had all the scientific facilities to carry out testing at the highest level of efficiency, and it was put under the control of Dr. K. Ganapathi, the seniormost scientist of the Plant. Miss R. J. Irani, M.Sc., from the University of Wisconsin (now Ph.D.) was specially engaged and appointed Chief of the Analytical Section. She looked after both the chemical and bacteriological tests.

The organisation of the Quality Control Department at Pimpri had nothing to do with the closure of the Testing Department of the Bombay Bottling Plant, as stated in the Report. It had made all the testing arrangements months before Pimpri started producing bulk penicillin, and started testing right from the beginning of bulk production.

Of course it is possible that since the earlier batches of penicillin were bottled at Bombay they may also have been tested there, but the Pimpri penicillin bottled at Bombay was in any case tested at Pimpri regardless of whether it was tested at Bombay or not.

Dr. Irani continued to remain in charge of the Quality Control Section until January 1958, when she got herself relieved of the testing duties to take up research. Dr. Kulkarni had nothing to do with the Quality Control Section until October 1957, when he was brought in to the Section through pressure of work and was asked to do sterility tests under the supervision of Dr. Irani.

It is utterly untrue to say that he started sterility tests in May 1956 on the so-called transfer of the Testing Department of the Bombay Bottling Plant to Pimpri. In fact the Testing Department of the Bottling Plant at Bombay was never transferred. It was merely closed down. So Dr. Kulkarni could not have possibly signed any Analytical Report from May to December 1956 as stated in the Report since he was not a part of the Department.

It was only when Miss Irani asked to be relieved of her work on her transfer to the Research Department in January 1958 that Dr. Kulkarni was put in charge of the Quality Control Section. How-

ever, for three days in April 1957, when both Dr. Ganapathi and Miss Irani were away from Pimpri, Dr. Kulkarni signed the Analytical Reports as an emergent measure.

Similarly the statement in the Table referred to above, that there was on the staff of the Quality Control Section in May 1956 a Junior Bacteriologist as Assistant Superintendent of Quality Control, is false. This post was created only in January 1958.

It is quite obvious that these false statements are made to convey the idea that Dr. Kulkarni had been associated with the Quality Control Section from the very beginning and that he remained in charge even when the Section was brought under the direct charge of the Managing Director, and to show that no major change had taken place in the staffing of the Quality Control Department.

The Report says that the Quality Control Section was brought under the direct and personal control of the Managing Director in August 1958. This again is utterly untrue. The Managing Director assumed control of the Department in April 1958 when Dr. Ganapathi became Works Manager and refused to keep control over the Quality Control Section under him, because he had then assumed charge of production.

However, it is true that the Board of Directors accepted this change in August 1958.

Structure Of Quality Control

The Report makes the bland statement "that the internal structure, personnel, testing procedures, etc., were left intact and the Department made independent in order to give it status equivalent to that of other departments of the Company". The facts already given show this to be a preposterous statement.

When the Quality Control Section began it worked under the control of a distinguished scientist, Dr. K. Ganapathi, and Miss (now Dr.) R.J. Irani. Its structure was changed out of recognition and a Junior Bacteriologist not specially trained for quality control work was in charge and was working under the control of Sri S. T. Raja, Managing Director, utterly innocent of any scientific knowledge, and yet the Sub-Committee has the hardihood to say that the internal structure of the Section was left intact.

It will be too long to go into the question of testing procedures here. We have said enough on the subject in the earlier part of the article to show how the Drug Rules were being contravened without let or hindrance.

There is a lot of space devoted in the Report to either justifying the contraventions of the Drug Act or to ascribing them to the inadvertence on the part of Dr. Kulkarni. In doing so both the British pharmacopoeia and the United States pharmacopoeia and Federal Drug Administration Rules have been misquoted.

Without going into this highly technical matter right here, we would like to expose an utterly mendacious statement that when Dr. Kulkarni

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JANATA'S ABOUT-TURN ON NEPAL

SPOTLIGHT

IT seems the PSP is out to beat its own record of rank opportunism and downright treachery to the cause of social progress. Its latest is a complete somersault on the stand that this party took on the throttling of democracy in Nepal.

even moral support, cannot also have failed to influence them.

"If, in spite of these adverse factors, the King has shown his readiness to stand firm by taking action, against his wavering Ministry, to him should go praise, not blame, the fullest sympathy, not detraction." And the "systematic campaign of vilification" which Asokaji rued on December 25 is repeated in those columns of the Janata on January 1 in the crassest form.

Vilification number one is that the Koirala Cabinet took a decision to permit free passage to the Communist China in the event of their moving against India and not to attempt to resist them! "If it is indeed true," writes the Janata, "then it would seem that not only should there be no criticism of the King but that he should be actively supported and assisted."

Vilification number two indulged in by the Janata is that the Ministry intended to move against the King with a view to reach some agreement with Communist China. It adds, "If this was so, again the King would seem to be fully justified."

Thus the red herring is drawn across the track. Forgotten is the issue of the fight against "the feudal yoke" or that of "democratic transformation" and "ordered change." "Socialist" PSP appears in its true colours. It opens mouth to put its foot into it.

JAN SANGHITE INSINUATIONS

HAVING closely followed the many newsbits appearing in the press on the dastardly murder of Mrs. Ellen Roy, I was much intrigued to find a prominently displayed box in the Organiser on "Who killed Ellen Roy?" The Jan Sanghite tabloid has evidently been pressed into service by the foreigners, who, as the reports in the press go, are suspected of having strong motives in this case of cowardly murder and with whom the Jan Sangh has spiritual and material ties.

The pitiful rag has made a Unequivocally letting down its friend and siding with the monarch, it wrote with aplomb:

"The weakness exhibited by the Government of India upto now in dealing with Communist Chinese, the keeping of Mr. Krishna Menon as Defence Minister, must naturally have had their effect on small countries like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Happenings in Tibet, too, the deplorable plight of the people, and the total failure of the Government of India to give them

very crude effort to divert the investigators' attention from the track which they are following according to the above-mentioned press reports.

Trying to insinuate against the "Reds" in this case, it has employed the trite trick of fascists, forgers and "four-twenties" all over the world. It has forgotten that such strategems have ceased to

pay now. So desperate it is, What is astounding, however, is that it should have adverted again in this connection to its exploded story of "Communist Complicity" in the blaze that occurred some time ago in the survey of India office at Dehradun. The New Age had thoroughly exposed that mischievous allegation for what it was worth. Only

the dense-headed Jansanghites could have the temerity to repeat that allegation afterwards. Blockheads that they are, they do not realise that they could be hauled up and made mincemeat of in a court of law, for indulging in libel of this kind.

—GARUDA

HANDS OFF LAOS AND CUBA

Moscow, January 10

PAPERS here have devoted a lot of space to developments in Laos and Cuba during the last week. Danger of American aggression and military intervention in Cuba remains as Pentagon provocations continue to grow, and as Zorin warned in the meeting of the Security Council, Cuba shall not be left to face it alone, Soviet people are determined to give all support and help to Cuba.

Commenting on Laos where American imperialism has started another conflagration of war Pravda points out that some days ago Government of United States made a lot of noise and declared that it had evidence to show that "Communist forces have invaded Laos." Lot of warlike moves and alerts were made and warships were deployed. All these preparations were intended to encourage American stooges in South-East Asia but they served only to frighten European allies of USA Pravda declares.

In the meantime fabrication of "Red intervention" in Laos has been exposed as provocation and even American papers do not believe declarations of their own Government. Pravda article quotes New York Post as declaring that the news of intervention of forces of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was fabricated to create an international crisis. The American paper declared that the United States was encircled by a chain of lies and the President served as instrument of deception. The New York Post demands an enquiry as to who was responsible for Washington's attempt to deceive the whole world. Pravda commenting on

this declares: "Quite apart from the fact whether the doddering President was weak-willed instrument or participant in this provocation, one thing is clear: War adventurists who rule in Pentagon are deliberately provoking armed conflict in Laos." The Soviet papers have repeatedly pointed out that world public opinion has to be awakened to the realisation of its full responsibility in the case of Laos

An international conference similar to that of Geneva has to be called and the International Commission must be sent again to supervise in Laos. It is the duty of Asian countries and especially of India to make their full weight felt in this matter. This is the only way to avoid American intrigues and subterfuge playing havoc with peace of the world.

Masood Ali Khan

CALCUTTA DEMONSTRATION

A DEMONSTRATION, organised jointly by the Communist Party and the Marxist Forward Bloc, marched to the US Consulate in Calcutta on January 7, to demand that the US Government must immediately stop its intervention in the internal affairs of Laos.

Jolly Kaul, Ganesh Ghose, MLA, and Samar Mukherjee MLA, Communist leaders and Surhid Mullik Chowdhury, MLA, leader of the Marxist Forward Bloc, met the US Consul-General and handed over a memorandum, which had been adopted earlier at a public meeting.

The Memorandum strongly protested against the US Government's intervention as a result of which the legally elected government of the country under the leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma has been forcibly removed from power and the puppet government of Prince Boun Oum installed.

The action of the US Government, the Memorandum pointed out, had aroused the indignation of

the people of India in general and of the people of Calcutta in particular who, having had experience of two centuries of imperialist rule, are fully aware of the sinister role that the imperialist powers are playing today under the leadership of your Government.

"We condemn also the efforts of the SEATO Pact countries who, at the instigation of the US Government, are planning fresh aggression against Laos."

The Memorandum demanded that a conference of the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference be held on the basis of the recognition of the popular Government of Laos so as to stop all interference of imperialist and other reactionary forces and safeguard the independence of the Laotian people.

The Memorandum made it clear to the US imperialists that "the people of India will give all support to the heroic people of Laos under the leadership of valiant Captain Kong Lae and are confident that the people of Laos will succeed in maintaining their freedom and all conspiracies against them will be foiled."

PLAN

* FROM BACK PAGE

but they will not aid the public sector.

The ground for the present visit of the World Bank Mission was already prepared by earlier visits of specialists and professors from abroad. Their job was to talk and talk and fraternise with Indian specialists and officials, fix up scholarships abroad for their sons and nephews, and invite the key-men abroad for lecture-cum-study tours.

While the Third Plan was being discussed, Sri Tarlok Singh, Secretary, Planning Commission, Sri Pitamber Pant, Chief, Perspective Division and Sri S. R. Sen, Joint Secretary, Planning Commission have visited the U.S. and not on official visits either. The above three are the three most important personalities on the Secretariat side of the Planning Commission and they had the reputation of being staunch Nehruvites. Today they have become so soft and tame that they are keeping their mouths shut while all

that we have recounted above is going on inside the Planning Commission.

Step by step the American aim is unfolding itself—to starve and disrupt the targets and balance of the Third Plan and shape it nearer their imperialist desire and interests.

The softening up process has gone quite far. It is high time that honest public opinion speaks up. Indian Reaction in league with the Western monopoly representatives must not be allowed to have its way.

PERSPECTIVE

An Economic Review

PERSPECTIVE offers a forum for the exchange and development of ideas about the real significance of the changes taking place in the Indian economy seen from the angle of Socialism.

Contributors in the first number (January 1961): Gyanchand, S. Kumar, P. K. Sharma, (Dr) P. C. Joshi; S. Bhattacharya, K. Mathew Kurian, Subrid Gupta; A. K. Biswas and Marc Bloch.

Contributors in the second number (April 1961): Gyanchand, Charles Bettelheim, Ashok Mitra, A. Rudra, Ajit Roy, Ajit Dasgupta and S. Naqvi. Others who will contribute in future: K. N. Raj, Amartya Kumar Sen, P. Sarbadhikary, Vir Bahadur Singh, K. Naqvi, J. Rudolph and Sulekh Chandra Gupta.

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JANUARY 15, 1961

GREETINGS TO 26TH AITUC— FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD

FROM USSR

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

ence of their country, for peace the world over.
The All-India Trade Union Congress takes an active part in the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions, it is developing fraternal ties with trade unions of different countries, steadfastly seeks to unite all forces of world trade union movement in struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Unity of working class is the decisive factor to achieve success in this struggle, and particularly, for ensuring a stable and lasting peace.

Soviet Trade Unions which are constantly working for peaceful coexistence, for relaxation of world tension, against militarism and revanchism, for cooperation and friendship among the nations, firmly believe that unflagging and united efforts of all peace-loving forces can secure peace and deal a decisive blow to the policy of war.

Soviet working people sincerely rejoice at the achievements of Indian people in building up their peaceful and independent country, and they wholeheartedly share Indian working peoples' desire to strengthen peace and friendship among nations.

Relations between the peoples of our two countries are marked with sincere friendship and fraternal cooperation in economic and cultural fields. This cooperation promotes development of India's national economy and culture, consolidates her sovereignty and independence.

Now when the American imperialists and their accomplices seek by every means to delay historical process of steadfast development of national liberation movement, peoples' struggle for peace and social progress, when they provoke

intrigues against peace-loving nations, cooperation between peoples of USSR and India, between peoples of all countries, assumes ever greater significance.

All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions wishes All-India Trade Union Congress further great achievements in its noble activities in the interests of Indian working people, strengthening solidarity of labour and trade union movement, in struggle for triumph of the cause of peace and friendship of nations.

Long Live the unbreakable friendship between the working people of India and Soviet Union.

Long Live unity of working people of all countries in struggle for peace and social progress.

Long Live the All-India Trade Union Congress.

FROM CHINA

Following is text of the cable of greetings received from Liu Ning-yi, President, All China Federation of Trade Unions, Peking to the AITUC Session:

DEAR Comrades, Warmest fraternal greetings to twenty-sixth session of AITUC on behalf of ACFTU and the entire Chinese workers.

In recent years, Indian working class made ceaseless efforts for vital interests and democratic rights, for opposing imperialism and safeguarding national independence and world peace. Chinese workers wholeheartedly support our brother Indian workers' just struggle and rejoice over each and every achievement and victory they won. Chinese trade unions

heartily wish AITUC new and greater success in leading workers' struggles, strengthening working class unity and elevating consciousness of the masses of workers.

Chinese working class will forever stand together with our brother Indian workers and jointly strive for strengthening Chinese-Indian people's friendship, strengthening world working class unity based on internationalism, opposing imperialism, defending world peace, safeguarding national independence and democratic freedoms and for complete victory of world working class struggle.

Wish session every success. Long Live Chinese, Indian peoples and workers' friendship and unity. Long Live world working class unity.

★ FROM ITALY

THE message sent by Agostino Novella, General Secretary, Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) who is also President of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), after regretting inability to attend the AITUC session personally, said:

"The Italian workers and the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) during the current year 1960 (the message is dated December 24, 1960) have had to wage hard struggles for better living conditions as well as in defence of democracy and freedom for the whole country and in particular in the work places.

"These struggles reached their bloody climax with the street fights which occurred in July against the attempts to re-introduce fascism in the very government of our Republic and against the consequent menace to the fundamental rights of the workers and of the Italian people.

"The workers have spearheaded it, and have therefore given it not only the character of a protest against the fascist menace, but also that of a determined demand to improve, with the defence of democratic rights, the living and working conditions of the workers.

"The large participation of young workers, who had in part up to that moment refrained from actively supporting other industrial struggles, has clearly demonstrated that for them the fight for the defence of democracy coincides with the fight for a better future, for the right to security of work and for a better life.

"We have stressed these points because we are aware that while the police here, in their attempts to stop this struggle and these demands, shot at the workers killing ten workers, you were fighting against the fustillade of the Indian police and your workers in Dohad were killed unmercifully. Your workers and our workers, therefore died for the same reasons, the

rights of the workers, a better future and democracy.

"Facts like these are not happening by chance. They are a desperate attempt to stop the working class action when it is in full swing and no other means are available.

"In Italy, in fact, the whole trade union movement, which went through some bleak years, is now living in a period of great revival. The large, united struggles of last year; the Fifth National Conference of the Italian General Confederation of Labour; the July street clashes; the struggles now being fought by workers of different trades and by all the National Organisations, are a demonstration that all the attempts of monopoly capitalism to undermine the fighting power of the Italian working class have resulted only in strengthening its determination to attain better living conditions and a stronger democracy.

"These struggles aim at improving working conditions, solving the problem of unemployment, strengthening the bargaining power of the workers, carrying out a deep change of the general set-up of our society for a larger economic and more democratic development of our country and for a general betterment of the living standards of people.

"We know that in India too, you are tackling problems and facing struggles of momentous importance which, in spite of major differences, have common aspects with our own. The solidarity between the Indian and the Italian workers is not an abstract one, and we therefore are pledging to make it ever more active and concretely operating...."

★ FROM FRANCE

THE message from the General Confederation of Labour (CGT), of France, reads:

"On the occasion of the 26th Session of the AITUC, in the name of the CGT and in the name of the workers of France, we send our warmest greetings; and through you,

we send our greetings to the workers of India.

"We greet their struggles for better living and working conditions, in defence of their hard-won rights, for better economic and social conditions, for national and international unity, for general and total disarmament, and for peace and friendship amongst all peoples.

"Dear Comrades, we would have been happy indeed if our central trade union organisation could have sent a delegate to be present in your deliberations. Such a delegation would also have been able to convey to the workers of India our wholehearted support to your just struggle. But the situation at present obtaining in France makes it necessary for every single member of our unions to remain in our country. Our trade unions are now entering a new phase in our struggle for united action of the working class against the employers, to combat the personal power of de Gaulle, and the actions of the extremists, for a negotiated peace in Algeria and for the revival of democracy.

"We send you our greetings once again for a most successful conference and to the workers of your country. Every single one of your victories is an encouragement to our own struggle for the common aims of workers of all countries.

"Long Live the 26th Congress of the AITUC! Long live the friendship and solidarity of the workers of our two countries!"

Other messages received include those from trade union centres of North Korea and Bulgaria, from the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO), from the Burmese Trade Union Congress, from the South African Congress of Trade Unions, from the Landorganisasjonen i Sverige (Sweden), from the Union General de Obreros y Campesinos de Mexico, and many others.

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JOTEDARS ON RAMPAGE

Police & Goondas Spread Terror In W. Bengal Villages

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

The harvesting of the new paddy crop is now in full swing throughout West Bengal. The jotedars, too have stepped up their offensive against the sharecroppers. They are making all-out efforts to seize the paddy of surplus lands that have either vested in the State or have been illegally retained by them through malafile transfers and partitions.

POLICE camps have been set up at several places in different districts on the plea of maintaining law and order. But, instead of curbing the illegal and violent activities of the jotedars, the police are actively aiding and abetting them.

The serious incident that occurred in Tuniabilla village in Patashpur Thana of Midnapore District on December 19 reminds one of the savageries perpetrated on our people during the British regime. On the day of the occurrence, some jotedars of neighbouring villages came to Tuniabilla with hired goondas and 300 other people to seize paddy from lands which had been cultivated by sharecroppers.

When the news reached the village, womenfolk of the sharecroppers went to the spot and strongly objected to the jotedars' action. This enraged an ASI of Bhagabanpur Thana, who had come there with a posse of police. He started abusing the women in filthy language. Still, they would not allow jotedars' men to take away the crop.

The police then attacked them with batons and whips. Sm. Rajbala Das was stripped naked and beaten up. Sm. Satyabhama was dragged along the ground by the hair. Sm. Purnamoyee Das was tied with a rope and then thrashed. Four other women were also assaulted. Jotedars' men and the police fled when the villagers rushed to the scene. The women narrated their frightful experience at the hands of the police when Bhupal Panda, Communist MLA, went there to make an on-the-spot enquiry.

Fictitious Transfers

It is to be noted in this connection that a huge chunk of land, including the aforementioned land, has been transferred by the jotedars under fictitious names. The sharecroppers filed objections against the malafile transfers, and the local Sub-Divisional Officer issued orders restraining both jotedars and sharecroppers from entering any portion of the disputed land or harvesting the standing crop. Yet, the jotedars openly violated the order, and that, too, with the active co-operation of the police!

Two weeks earlier, they had made a similar attempt. But it was foiled on account of the determined resistance of the sharecroppers. The police had gone to the village to help the jotedars but they had to give an assurance that the dispute would be amicably settled.

Between December 11 and 21, the police arrested 58 sharecroppers of Mirzapur and neighbouring villages in Debra Thana for opposing the forcible seizure of Hari Karmarkars' paddy by jotedars' men on December 10.

Prior to this incident, Advasi sharecroppers of the area had, under the leadership of the Kisan Sabha, launched a movement to curb the illegal activities of the jotedars. But the jotedars succeeded in luring the paddy of about 60 sharecroppers with the active backing of the police. A police camp was also set up in the house of one of the jotedars.

In Mainaguri area of Jalpaiguri District, Government has taken physical possession of only 4,000 acres of land that have vested in the State.

But jotedars are illegally taking away the harvest of these lands because of the Government's failure to settle them with sharecroppers. They are seizing paddy even from those lands for which the Government

has already realised the annual license fee of Rs. 10 per acre from the sharecroppers.

On December 16, some people, armed with various weapons, looted about 100 maunds of paddy from the vested land which had been tilled by Jamiruddin Md., a sharecropper of Sishuabari Mauza.

Some time ago, many sharecroppers in Mangalhat area received by post an "open letter" from a certain jotedar, directing them to send their paddy to his house within a definite date. If this was not done, the letter warned, the crop would be forcibly taken away by his men.

Shortly after this, 40 armed people raided the fields of two sharecroppers and started reaping the standing crop. But they had to retreat when the villagers made it clear that they would resist the illegal seizure. It is learned that the local Congress boss and the jotedar were with the goonda gang.

Aku Munda, Salai Oraon and other Advasi sharecroppers have been cultivating some plots of vested land in Nagrakata Thana for the past two years in return for the usual license fee. Yet, the former owners of the land tried to grab the entire crop. When the sharecroppers

filed petitions against these jotedars, the local Government officials instructed the officer-in-charge of Nagrakata Thana to seize the paddy and keep it in the safe custody of a third party, pending settlement of the dispute.

Grabbing The Paddy

The paddy is no doubt seized, but it is being carted away to the barns of the jotedars—a perfectly 'safe custody', indeed!

On December 27, about 300 armed goondas of jotedars looted about 300 maunds of paddy from some plots of lands in Padmati village in Mainaguri area. Sharecroppers have filed these plots for the past 13 years. The miscreants also set fire to the sharecroppers' houses, six of which were completely gutted. A complaint was lodged at the local Thana, but no action whatsoever has been taken so far.

Not only that. As early as December 24, the Kisan Sabha had informed the District Magistrate about the apprehension prevailing in the area that paddy of about 40 bighas of land might be looted.

Paddy from the lands of a large number of sharecroppers of Falaibari Mauza in Kallari Thana of West Dinajpur District has been taken away by a certain jotedar, although Land Revenue officials had forbidden him to harvest the crop. The lands in question have vested in the State and have been settled with the sharecroppers.

Similarly, paddy from several plots of land in Manipur Mouza of Hemtabad Thana has been seized by jotedars. A portion of the land owned by Sattori Ghose, a big jotedar in Beldanga Thana of Murshidabad District, vested in the State. The Government settled the land temporarily with two sharecroppers, but the harvest has been taken away by the jotedar.

Several other jotedars have surplus land in Sarulla Mouza of Beldanga Thana; but the Government does not seem to be at all keen on taking them over as early as possible. On January 1, Kisan Sabha leaders and the sharecroppers of Mahisjol Mouza in Domjura Thana of Howrah District foiled the local jotedars' attempt to seize paddy from Shyamcharan Maitty's land. The jotedar had come with about 50 men. But when the Kisan Sabha leaders appealed to them, they refused to help the jotedar and left the place.

Our Moscow Newsletter

New Coins In The New Year— No Visitors From Mars

NEW YEAR has come and gone but still no sign of winter in Russian sense of the world. What has happened to Grandfather Frost; where is he, we have been asking here for last month-and-a-half. The bearded figure of this benefactor of children was of course present everywhere during the New Year celebrations but outside it has been a "warm" winter with very little snow and lot of rain and temperatures round about zero centigrade.

Let us hope that this is significant and symbolic and the year 1961 is to bring an end of the cold war and real warming up in international relations.

The halls of the Kremlin Palace were thrown open to the children and youth in the first week of January where everyday New Year celebrations, singing and dancing and the traditional holiday of Yotka, the New Year Tree, went on.

There was another pleasant surprise and welcome present to the people from the Soviet Government on the New Year. New money came into circulation from January 1 and new kopek coins have also been issued which are ten times the value of the old ones.

But to make the change-over easier for the population

it was announced on the 1st that the old coins of one, two and three kopek denominations shall not be withdrawn but acquire the status of new coins. This meant that these coins became ten times their value overnight and many rushed to buy new year gifts.

Mostly children benefited from this monetary revolution as they usually collect small coins and the old value of these coins had been so small that parents readily used to give them to the little ones to play with.

Now they represented real money and many children came out with their savings on the New Year and ran to shops to buy skates, toys or whatever they had dreamed of buying but could not for lack of funds. Only a Socialist State can afford to be so generous.

These rumours were started, he says, because some irresponsible lecturers in Moscow told fantastic stories based on American Press reports. It has been proved long ago that these phenomena are nothing but an optical illusion and the American astronomer Menzel has devoted a whole book to the subject. This strange assortment of tableware cannot be considered real as no new facts have been discovered which would lead us to believe that inhabitants of other planets pay visits to this earth secretly.

Some people have been playing upon that natural interest which there is today in matters connected with cosmic research. It was even said that miniature size inhabitants of Venus landed

planes were sent up to intercept it but in vain! With rockets and space ships and films about fantastic inhabitants of Mars and Venus feeding the imagination these rumours spread fast. It was claimed that someone in the Arctic region had even photographed some fantastic luminous flying object.

An end was put to all this on Sunday when Pravda and Komsomolskaya Pravda published articles dealing with this branch of scientific fiction. Academician Artsimovich in Pravda declares that there is not even one fact which could lead us to believe that mysterious material objects fly over our heads!

PENICILLIN

* FROM PAGE 12

changed over from the United State Pharmacopoeia Rules to the British Pharmacopoeia Rules he did not have a suitable register for making records of his observations. So he kept making observations in a rough register—which is irregular—until he could procure a suitable register for making entries of observations under the British Pharmacopoeia Rules.

This is utterly and entirely false. No new registers for British Pharmacopoeia sterility tests were either ordered or printed, and therefore, there could be no occasion for Dr. Kulkarni to wait for the supply of such registers to make his entries.

The truth of the matter is that he made his entries in August 1959 in a register with pages from 11,001 to 11,200, and then transcribed them into another register with page marked from 10,001 to 10,100 in September 1959.

This shows that this so-called British Pharmacopoeia Rules register which he was waiting for to make the entries was already with him when he was making entries in the so-called rough register.

There is no end to such distortions and false statements on the part of everybody concerned with the affair.

This Report has, instead of reassuring the people and restoring their confidence in the Pimpri plant, made matters worse. To restore the confidence of the people in this plant of vital importance to the health of our people, it is imperative that a judicial enquiry should be held to bring out the real facts and steps be taken to set the matters right by bringing persons at fault to book and replacing them by people who can really run this plant at the highest level of technical efficiency. People's life and that of their near and dear ones is affected by the products of this plant.

PRUNING THE PLAN BEFORE IT STARTS

* FROM FRONT PAGE

wagging that the proposed industrial projects in the public sector may not materialise during the Third Plan period for lack of enthusiasm on the part of the probable foreign participants.

Under the present dispensation it is the responsibility of the Finance Ministry to find the necessary foreign aid to meet the foreign exchange needs of the projects of the Plan. If the Finance Ministry cannot produce the foreign aiders, all that the Planning Commission can do is to shrug its shoulders and willy-nilly accept the position that the needed foreign aid is not available.

In such a grim situation, the direct creation of the Finance Ministry, the Planning Commission experts are tending to take the view that all that can be done now is to determine the "core" of the Third Plan and leave the rest as it is and review the position from year to year.

During the Second Plan the problem of determining the core and pruning the rest cropped up after two years. While formulating the Third Plan the problem of the core has been made to crop up in the very beginning. Indian reaction has become that much bolder.

New Age has been warning its readers that unlike the Second Plan, the World Bank

learning from past experience did not directly oppose the big targets of the Third Plan or the heavy industrial projects in the public sector but only gave the caution to be realistic and make sure that the resources were available. The Western economists and the specialists from the World Bank and allied institutions that have been visiting India non-stop, have been helping their contacts and friends inside the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission to make out the case that the necessary internal resources were not available, etc.

Grim Situation

They have of course been broadcasting that foreign aid is not available for the public sector industrial projects when the private sector is prepared to undertake the responsibility. All this is no more a secret. The success of their operations is writ large all over the discussions about the Third Plan and the critical stage that has been reached.

Even today there is a World Bank Mission present in our country led by Mr. Joseph Rucinsky, head of the Bank's South-East Asia Department. The special correspondent of the Hindustan Times reports (January 10) that the Bank is not prepared to commit itself beyond aiding the first year of the Third Plan, that the World

Bank will contribute about dollars 100 million and its affiliate, the IDA, another 50 millions.

The Bank loans will cover Power Generation, Port Development, Railways, Coal Mining (in the private sector) while the IDA loans will benefit road transport, minor irrigation, land-reclamation, fisheries, water supply and sewerage for Calcutta. All these constitute social overheads; not a dollar has been pledged to any public sector project for basic and heavy industries.

I have not met the World Bank delegates but I have met some very important people in the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry who have held long and intimate discussions with them. These Yankee aiders' mince no words. They are quite blunt in their private talk.

The running theme through all they talk is that India cannot get aid from the "democratic" world and the free enterprise World Bank for the public sector industrial enterprises in India. If India is keen on these enterprises and industries the way out is to have them in the private sector. Western foreign firms with resources and technical know-how will certainly help and are likely to participate with Indian private sector in floating such enterprises

* ON PAGE 13



Delegate to Asian Congress Prof. Libov who heads the team of Soviet doctors working in Kalawati Saran Hospital, Delhi, speaks at the press conference.

Soviet Paediatricians

A FIFTEEN-MEMBER delegation of the Soviet Paediatricists who came to India for participating in the First All-Asian Congress of Paediatrics rounded off their stay in New Delhi with a Press Conference in the Soviet Embassy here on January 7. The delegation which was led by Dr. N. N. Grigoryeva, Deputy Health Minister of the Russian Federation consisted of specialists in various branches of paediatrics.

the establishment of 120 maternity and child protection centres.

A group of child specialists, she added, was assisting in the local Kalawati Saran Hospital, where children from Delhi and all over the country received expert treatment.

Answering a question about the treatment of Polio in the USSR, Soviet paediatricist, Prof. A. L. Libov said that in the Soviet Union the emphasis was on prevention. In 1960 alone, 60 million children and 11 million adults were vaccinated against the disease. Its incidence has registered a sharp decrease.

To the question whether similar diseases exist in the Soviet Union as in India another delegate Prof. A. R. Tar of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences said that diseases are similar but diseases due to lack of nutrition, small-pox, malaria and diphtheria have been eliminated. Giving an example of his own city Leningrad, Prof. Tar said, during the last two years there had been no fatal case of diphtheria there.

The incidence of industrial diseases in the Soviet Union was on the decrease. The working hours in industries are strictly regulated and in some industries like the chemical ones they are less than seven hours. The incidence of heart and mental diseases has also been reduced. Dr. Grigoryeva pointed out that the increase in longevity of life spoke for itself.

Asked about Yoga Dr. Libov said it was a very old method of treatment. Now we had methods superior to it. In the Soviet Union they have medical gymnastics and that he thought was much superior to Yoga.

Asked about baldness another doctor, amidst laughter, moved his hand on his head and all of us could know it is still not there. And this brought the press conference to an end.

—O. P. MEHROTRA

COMRADE C. C. AIYAPPAN

COMRADE C. C. Aiyappan who expired on 31 December 1960 had a proud record of struggles for the agricultural labourers in particular and the peasants in general.

Born of the scheduled caste, he has had to carry on a hard and bitter struggle for his own education. Comrade P. K. Chathan, a former member of the Communist Council of Ministers in Kerala, recalls how he himself and Comrade Aiyappan, along with several other Harijan youths of those days, had to break their college education, since they were denied the financial assistance which they had hoped to get when they joined the college.

Ever since then, Comrade Aiyappan and several other Harijan youths including the former Minister Comrade Chathan, have dedicated themselves to the cause of uplifting their community by saving the growing generation from the fate that overtook themselves.

Gradually, however, they began to see that service of their own community is inextricably bound up with the service of the agricul-



tural labourers and peasants. They thus expanded their activity to a wider horizon, that of organising the agricultural labourers and peasants regardless of the caste or religious denomination to which they belonged. They thus became the organisers and natural leaders of the entire rural poor in their areas.

It was in this way that Comrade Chathan became the President of the local panchayat long before he became a Minister and as a matter of fact continued to hold that position till he became a Minister.

Comrade Aiyappan too was returned to the legislature of the then

Travancore-Cochin State in 1952 and continued to hold that position successfully in the Travancore-Cochin and Kerala legislatures till 1960.

I remember having met him for the first time in 1952 after I came out from my underground life. His name had already become known to me as one of the candidates of the then Cochin Congress Party who, the moment it was announced that he was returned to the legislature, took a Red Flag in his hand and marched along with his followers shouting "Communist Party Zindabad!"

I have known him since then and very intimately in the days of 1957-59. His hard and earnest work and his grasp of rural problems have evoked the admiration of all of us, his colleagues in the legislature and in the Party, as well as our opponents.

There is no doubt that the Harijan community, the class of agricultural labourers and poor peasants, the Communist Party and the progressive movement in general, all have suffered an irretrievable loss from his untimely demise.

—E.M.S. Namboodiripad
(January 10)