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FEUDAL PRINCELINGS POUR SCORN OVER OUR REPUBLIC

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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Those who call themselves leaders of the nation should be hanging their heads in shame. As for us, we have never been angrier before. A petty megalomaniac, emboldened by the presence of British royalty on our soil, has heaped immeasurable scorn on our Republic, organising a princely durbar and demonstration of how the Maharaja of Jaipur and his forefathers and the State's feudal chieftains bent their knees and paid homage and tribute in, what they must be considering, the good old days of the British Empire to the ancestors of Elizabeth Regina II when they were the supreme rulers of enslaved India.

IMAGINE this scene in the twelfth year of this sovereign Republic of ours:

A durwan with a naked sword announces the entrance into the heavily carpeted courtyard of the Jaipur Palace of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip. The royal guests are received at the gate by Maharani Gayatri Devi who, attired in the traditional Rajasthani costume, performs the arti and welcomes the queen who had rode in from the palace gate on a richly caparisoned elephant along with the Maharaja.

Inside the palace, 600 and odd princes and jagirdars, in flowing turbans, brocade achkans, with swords dangling from their side and the decorations granted by the British pinned to their chests, rise and bow in obeisance and are introduced to the royal guests. It is as if the scene had been transported from the days of Maharaja Man Singh I, as if the British were still the rulers of the country.

Beyond hung a map which showed the areas over which the various rulers of the Jaipur dynasty ruled at various times. Beginning from the days of Prithviraj it showed that Man Singh I in the days of Akbar ruled over Kabul and Bengal. The Maharaja may not have been ashamed of his shameful past, but what came further in the series must arouse the anger of every living Indian.

The last section of the map showed that Sawal Man

Singh II (the present Maharaja) ruled over the State of Rajasthan in free India. He was the Raj Pramukh of Rajasthan by the courtesy of the Home Department and that he considers as

They kept away because this pigmy of a Maharaja who has no more powers or privileges than any other citizen of this Republic, in his supreme arrogance warned that anyone who was not in the "court dress" would not be allowed in and he did not issue invitations to all the Ministers.

The Chief Minister at first declined the invitation. And the Maharaja and Maharani, in turn, refused to be present at the lunch given by the Governor. The report is that the table plan for the lunch

sonal approaches to the Maharaja to canvass invitations for all his Cabinet colleagues and on the ground that these invitations had been issued and that the restrictions about dress had been waived, the Chief Minister and the Home Minister came along.

The Chief Minister did not think it necessary to hurl back the insult to the head of the State, he did not consider it his duty to defend the dignity of the Republic. Let the Republic hang its head in shame! Why and how has this dis-

persons busy arranging the various programmes on behalf of the Maharaja was the Jagirdar of Mahar, Man Singh, the recently appointed convenor of the Swatantra Party of this region. This gentleman gave out the news that Maharani Gayatri Devi with her son Devi Singh had joined the Swatantra Party. The release of this news was timed for the Queen's visit.

From Jaipur the Queen went to Udaipur where the Maharana organised another feudal darbar to which invitations were issued by the Maharana himself.

It is not that New Delhi is not aware of all this hobnobbing of British Royalty with the ex-Princes and the insult which these princes, shorn of all their powers these last few years, are flinging at the Republic. Nehru's obvious reference to "bejewelled princess" shows that the GOI is aware of what is going on. But why not do something to put these pigmies in their place?

The salute, of course, should be to the fraternity of tigers of the thick jungles skirted by the Chambal ravines, where once the valorous Rajputs waged wars with Mughal invaders and where this time only the tigers refused to be stampeded into this gushing welcome to visiting royalty.

This whole shikar business in the words of Kingsley Martin "is the very symbol of the former colonialism, the sport of Maharajas and English Sahibs and, therefore, particularly despised by modern India."

It is certainly not the way of sport of the Indian people. When Indian villagers kill tigers, it is because the tigers come marauding into the villages. The men of the villages do not sit on ceremonial machans with rifles at the ready nor do they have beaters bringing the tigers to the marked spot, nor do their women dress themselves in slacks and bush jackets.

Anyway, the tigers of Sawal Madhopur kept the royal couple waiting for a whole day. Then one of them is reported to have walked into the "selected spot"—the success of the operation, it is said, depends on the manner in which the tiger emerges into the marked area.

The Duke bagged it with one shot. No post-mortem will ever be held on the tiger that was killed. So let us take it that it was the Duke's shot that killed.

The best explanation for the delayed start to the final shikar of course is the one quoted by the London Diarist of the New Statesman: the beaters couldn't find the Queen and the make-up man hadn't finished with the tiger.

New Delhi Pays For The Show & Keeps Mum

continuation of the glorious days of the Jaipur dynasty!

Only two were present in the function without the prescribed "court dress"—Chief Minister Sukhadia and the State's Home Minister. The Governor, the head of the State, was not present, nor the Speaker of the Assembly, nor the rest of the Cabinet.

could not be printed till the last moment because efforts were being made to "persuade" the Maharaja.

This was a calculated insult deliberately made to the constitutional head of the State. It is good the Governor and the Speaker did not respond to the Maharaja's invitation. But shameful to say, the Chief Minister made per-

grace been brought on us?

All the arrangements for the reception of the Queen including the expenditure—lavish expenditure at that—for remodelling of roads and decorations, for the elaborate traffic and police arrangements, were made by the Government of India and the State Government. Yet it was the Maharaja who had charge of drawing up the programme.

Not only that. In the name of the Queen's visit, the Maharaja was permitted to import two Mercedes cars (sections of the British ruling class are upset over the use of this German Mercedes—why not a British Rolls-Royce or at least an American Cadillac?) valued at about two lakhs of rupees duty-free.

It transpires that the Jaipur Maharaja and his pretty wife who spend about four months every year in London and have extensive business activities there, including the running of a hotel, had fixed up all about the royal visit to Jaipur straight with the Buckingham Palace.

Our High Commissioner in London was perhaps engaged otherwise while all this was going on, or, was it that the Government of India had no objection to such an extraordinary invitation from an Indian citizen to the British Queen?

As far as the Queen's visit to Rajasthan goes, the State Government itself was treated as a "foreigner". When she arrived she was received by the Governor of Rajasthan as well as the Maharaja and Maharani of Jaipur. She drove to the residence of the Governor and had lunch. Then she drove to a village nearby and returned. After that the State Government was wiped out of the picture.

The Maharaja took over the Queen and behaved as if he was the superhead of the Rajasthan State.

One of the more prominent

NAZI THUGS BEAT UP INDIANS CALL US BLOODY, BASTARDS

NO West German fascist thug whether he calls himself an engineer or something else, can be allowed to behave in the fashion Max Geopfert treated an Indian employee in Rourkela.

On January 20, this German engineer of Messrs Hochtief Gammon, who are constructing the cold-rolling mills in the Rourkela steel plant, went to the chief storekeeper, J. A. De Souza and asked him for some particulars.

The storekeeper who was busy in the midst of doing something, politely asked the engineer to wait a bit. The German caught the Indian employee by his collar and began beating him, all the time shouting, "You bloody Indian."

When employees in the nearby departments heard about it, they rushed to the German engineer and but for the fact that he escaped the Indian workers would have taught him never again to say "bloody Indians."

Not only this German engineer, but all the German personnel were withdrawn for the day by the

management and were safely shut up in an office-room.

But the workers resumed work only after the management assured them that the insolent German engineer had been withdrawn and he would soon be leaving India.

This is by no chance the first instance of such insulting behaviour from these West German thugs; the Indian employees have many stories of beatings and ill-treatment.

Heer, another engineer from West Germany, regularly beats the Indian employees, and a chief Mechanical Inspector addresses Indians only as "bastards"—of course, with the German word.

There is no reason why we should suffer these humiliations; it is not as if the Germans are showing us any kindness by building the steel plant in Rourkela.

We are paying through our nose for it. Not only is the cost exorbitant, due to their refusal to have a package deal as in Bhilai, the West Germans also refuse to take anything more than 20 per cent of the

cost in exchange of Indian goods, the rest has to be repaid in gold or dollars.

The West Germans, of course, flaunt their luxuries in Rourkela—their exclusive clubs, exclusive hospitals, exclusive swimming pools and all the rest of it. The minimum a German gets is about Rs. 100 a day!

In addition is all the pilfering that goes on. Equipment imported for the steel plant, for which we have to pay, finds its way into German homes for domestic use or into the black-market. It was only recently that when a bus carrying German personnel was searched at the gate a rubber hose-pipe, 30-ft. long, was found being smuggled out.

With all this, the Nazi thugs expect us to be grateful to them for such "aid" and take their beatings and insults without a murmur of protest.

No Indian worker is likely to do it and in Rourkela they will certainly fight. But shouldn't the bosses of Hindustan Steel tell the West Germans to behave or get out.

—RAMDASS

Reaction Exploits Queen's Visit

TWICE a year, on 26th January and on 15th August, the various elements of Indian national life speak up. Both these days are solemn occasions in Indian national mind.

So far most of the speaking used to be done by patriotic and popular elements, expressing their hope and frustrations. Of late, and particularly this year, Indian Reaction has emboldened to openly step into the national scene, and loudly exploit the occasion, to stem the onward march and turn the wheel back.

The Indian Reaction has fully exploited the British Queen's visit to play down India's anti-imperialist national heritage, play up Indo-British cooperation, with a view to paralyse Indian foreign policy efforts in the cause of anti-colonialism and peace in the coming critical months ahead.

The Indians concerned with the Queen's visit have either proved to be suckers or they have wittingly or unwittingly played the British game. Sri Durga Das in his Political Diary, January 17, writes:

"The Indian authorities, out of politeness to the Queen and consideration for her sex, agreed to let the (British) Court decide the details of her stay in India and deportment in public. Unfortunately, the way the Court has insisted on laying down the law in everything has made it look as if India is a Dominion and the Queen is visiting the country as an Empress. Perhaps if she had been an Empress the Court would not have behaved so superciliously."

Among the leading English national dailies it was left to the National Herald alone to stress, "She comes essentially as the Sovereign of the British people, representing their history, traditions, culture and love of discipline."

Most of the other dailies, true to their Rightwing blood and loyal to their Big Business masters, have publicised the British Imperial angle on the Commonwealth and India's relationship with the same. They pile up words about the Queen as the "Head of the Commonwealth", which is a British conception. The Indian official line has been that she is only the "symbol" of the Commonwealth, to accept the British Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth would mar its character, of a voluntary association among equals.

The Hindu clean eliminated the struggle and sacrifices of the Indian people that brought Indian freedom and indulged in the servile game of glorifying "the graciousness with which Great Britain transferred power" to India. (January 20)

The Tribune, January 21, has followed suit with the worst of words about Britain being the model of "how imperialist powers can be relinquished with dignity and grace and how an equitable

social order can be established without involving the nation in the strains of class conflict." It does not stop here but hugs the very chains that embody Indian exploitation in British Big Business, "Indo-British economic cooperation is growing by leaps and bounds, and British capital investment in this country is markedly increasing."

The Tribune is not alone in this, almost all the Indian papers that are controlled by reactionary Indian monopoly interests echo the same. Neither the memory of imperialist enslavement nor of foreign exploitation pricks the conscience of Indian reaction.

The Press was not apart but part of the whole Indian official set-up as it went into action with the Queen's visit and took its cue from those on high.

Nothing else but the Commonwealth link itself was the keynote of the banquet speeches by President Rajendra Prasad and Queen Elizabeth.

The Rashtrapati hailed the Commonwealth as "The most suitable and effective organisational expression of the interdependence that exist today." The British Queen promptly underlined, "In a larger sense the Commonwealth is a family of nations, and this is an apt way to describe the relationship between Britain and India."

According to President Rajendra Prasad Indian freedom came because there was 'no strife' 'no illwill', 'no rancour' in Mahatma Gandhi's heart, and secondly because the British parted with power "effectively and gracefully", and in time. The Indian people, their struggles and martyrdom figured nowhere in the Presidential estimate of how the Republic of India came into being!

It was not only the Rightwing press that ran away with the bit in its mouth. The feudal princes also came right out into the open to see if and how far the revival of the old days, basking in the political limelight, and climbing up to places of power, pelf and prestige was possible.

Jaipur Performance

The Jaipur Maharaja, by inviting Queen Elizabeth on his own and staging his feudal Durbar over the heads of the Governor, State Ministry and even the Government of India was not staging a historical farce, but organising a political parade, with his Maharani Gayatri Devi joining the Swatantra Party, after its inauguration in Rajasthan under the Presidentship of Maharaja Dungarpur, on the very eve of British Queen's arrival.

Things obviously went so far that it looked as if the situation was getting out of the hands of the power that be.

The Prime Minister intervened with his speech, during the civic reception that was held in the Ramallia Grounds

NOTES OF THE WEEK

where he spoke in terms of "You Madam, You Sir" and said:

"Long years ago we dreamt of the freedom of the India. It seemed a dream to many, but gradually through the labour of the people of India chiefly and through their sacrifices, we made that dream into reality."

With due grace he underlined our Republican present as against the feudal past, "You are welcome here in the City of Delhi which has been a City of Kings and Emperors but which today is the Capital of the Republic of India and I think no King or Emperor could have given you a welcome that the Republican citizens of Delhi have given you."

Prompt Indian representation, seems to have been made to the British Court for the Queen did change her deportment from this day onwards. During the state drive she had kept sitting, while driving to the Ramilla ground she stood to greet the crowds. She was less stiff-necked and smiled in response to the welcome. The significance of her words in Hindustani was duly noted.

Independent India can feel less uncomfortable after the Prime Minister's speech but not rest content. Indian honour and dignity has been made very much a play-thing during the British Queen's visit. Despite the Prime Minister's speech and press disavowals he and his Government cannot escape the responsibility for the Rashtrapati's un-Indian speeches, the extravagant and undignified official arrangements; and the leniency shown to feudal upstarts and the monopoly press.

FROM THE GOOD FRIEND

ON this Republic Day the Tass pays the good friends glowing tribute to Indian advance.

"The progress made by the Indian people within the 11 years since the proclamation of the Republic are most significant both from the viewpoint of internal changes and the growth of the international prestige of the Indian State. Within such a short time independent India has achieved incomparably more than she did throughout the long years of foreign domination. Having attained political independence, India is eliminating her economic backwardness and building up her powerful economy...."

"It goes without saying that the aftermath of colonialism in India is still so grave that it is felt almost everywhere but the elements of the new have already struck deep root and with every year are blossoming more and more fully holding out the promise of a magnificent future for India.

"There exists an inseparable bond between the internal changes in India and her peace-loving foreign policy which is a firm foundation for the consolidation of the

national independence of the Indian people.

"India can fully rely on the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries for internal progress."

Our Soviet friends have greeted us not only in warm words on our Republic Day but promised generous selfless aid for the development of our economy, which strengthens our national independence, and would enable us to heighten our contribution in the cause of world peace and in ridding the world of the curse of colonialism.

PRESIDENTIAL POWERS AGAIN

SOME would like to fondly believe that the President's Law Institute speech about his own powers was only "a casual remark". One would have thought that the issue would not be raised at least on the Republic Day. Birla protegee, Rightwing Congress M.P., K. S. Santhanam in an article in the Hindustan Times, Republic Day Supplement, entitled "The Unwritten Parts of the Indian Constitution", has raised the issue in a real big way and sharply posed the points on which Indian reaction wants the President to have the final say.

Sri Santhanam concedes that the written articles of the Indian Constitution on Presidential powers cannot be literally interpreted, "If this is done, he will be almost a dictator."

He also concedes that under the Cabinet type of Government, as prevalent in the United Kingdom, which is the main and unwritten part of our Constitution, "he is merely the Constitutional Head of the Indian Union."

Shri Santhanam bluntly raises the same issue which the President had done in more prudent and muffled words. "It is a legitimate subject of enquiry as to how far these conventions are applicable to India and what extent they are modified by the articles of the Constitution which alone are justiciable." This is how the Pandora's box is sought to be opened up.

Democracy Challenged

The specific issues openly raised are that under the Constitution the President holds the Supreme Command of the Defence Forces of the country, he has the power to summon the Parliament, dissolve the Lok Sabha, give or refuse his assent to bills passed. "To what extent the President should be guided by the advice of the Cabinet in all these matters is ambiguous, even assuming strict conformity, to British conventions."

As regards the appointment by the President of the Governors, Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, and the Auditor-General of India, "it is a legitimate question whether the Union Cabinet should have exclusive

powers of appointment of these officers or whether the President should not have the right at least of a veto if he considers a particular appointment undesirable."

Santhanam's conclusion is a challenge to Indian democracy. "If a President chooses to ignore the advice of the Cabinet in any matter the latter is powerless to do anything except to impeach him under Article 61 for violation of the Constitution." The procedure for impeachment is so difficult that it is highly doubtful whether it can be successfully resorted to even in the present Parliament where the ruling party has an overwhelming majority.

It is a good sign that democratic elements from within the ruling party itself are coming out to combat the Rashtrapati's reactionary pretensions. A Congress M.P., P. N. Sapru, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court, a trained and experienced jurist unlike Santhanam, in another Republic Day article entitled "Divisions of powers in the Constitution," Statesman, January 26 has directly countered the arguments of his colleague.

"Unlike the President of the United States the President is not, however, his own Prime Minister. Reading the Constitution as a whole, there is no room for doubt that the President is bound by the advice of his Ministers. No power to veto that advice or the action recommended by them has been vested in him...."

"He has only such powers as have been given to him by the Constitution and these he can exercise only on the advice of his Ministers."

The very fact that this Republic Day witnessed a written debate between two influential Congress M.P.s on Presidential Powers is good for the defence of Indian democracy and a healthy sign for the future of our Republic. The sharper and broader becomes the struggle against Indian reaction the safer and stronger would rest Indian Sovereignty.

—P. C. JOSHI

January 31

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BEHIND THE QUEEN'S VISIT

ELIZABETH the Second, Queen of the Britons and the British-styled head of the Commonwealth, has been in India only for a week, but even this brief span of her royal presence has sufficed to expose the scum, the dirt and the filth in our society which shines only in the reflected glory of our erstwhile masters.

Not all this scum, however, hankers nostalgically after the days when George V held his 'Durbar' in Delhi. A good part of it—more shrewd than the rest—has thought of other ways to revive, maintain and strengthen the old links.

If a revival of the political relationship of the old time has been rendered historically impossible, there can be other more modern means to reforge the links. These modern means are 'economic and social'—fine words which can cover a good deal of mischief, and yet sound respectable.

Commerce (January 28), the organ of big business, has given the most succinct expression to these aspirations. "The significance" of the royal visit it says "is that the Indo-British ties, which are historically derived and reinforced by the Commonwealth link, are stronger than ever before... there are not so much political as economic and social, and the visit of Queen Elizabeth II as the Head of the Commonwealth symbolises the latter relationship to a far greater extent."

"After all it adds, 'it was for this relationship that Queen Elizabeth I had laid the foundation late in the sixteenth century'.

Commerce cannot be ignorant of the political follow-up of Elizabeth I's grant of the First Charter to the East India Company, and yet it innocently seeks to present this act of the Virgin Queen as one performed in all innocence merely to provide opportunities for fair trade between India and her kingdom. Elizabeth II has no powers like her ancestor had, still her visit is sought to be advertised as being free from any selfish political or economic overtones. It symbolises, in Commerce's eyes, only the economic relationship which already exists, and has no further economic or political designs other than the "good-will" issuing forth from the Queen.

Facts, however, tell a different story—of Britain's predicament in this declining phase of capitalism, and of her quest for support from her erstwhile possessions—now named Commonwealth—to extricate her from her economic "strait-jacket".

Britain has been a staunch ally of the United States in the latter's political and economic cold war against the Socialist world, but an ally who gets the first kick in the pants if anything goes wrong with the major partner. The US experienced its fourth post-war recession last year. It faced an unprecedented rush on its gold reserves as well.

Both these phenomena combined to make it really hard for Eisenhower at the fag-end of his administration, but he

found a partial solution for his troubles in passing them on to his country's allies, and principally Great Britain. The US reduced its imports from the latter, and blocked the spending of its aid funds in the British market.

It aided by all overt and covert means the 'Inner Six', whose core was its protegee, Adenauer's Germany, and thus made it impossible for the British-sponsored 'Outer Seven' to make any dents in the West European market.

In underdeveloped countries, too, it redoubled its efforts to push its own private and Governmental investments, and thus intensified its drive to supplant Britain as the major overseas economic factor in the East and in Africa.

American Squeeze

Between the pincers of these desperate efforts for keeping up its profits on the part of the United States, and the confident strides which the socialist world has been making in giving purposeful aid to the needy countries, the US has been reduced to a state where the Financial Times laments "must every other year be a crisis year. Is there really no other way?"

During 1960 the British index of industrial production (with 1954=100) was static at 121, and the stagnation, which it portrayed, was shared more or less by all major industries. According to the Economic Review, the bulletin of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, it will be very "fortunate" if Britain's steel industry maintains its 1960 level of production in 1961.

Similarly, according to the Financial Times, domestic appliances and furniture, as well as other goods, where a significant proportion of sales were on hire purchase, were sectors of the economy "facing a declining or at best a static market".

Other industrial sectors, including shipbuilding, coal mining, heavy electrical equipment, many types of railway equipment and others have also been pronounced by British journals themselves as being "in a long-term state of depression".

And if this is the state of industrial activity in Britain, her international trade has fared no better. Her imports increased by 15 per cent above the 1959 level during the first eleven months of 1960. As against this, exports mostly to North America, fell considerably. According to the Board of Trade estimates, about 80 per cent of the fall in British exports—between the first and third quarters of 1960—was in sales to North America. And naturally, too. For a North America, facing recession at home, could not be expected to encourage imports from Britain.

The cumulative effect of all these developments—arising out of the recession in the United States, and stagnation at home—was an estimated deficit of 100- to 200 million pounds in balance of payments last year compared with a surplus of 139 million pounds in 1959. In the total export trade in

manufactured goods in the capitalist world, too, Britain's share fell by about 16 per cent in the first three quarters of 1960, compared with an average annual fall of about 0.5 per cent from 1955 to 1959.

Such is the Kingdom with a faded glory over which Elizabeth II reigns today, although judging from the deference shown by her 'Darbaris' here, it would seem that nothing has changed in good old Britain.

It is in such a context that Britain faces the danger of a dollar-therapy at the hands of the new American Administration which may worsen her position. Kennedy has given a clear hint that the solvency of the dollar will be as dear to him as it was to Eisenhower, and to save it he might resort to measures as drastic as those of his predecessor. The result will be, as the Guardian has hinted, that the Western (i.e. the capitalist) world of which Britain is a part would be facing a "slump on a larger scale than experienced since the end of the war".

It is this Britain—of declining production and increasing payments deficits—which has sent her Queen to our shores, obviously not for fun.

For here more than anywhere else is a fertile field to unload goods and private capital in the name of helping the country's development, and to bolster a class of people, like those represented by Commerce, who can always be counted to give a ready hand to their designs taking cue very often from certain circles in the Government.

What, however, is the real face of this British magnanimity which they say helps our development? We have already exposed it once in November last year. Here we

super-profits.

can do better than to repeat it. According to the Economic Record, issued by the British Information Services (BIS), the total British assistance to India till that date amounted to Rs. 147.33 crores (exclusive of private investments which stood at Rs. 398 crores at the end of 1958). But a break-up of this aid showed that only Rs. 64 crores out of it were, or could be, meant for any basic construction (Rs. 20 crores for the Durgapur Steelworks, Rs. 4 crores for the Assam pipeline and Rs. 40 crores as initial assistance for the Third Plan).

The rest, Rs. 83.33 crores, were earmarked to pay for the general imports from the United Kingdom, that is, to help the UK Government meet its commitments to its own exporters whose exports it had guaranteed under the Export Guarantee Scheme.

British "aid" has thus largely been aid to aid herself out of her own export difficulties. Apart from it, all it has given is a lot of private capital, which cannot be termed "aid" under any pretext.

The fact that the amount of this capital has nearly doubled since independence is extolled by Commerce, and even the Government circles as evidence of the lack of any rancour or ill-will in Indian hearts. In reality, however, it is the betrayal by the Government of the trust of the people to whom economic independence means the break-up of foreign monopolies and curbing of opportunities for foreign capitalists to make

super-profits.

—ESSEN

January 31.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

That these profits will be no less "super" in future is revealed by the latest figures of the British bank's profits. The "big five" among these—Barclays, Midland, Lloyds, Westminster and the National Provincial—together made the fantastic sum of £2,594 million as profits last year. It is these "giants" which feed the British companies and consortia investing funds in India and if this can be their rapacity of their own economy, it would surely be much worse here.

Such is the real face of the British monopoly capitalism whose political symbol the Queen is. It is not a benign capitalism like the benign smile on the Queen's face, nor is it as graceful or self-confident as the Queen's bearing would seem to suggest. In fact it is a desperate and greedy capitalism out to solve its difficulties at others' expense.

The Queen's visit is a part of a grand design of salesmanship which seeks to sell to us, and other similarly placed nations in the Commonwealth, the greedy and selfish aims of British capitalism as the most honest generous sentiments to help us stand on our own feet. We have to be wary and take serious note of these dangers, lest in the name of helping us the way may not be paved for it to stage a "come-back", "economically" and "socially", in the way Elizabeth II's "innocuous" Charter did four centuries back.

Earlier, on the previous day, the respective General Body meetings of the two Unions were held separately and the decision was taken for this amalgamation.

All trains that steamed into the platform of Madras Central and Egmore Stations on the morning of January 21 brought the delegates and visitors to the Conference in well-decorated carriages specially provided for the purpose.

In the evening a mile long procession of delegates, visitors and workers walked six miles and held a public meeting in Ayyanavaram, a Railway worker's Centre near the Prambur Workshop. S. Guruswamy, the newly elected President of the Union made a policy speech on the future working of the Union in course of which he stated that his long-cherished desire of building an united Union on this part of the Railway, and a very strong one, was now getting fulfilled.

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PAGE THREE

TWO AID MISSIONS

Editorial

INDIA GETS AID FROM countries of both the capitalist and Socialist camps for her economic development.

There is, however, a qualitative difference between the two. The difference between the two types of aid stands unmistakably and boldly spelt out.

The line of the Western capitalist side stands embodied in the World Bank Report that India start no fourth steel plant and hand over the existing ones to foreign management instead, trust the private sector to look after coal production, let the Western companies come in to explore and exploit India's oil resources, Indian planners to concentrate upon improving agriculture and not hanker after rapid industrialisation.

A World Bank Mission is sitting tight in New Delhi as the Third Plan is being finalised, and as our readers are familiar, to disrupt and distort the very aim and purpose of the Plan.

This is one picture but there is another.

The key note of the Indian Republic Day celebrations in Moscow was the glorification of the Indian economic achievement of industrialisation and promise of support to carry it forward. The official Soviet TASS commentary stated on January 26: "Never before in her age-old history did India know such a rapid rate of development. Is this not an eloquent evidence of the boundless creative forces of the Indian people who have cast off the fetters of colonialism? ... India can fully rely on the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries in the struggle for economic progress."

Let us recall what India has already achieved with Soviet aid. Bhilai set in motion the chain of Indian steel plants with the Western side compelled to join the game. It was also the precursor of a series of other Soviet-aided public sector projects, of new and heavy industries, during the Second Plan, e.g. Ranchi Heavy Machine-Building Plant, Coal-Mining Machinery Plant, Optical and Ophthalmic Glass Factory, Neyveli Thermal Power Plant, the complex of enterprises in Korba coal-fields.

Soviet credit was also promised for the five drug projects which will make India almost self-sufficient in the matter of medicines and drugs.

Soviet aid did not stop here. During the Second Plan itself, the USSR promised another 15,000 million rouble credit for the expansion of Bhilai, expansion of Heavy Machinery and Mining Machinery Plants, and Korba and Neyveli power projects, the completion of Barauni Refinery, manufacture of heavy electrical equipment and another for precision instruments, exploration and production of oil and gas in Cambay, establishment of a thermal power station at Singrauli.

All the capitalist countries put together offered not a patch on the above to really aid Indian progress towards rapid industrialisation and economic independence. They compelled the "pruning" of the Plan instead!

The USSR once again was first with its significant offer of 500 million roubles initial credit, for the big industrial projects in the Third Plan, just when the Western countries were squeezing the Planning Commission their hardest to slow down on industrialisation and let foreign private capital come in a big way.

The new projects proposed by the Government of India under this Soviet offer are the Cambay Refinery, preparing Ankleshwar-Cambay Field for production of oil, speeding up the oil programme of Natural Gas and Oil Commission, Coal-Washery, another giant power house at Bhakra, basic refractories, heavy compressor and pump plant and ball and roller bearing machinery.

All these projects proposed by the Indian Government cannot be accommodated within the allotted Soviet credit. The press reports the good news that the Soviet side is willing to enlarge the scope of assistance. A Soviet technical Mission is due to finalise the Soviet-aided projects, and to give the auspicious start to the Third Plan.

Soviet aid has helped India in her multi-sided industrialisation and set us on the road to achieve self-sufficiency in coal, steel, heavy engineering and oil. It is real selfless aid from a friend who is happy to help us become economically strong and prosperous.

Quite opposite is the picture of Western aid designed to keep us industrially backward and muscle their own monopoly capital inside our national economy to sabotage and weaken it from within.

Soviet aid ought to give more guts to the Government of India to stand up to the demands of the World Bank and the Western monopolists.

India is not friendless nor dependent exclusively on Western aid, nor prepared to accept any terms. The more firmly the capitalist West is told this by the Indian side the sooner it will talk in fair business terms.

NO NEUTRALITY ON ISSUE OF FREEDOM vs. SLAVERY IN THE CONGO

The Security Council is scheduled to debate the Congo problem on Thursday (February 2). It has been splashed across the front pages of our leading dailies that India is presenting a new plan to solve the eight-month crisis.

HERE are said to be three main features of the new proposal: all forces in the Congo are to be disarmed, except those under the U.N. command; foreign military aid of all types is to be prohibited; all political prisoners are to be released. These are very serious and far-reaching suggestions, deserving the closest possible consideration. Essential to such consideration is a brief analysis of the situation in the Congo—and around it—in the context of which this proposal has been made.

Firstly, the patriotic armed forces of the only legal Government in the Congo, temporarily functioning from Stanleyville and headed by Gizenga, the closest Lieutenant of Lumumba, are advancing upon Leopoldville. They are sweeping all before them.

The London Daily Mail wrote on January 9 that "the Mobutu empire is falling apart, two-thirds of those who supported Mobutu after his seizure of power in September have gone over to Lumumba." This was followed up by the UPI despatch the next day which noted that "Patrice Lumumba is probably confident that time is on his side. The crumbling authority of the Kasavubu-Mobutu regime seems to be bearing this out at an accelerating pace."

The U.N. Commission now in the Congo, after a tour of Equateur, Orientale, Kasai and Katanga was "convinced that Mr. Lumumba continues to enjoy popularity. The members of the Commission feel that no solution to the constitutional crisis in the country is possible without reaching a political settlement with the supporters of Mr. Lumumba."

This is actually putting the matter very mildly indeed. It is a universally accepted fact that Gizenga controls Orientale Province, Kasamuru controls Kivu, while Lumumba forces are advancing rapidly in North Kasai and Katanga—some two-thirds of the Congo.

Kasavubu has become so desperate at these developments that he has addressed a frantic appeal to the U.N. command to disarm all Congolese troops, except those under Mobutu. The PTI despatch sarcastically adds that this "request has come as pro-Lumumba soldiers under the command of Victor Lundula have begun knocking at the gates of Equateur and Kasai Provinces, skirting Leopoldville."

Secondly, it should be remembered that the U.N. forces have changed their composition quite considerably and that this change continues. The advanced Afro-Asian States have already begun withdrawing their forces. This has already been denounced by that arch-imperialist lackey, Dag Hammarskjöld. He has "regretted" this development and has even requested

India to send in combat troops.

The Casablanca Conference of the advanced African States issued a firm declaration in this regard. These States made it abundantly clear that they do not make a fetish of the U.N. If that body cannot or does not serve the interests of the Congo's independence and Africa's future they will seek other avenues.

It should be stressed that the Casablanca Conference represented a very big advance not only for Africa but for the entire newly-independent world. It was the manifestation of a new level of maturity and confidence. It marked the counter-offensive of Africa against neo-colonialism, which is expressed very forcibly by the manner in which the U.N. has acted in the Congo.

This recognition of the new methods of the imperialists, of the dangers of neo-colonialism has been followed up by concrete proposals for united action not only for the Congo's freedom but also for the establishment of African unity.

The sharpest declaration against the U.N. operation in the Congo has come from the Congolese Education Minister Pierre Mulde who told the Czech Communist Party paper Rude Pravo: "During the initial difficulties, the Lumumba Government intended to appeal for assistance to friendly countries. But in order to obviate false accusations of Communism and prevent the Congo being drawn into the cold war, we appealed to the U.N. We regret that now we feel sure that other African countries will not repeat our mistake." (January 4)

In the light of these facts it should be clear that the reported Indian proposal does not measure up to the needs of the situation.

At this juncture it would be clearly endangering Congolese freedom to disarm the pro-Lumumba forces and hand over the fate of the country to the tender mercies of the U.N. armed forces.

At this juncture it would clearly be a travesty of the truth to talk merely of removing "outside interference" and not sharply nailing down the imperialists as the only culprits.

At this juncture it is not enough merely to demand the release of all political prisoners. It has to be reinforced by the imperative demand that the Congolese Parliament be immediately reconvened and the legal Government of Lumumba allowed to function.

To procrastinate or to hedge at this juncture would be a grievous sin. India is not neutral between the imperialist aggressors and their victims. India must advocate such measures as help the advance of the Congo—and all Africa—to the dignity of free existence and a sovereign personality.

—MOHIT SEN

the United Nations to help oust the Belgian aggressors. It is this Government alone which has had its mandate renewed by the Parliament. It is this Government alone which has the right to ask for any aid and help it thinks necessary to beat back foreign intervention.

Yet it is not this Government but puppets like Kasavubu and Tshombe who are openly begging for and receiving outside help—outside not only of the Congo but of the U.N. It is a significant fact that none of the African States, not even those still heavily dependent on French imperialism, is sending a single soldier or gun.

It is the Western imperialists who are rushing in where angels fear to tread. The Hindu (January 28) in a special despatch reported that Tshombe is "offering a large salary to white youngsters in Rhodesia and South Africa if they volunteer for the Katanga forces." The idea is that the Belgians are to supply the planes while the rabid racists from Rhodesia and South Africa are to fly them and help the massacre of the Congo's freedom.

Another gang of armed ruffians prepared to move in come from the notorious French Foreign Legion. Even the present commander of the U.N. forces, Lieutenant-General Sean Mckeown, admitted that coming in Brazzaville, just across the border, of a large number of Foreign Legion troops "would create a critical situation." It is worth noting that these freebooting adventurers are headed by Colonel Roger Trinquier who has earned notoriety for his brutal actions against the Algerian fighters for independence.

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POLICE ON RAMPAGE IN RAJASTHAN

★ From H. K. VYAS

THE police under Congress raj have never been known for their good behaviour but the way they have been doing about the business of maintaining law and order in Rajasthan, has begun to cause serious concern to the people of the State.

Recently, a young man of twenty-eight years, Amar Singh of village Ramnagar, was said to have been arrested by policemen belonging to the Kumber police station in Bharatpur District. The report is that he was so brutally beaten in the lock-up that he died and that he is now shown as missing.

Three workers of the Lohiala Socialist Party had a more nightmarish experience in the lock-up, though they came out alive—more

dead than alive to be true to their condition.

These three Socialist workers, the Secretary of the party in Suketa and two others, were locked up by the police as an act of sheer vindictiveness, it is said, and in the two days they were kept in the lock-up, they are reported to have been brutally beaten, forced to eat filth, drink urine and subjected to plenty of other sadistic torture. Marks of injuries they got from the lock-up torture can be seen on them still.

Such treatment meted out to political workers has shocked all political elements and there has been a universal condemnation of the police.

A few weeks ago, editor Shastri of weekly Niryam, published from Ratnagar in Churu, had a similar encounter with the police.

RED LETTER DAY FOR TERHI-GARHWAL

JANUARY 11 is a Red Letter Day for Terhi-Garhwal. It was on this day, thirteen years ago in 1948, that feudal autocracy received the final blow and crumbled before the united forces of the people.

The people of Terhi-Garhwal did not wait to be liberated by independent India's Home Minister, they themselves dealt the death-blow to feudal autocracy, won State power and established an interim government which lasted for 18 months before the State (was merged with the Indian Union and Terhi-Garhwal became a district of U. P.

January 11, 1948, was also the day when the people of the State lost Nandendra Saklani, the undisputed leader of the movement against autocracy, who was shot dead along with a colleague.

So the day has come to be observed in Terhi-Garhwal both as Revolution Day as well as Martyrs' Day.

This year Communists, Congressmen and other prominent citizens came

together to organise the celebration of the day. There was nothing surprising in the PSP refusing to join, the PSP had no role in the glorious people's actions of those days.

The prabhat pheri in the morning which went round singing revolutionary songs was led by the poet who had composed them during the liberation struggle—reminding the people of those fighting days when meetings and demonstrations had been banned and freedom-fighters used to roam around singing these songs of revolution.

The public meeting in Azad Maidan was presided over by the Chairman of the Terhi Municipality, an ex-Congressman. Among those who spoke were Congress leader T. S. Negi, a comrade-in-arms of martyr Saklani, who was with him when he was shot dead, Communist leader of the District V. S. Nantiyal, President of the District Congress Committee Khushal Singh, MLC, and I.D. Saklani, Convener of the District Youth Congress.

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FEBRUARY 5, 1961

SCRAP-BOOK

JAIPUR RASH

NEW Delhi is returning to normalcy. The iron barricades on roads put up some time ago to keep the crowds at a distance from the British Queen are being removed. Delhiwalas are busy once again in their own ways. But a few episodes connected with the visit of the royal couple to Jaipur are being related in journalist circles:

The Maharaja and Maharani of Jaipur issued an invitation asking the invitees to attend the reception and dinner to the British Queen and her husband "in a particular pattern of dress, with decorations granted by the British during their rule in this country." Those who gathered were all the ex-Rajas and ex-Ranis with all their gold and records of faithful service to the British empire pinned to their chests.

Tickets were sold to all those who wanted to witness the event in the Maharaja's City Palace. This was designed to meet the expenses of the show. The Queen was escorted to the Palace through the City in a royal procession headed by the Maharaja of Jaipur and not the Governor or Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

Even the members of the fourth estate covering the event were not allowed to come in. They were left to watch the reception from a balcony.

Sukhadia Protests

All this, however, has evoked much criticism. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan, M. L. Sukhadia, was upset. He refused to attend the function and wrote back that he does not wear a turban or pugree which was an essential part of the prescribed dress for the function. It was only after this that the Princely host waived the condition for Sukhadia alone.

Sukhadia might have saved his honour but what about the deliberate insult to the Congress and our sovereign State by the Maharaja? The sale of tickets was also stopped only after the intervention of the Central and State Governments.

The people of Jaipur are aghast at the Maharaja's behaviour. Congressmen themselves feel humiliated. Horrified with this revival of feudal pageantry people are asking the right questions: Who rules Rajasthan? How could the Maharaja invite the Queen to his private Palace as his personal guest and make such a show of pomp and servility? And finally, whether the feudal chieftains have reconciled themselves to the new situation of an

independent and sovereign India?

Without Comment

In Jaipur the occasion of the British Queen's visit was used to hold a meeting of the Swatantra Party in the Palace of the Maharaja. More than 300 ex-rulers had come to Jaipur to participate in the reception to the Royal visitors.

MINISTER'S MASS CONTACT MISSION

A Deputy Minister of the Madhya Pradesh Government, Sita Ram Jaju, went to Betul district on a mass contact mission recently. He sanctioned Rs. 4000 at Shahpur for construction of a high school building. Encouraged by this representatives approached him at Betul and requested him to visit the site of the newly started high school.

The Minister was duly welcomed at the place. In the end he was requested for a grant for constructing additional buildings for extending the school. But the Minister lost temper and exclaimed, "The site is not good—the plot of 1.33 acres outside the bustee is insufficient, rooms are inadequate..." The Minister was of the opinion that even the existing school should be closed down.

The Minister seems to think that accommodation and not the shortage of it entitles schools to grants.

The mass contact tour thus came to an end. People naturally do not understand the utility of such tours. A Minister, however, knows his job: where to help; where to hear and where to harass!

GOODMAN FAILS TO CONVINC

ONE Mr. Goodman, a public relations officer of the U.S. Embassy, went to Banaras recently. He addressed a gathering of teachers and students at one of the colleges of the Banaras Hindu University. He tried to establish a "parallelism" and "similarity" of the ideals between the USA and India.

However, at the end of the lecture, poor Mr. Goodman had to face a volley of very inconvenient questions about racial segregation in the U.S., China's admission to the U.N., U.S. attitude to Cuba, etc.

Our Correspondent adds: It was a pathetic sight to see the U.S. officer trying to wriggle out of the situation. He said though the federal law was against segregation the Negro rights movement was very slow. Why? Are the Negroes themselves very reluctant to have the rights, someone asked.

—AGRADOOT

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

DISCORDANT NOTES IN KERALA COALITION

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Discordant notes—perhaps something more than just discordant notes—are being heard too often from inside the ruling alliance in Kerala. Congress leaders talking against the PSP and the same type of talk from PSP leaders have become all too common in the recent days.

To pick out only a few of the statements and speeches made since the New Year, P. T. Chacko, the Congress Home Minister, speaking at Mankavu, a suburb of Kozhikode, on January 16, while stressing the need for maintaining unity among the three political parties, said he had realised that in certain villages there was friction between the Congress and PSP workers.

Later, on January 20, at Chalisseri, the State Home Minister went much further. Addressing a public meeting he said there were local conflicts between the united front parties from one end of Kerala to another. A League leader who was to preside over the meeting never turned up. The meeting was announced as being held under the auspices of the three-party front and there were flags of all the three parties but only Congress speakers were present to address the gathering.

P. T. Chacko, who in the Congress is a protagonist of continuing the alliance, was rather mild in his references to the local conflicts, especially to the situation in Panur where PSP workers are making it impossible for any other political party to function.

Not So Mild

But others have not been so mild. Kerala Pradesh Congress President C. K. Govindan Nair, talking to Pressmen in the last week of December, referred to the recent incident at Panur, and said that the Secretary of the KPCC had already written to the Chairman of the State PSP about the matter. He agreed with Pressmen that high tension prevailed in Panur and was inclined to blame the PSP leadership for creating disharmony in the area.

The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee itself is reported to have officially written to the Chairman of the State PSP that in various parts of the State PSP workers were creating trouble for Congress workers. The KPCC, says the letter, had been informed by Congressmen of how PSPers were interfering in the day-to-day administration and increasing PSP influence and of how PSPers were indulging in goondaism and attacking Congress workers.

On the question of distribution of patronage also, there seems to be quite some conflict of interests.

The Kerala Congress Bulletin, official organ of the Pradesh Congress, recently in an editorial note pointed out that party rule was for strengthening the party. At the

same time there was nothing wrong if by virtue of the programme of a party, it rose in the estimation of the people. But it would not be good if the Ministers overstepped this limit and extended political patronage to cater to the interests of the party. This would be against the very basis of democracy.

PSP leaders, specially its Kerala Chairman and Chief Minister Pattom Thanu Pillai, have been equally forthright in some of their statements. The Chief Minister, addressing the Trivandrum City Praja Socialist Party Convention, declared on January 24 that his party would not do anything which would affect the continuance of the present Coalition Government. But he would also like the Congress and Congress leaders to see that nothing was done by them which would affect the Ministry.

He said he was sorry that in the past it was Congressmen who had created difficulties in the State. He wanted to tell them not to do such things. Sri Thanu Pillai said the PSP had adopted a very "reasonable" attitude from the beginning and was prepared for maximum sacrifice in maintaining the alliance. The Congressmen, he added, should remember this.

Speaking to Pressmen in Ernakulam on January 20, Sri Pillai said it would have been good if the unity which the Congress, PSP and League showed outside was really there inside also.

And two days later he told Congressmen while addressing the concluding session of the Kerala Kisan Panchayat to remember that the Communist Party in Kerala was a party which had secured over forty per cent of the votes. Congressmen, he bewailed, instead of trying to capture these votes from the Communist Party were trying to reduce the PSP's votes.

Even the Press, well-wishers of the ruling alliance, has had to note these developments.

The Trivandrum Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, for instance, in its issue of January 12, wrote:

"One cannot be happy over some of the new developments in the ruling parties, especially those relating to the relations between the coalescing Congress and PSP.

Developing Feuds

"Feuds are developing between the workers of these parties in several areas, in Panur particularly, they have taken ugly turns. These local disputes constitute a far greater threat to the democratic unity and to the continued existence of the present administrative set-up than

the group rivalries within the parties.

"The open conflict between PSP and Congress workers has created a tense atmosphere in Panur....

"One of the evil effects of the strained relations among the ruling parties is their unhealthy influence in the State administration. There are reports that rival sections pull the Ministers and officials in the opposite directions. This is bound to make difficult the discharge of their duties in the right manner. There are many who fear that the local feuds will affect adversely the alliance prospects in the coming panchayat and municipal elections."

While these conflicts are coming to the fore, the leaders of the alliance are trying to come before the people minimising them and with declarations that the alliance will continue to rule.

Thus Pradesh Congress President C. K. Govindan Nair has said that Congress policy in regard to the forthcoming elections to panchayats and other local bodies was to continue the alliance forged between the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League during the mid-term elections.

P. T. Chacko has said that in spite of local conflicts, the alliance will continue to rule and that the present alliance should continue even after the term of the present Kerala Assembly was over.

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"Feuds are developing between the workers of these parties in several areas, in Panur particularly, they have taken ugly turns. These local disputes constitute a far greater threat to the democratic unity and to the continued existence of the present administrative set-up than

The Congress Bulletin has said, nothing has happened so far in Kerala which called for a rethinking of the Congress decision that the present Coalition Ministry in the State should continue in office for its full term.

Kerala PSP General Secretary A. Sreedharan, addressing a Press Conference in Kozhikode on January 17, while admitting there was a lack of adjustment between PSP and Congress workers in some places, said it was purely on local issues and did not concern matters of policy relating to administration. He said the PSP was aware that if such a lack of adjustment was allowed to grow, it might result in adverse repercussions regarding the functioning of the "democratic alliance."

But such statements have not been enough to allay misgivings.

Misgivings Not Allayed

The Free Press Journal, in an editorial on January 24, captioned "Alliance Warned," writes:

"The Bulletin (of the Pradesh Congress) charges each of the three parties with dispensing patronage with a view to building up its own power and says that this, if persisted in, can well be the end of the Coalition Government.

"Inadvertently perhaps, the Congress Bulletin has sub-

tantiated the whole range of Opposition charges against the Coalition Ministry. In brief, the substance of these charges is that the member parties of the Coalition are pulling in different directions with the Congress Party itself split into a pro-alliance and an anti-alliance group."

Writing that the League will not be seriously thinking of setting up a one-party Government in the State and the PSP, as long as it has Sri Fattom Thanu Pillai at the helm, will not of course be satisfied with anything less than Chief Ministership, the editorial continues:

"It is the Congress that faces the worst dilemma. It feels that it deserves power, undiluted and unshared, and at the same time, it is in no position to achieve it. The schism and the personality clashes that led to the downfall of the Congress in the State continue to plague it to this day. In the circumstances, the only practical course for the Congress, particularly at the High Command level in New Delhi, is to keep the Coalition going. If the Coalition cracks, whether on the patronage issue or any other, the Communists are still the best organised party in the State, Mannath Padmanabhan notwithstanding."

But the question is, the Free Press Journal's advice notwithstanding, can anti-Communism alone keep the alliance together for all time?

COMMUNIST STATE COUNCIL DISCUSSES SITUATION

WHETHER due to the pre-occupation of the leaders with these conflicts or not, it is a fact that the Coalition Government in Kerala has been a total failure and it is this failure of the Government that was discussed by the Communist Party at its session in mid-January.

The Council's Secretary M. N. Govindan Nair explaining the Council's deliberations to the Press said: The Coalition Government in the nearly one year it has been in office has totally failed in solving the problems of the State despite all favourable conditions—Central Government which is more cooperative with the present Government than it was with the Communist-led Government and an Opposition which is willing to accept what is right and correct what is wrong and thus help the Government.

The Government has not been able to effectively solve the growing unemployment problem. Not a single new industrial unit has been set up in this year, in spite of the Centre's readiness to invest more in the Central sector.

The one or two units that have come up are those which were begun by the Communist-led Government.

Not only have no new units been set up, the Coalition Government has not bothered about the existing industries themselves. Important industries like cashew and coir are in a state of stagnation but the Government does nothing about it. Whatever good measures the Communist-led Government had launched to revitalise these industries are being given up.

The Government promised an apex society for handlooms within hours, but hours, days, weeks and months have gone by without it being set up.

The Labour policy which the Government follows is deplorable. Toddy tappers, the first to be attacked after the new Government assumed office, are on the verge of a struggle.

The present plantation scheme of the Government will help only the rich.

Government's activities in relation to the Third Plan were anti-State, said Comrade Govindan Nair. The State had submitted to the Planning Commission a plan for Rs. 307

crores with the understanding that the Centre's outlay could be deducted from this. But the State Government, without any assurance from the Centre as to its outlay, has agreed to a Rs. 170-crore Plan.

The interests of the backward communities are not safe in the hands of this Government—an instance is the amendment to Section 11 of the Education Act. Statements by Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai and Sri P. T. Chacko in the presence of Mannath Padmanabhan indicate the danger of altogether giving up reservation for backward communities.

The economy of the State had been very badly shaken by the crash of the Palai Bank and the moratorium granted to five other banks. The unimaginative attitude of the Reserve Bank and the State Government was responsible for this situation, he said.

The Communist Party was not preparing any subversive struggle but the Party would support all the struggles against the bankrupt policies of the Government and in defence of the rights of the workers and other sections of the people.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY

More than any other unit in the public sector, perhaps the Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT) factory in Bangalore has stolen the limelight in recent years. It is a show-piece for the Government and its virtues have been trumpeted in full-page advertisements in daily newspapers. There is plenty to shout about and justifiably so. At least in the matter of production and prices, the factory has of late established a fine record.

MACHINES which makes machines are the end products of HMT engineering. And the men who make them have a distinguished role in the making of these machines. A casual visitor to the HMT factory is immediately impressed by the smart young men who work on the machines in the well-laid out and sprawling factory. These young men have come to Bangalore from almost all parts of India and it is a thrilling experience to watch them work—Bengalees, Telugus, Kannadigas, Tamils, Marashtrians, Punjabis, Malayals and others, working in perfect harmony making the tools to speed India's progress.

These young men have come fresh from their schools and colleges, they have acquired skills and in a short span of four years have shown their mettle. The engineering talent which they have acquired so swiftly is something any nation can be proud of.

Just four years ago, it took four Indian workers to match the output of a single Swiss worker. Today, in some skills the Indian worker is on par with the Swiss; on an average, the ratio is 3:2. In some departments the ratio is 0.9:1. And given the encouragement, it can be safely said, the day is not far off when Indian talent can outpace the Swiss in precision engineering.

A heavy price had to be paid for this by independent India and the shortages were assuming serious proportions by 1956. It is also of no credit to the Government that till 1956, no serious attention was paid to tackle the problem. According to a survey made in 1956, there were then in our country about 80,000 machines of which 12,664 were above 25 years of age; 4,680—20 to 25 years; 17,987—15 to 20 years; 15,125—10 to 15 years; 19,950—5 to 10 years and only 22,087 under five years' age.

The average age of a machine is regarded as 20 years. Accordingly, about 17,000 machines were in immediate need of replacement.

In 1951-52, about Rs. three crores worth of machine-tools were imported by us. This increased to Rs. 6.4 crores in 1955-56 and licences were issued for importing Rs. 12 crores worth of machine-tools in 1956 alone.

Thus, we needed about Rs. 17 crores worth of machine-tools and since the production of steel was expected to increase to 41 million tons at the end of the Second Plan, the number of machines required by us can be put at 1,70,000. As against this, the production in 1956 was only 3,016 machines valued at slightly over Rs. one crore.

In spite of this, the Government of India did not adopt a definite policy regarding the industry. On one side, private sector units

like Kirloskars, Investa (Tatas), etc., were opposed to the development of the machine-tool industry in State Sector. After considerable hesitation, even when it was decided to start the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory, Government entered into an agreement with the Western countries. An offer made by Czechoslovakia to build a machine-tool factory was turned down. The agreement was made with the Oerlikons of Switzerland.

During 1949 to 1953, a sum of Rs. four crores was invested in this factory. After considerable discussion and delay, the HMT was established in 1953 and began production in 1956. One whole year was wasted in discussing as to what type of machines were to be produced.

According to the agreement with the Oerlikons, about 85 Swiss experts were to be employed in the factory. In 1954-55, they drew a sum of Rs. 2,076,134 as salary and allowances. The Estimates Committee of Parliament, in its 14th Report (1954-55) made a scathing criticism of this agreement. As a result of widespread criticism from all sides, the Government was compelled to review the agreement with the Oerlikons in 1956. The Swiss personnel were gradually eliminated.

Glorious Achievements In Production But Joint Council Scuttled By Bureaucrats

Due to the total bungling which was the notable feature in the early period of operation of the HMT factory, while 1,700 machines were programmed to be produced during the First Five-Year Plan, only 77 lathes were produced in 1955-56.

From such a scandalous situation in 1956, the HMT has now made up the lag and exceeded the Second Plan target of 400 machines way back in 1957-58. The production in 1959-60 rose to 702 machines.

According to the seventh annual report of the company, "the profits for the year 1959-60, before providing for depreciation, interest on the loan from the Government and for wealth tax amounted to Rs. 8,525,836 as compared with Rs. 6,939,155 for the previous year....

"During the year under report, production of 702 machines and sales of 1,082 machines represented an increase of 27 and 116 per cent respectively.... The net profit represents a return of 8.83 per cent on the share capital of the company at the commencement of the year."

Adequate Financial Resources

The report added that "the company has built up adequate financial resources and these are being reinvested to double the capacity of the factory from 1,000 machine-tools to 2,000 machine-tools per annum.... Nearly two-thirds of the number of ma-

chine required for the doubling of the factory will be supplied from the company's own production of lathes, milling machines, radial drills, grinders and other machines."

What is the condition of the men who made these machines and have played no small part in the progress made by the factory, the men who proved that they could with a little training match the experienced Swiss?

A great deal has been said by the Government of India's Ministry of Labour about the novel experiment of Joint Council of Management which was established in HMT. But before we discuss the merits of this novel experiment or how far it succeeded, let us first consider what material returns in wages these gifted workers obtained from this public sector undertaking.

Workers' Wages

That the Government of India, in its steel plants, paid to its workers at the lower rung, an all-in wage of Rs. 45 was a national scandal which was thrown up by the disputes and strikes in Bhilai and Rourkela. The conditions in HMT were hardly any better and even now workers are paid far below fair wages

else, the Council was able to rouse the employees to increase production and a record output of 100 machines was made in January 1959. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru paid a great tribute to the HMT workers and the Joint Council in February 1959 when he said: "I have not come here to see the machines but to congratulate the workers for their achievement."

But despite the good work performed by the Joint Council, with the initiative of the HMT Employees' Association, the union was, however, not formally recognised. This was, indeed, strange but subsequent development proved that instead of cooperating with trade unions and respecting all conventions of collective bargaining, influential elements in the management were more interested in organising disruption.

When the HMT Employees' Association put forward demands for wage revision, etc., which were indeed very modest, and had to mobilise the workers to press for these demands, the management gave up all its pretensions. While they expected the workers' and the Association's cooperation in increasing production, a reasonable demand for wage revision and other service conditions was not worth considering!

Moreover, political considerations seem to have weighed with sections in the management. They were enraged at the fact that the union's President, a trade unionist and an engineer himself, happened to be a Communist. This Communist leader was supervising the work of the Union in the Joint Management Council which had received wide acclaim!

The Personnel Manager of the Factory, once the Personal Assistant of a former Chief Minister of Mysore and who, reportedly, owes his high position to his political connection

It was with the cooperation of the HMT Employees' Union that the scheme of Joint Management Council was sought to be implemented with five

members each from the workers and employer in 1958. The Council had very limited powers to start with. But during the few months it functioned, the Council performed very valuable functions.

The canteen was reorganised, the loss in canteen services which had been to the extent of Rs. 3,000 were wiped out, profits were earned, service was improved and the wages and working conditions of the canteen employees became better.

Due to the efforts made to improve the transport system, the Council was able to make a saving of about Rs. 70,000 and improved the service.

The employees were benefited by the change in shift hours brought about by the Joint Council. A suggestion scheme was drawn up and submitted to the management. (This has not been introduced by the management till now.)

Over and above everything else, the Council was able to rouse the employees to increase production and a record output of 100 machines was made in January 1959.

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SPLENDID NEW CHAPTER IN HISTORY



LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORT CUBA: A demonstration in Santiago, Chile, with a cripple carrying poster.

The following is the section captioned "Abolition of Colonialism and the Perspectives of the further development of the newly independent countries" from N. S. Khrushchov's speech to a meeting of the Party Organisations in the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC of the CPSU on January 6 on the results of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

THE peoples that have gained national independence have become another mighty force in the struggle for peace and social progress. The national-liberation movement is striking telling blows at imperialism, strengthening peace and accelerating social progress. At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important centres of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Some forty countries have won national independence since the war. Nearly 1,500 million people have cast off

the chains of colonial slavery. The meeting with good reason noted that the disintegration of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is second in historical significance only to the rise of the Socialist world system. A splendid new chapter is now being opened in the history of mankind. It is easy to imagine the things that these people will do when they have completely ousted the imperialists from their countries and feel themselves the masters of

their destinies. This multiplies enormously the progressive forces of mankind. Take Asia, for example, that ancient cradle of human civilisation. Look at the inexhaustible forces at the disposal of the peoples of this continent! And what a great role the valiant Arab peoples, those already liberated or now in the process of being liberated from political and economic dependence upon imperialism, and all the peoples of the Middle East could play in resolving the issues now confronting mankind!

Africa's Awakening

The awakening of the people of Africa is one of the most outstanding events of our epoch. Dozens of countries in North and Central Africa have already won independence. The south of the continent is in a ferment and there is no doubt that the fascist dungeons in the Union of South Africa will crumble to dust, that Rhodesia, Uganda and other parts of Africa will become free.

The multiplying of the forces of the national-liberation movement is due in large measure to the fact that in recent years one more front of active struggle against U. S. imperialism, namely, Latin America, has emerged. Only a little while ago that vast continent was identified by a single concept—America. And that concept accorded largely with the facts, for Latin America was bound hand and foot to Yankee imperialism.

Today, the Latin American peoples are showing by their struggle that the American continent is not a manorial estate of the USA. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano. The eruption of the liberation struggle has wiped out dictatorial regimes in a number of the countries. The thunder of the glorious Cuban revolution has reverberated throughout the world.

The Cuban revolution is not only repulsing the onslaught of the imperialists; it is spreading, signifying a new and higher stage of the

national-liberation struggle, when the people themselves come to power, when the people become the master of their wealth. Solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the Latin American peoples, but also of the Socialist countries, the entire international Communist movement and the proletariat all over the world.

The national-liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism has become much weaker with the disintegration of the colonial system. Vast territories and large masses of people have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for it, as a source of cheap raw materials and cannon-fodder. Asian,

make a breach in the old imperialism, to take upon themselves the exceptionally difficult but also exceptionally noble task of paving new ways to revolution, you who represent the working masses of the East are faced with a greater and even more novel task." (Collected Works, Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, pp. 137-38).

Lenin saw that task in encouraging the revolutionary urge of the working masses for activity and organisation irrespective of the level they had attained, in using Communist theory in the specific conditions of their countries, in merging with the proletarians of other countries in common struggle (ibid., p. 141). This task had not yet been realised anywhere when Lenin

dependence or who have already won it.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians claim that the national-liberation movement develops independently of the struggle waged by the working class for Socialism, independently of the support of the Socialist countries, and that the colonialists themselves bestow freedom on the peoples of the former colonies.

These fabrications are designed to isolate the newly-independent States from the Socialist camp and are an attempt to prove that they should act the role of a "third force" in the international arena instead of opposing imperialism. Need

we will see that in the final analysis the trends of social progress opposing imperialism are bound to prevail.

But these matters are resolved in bitter struggle within each country. The Statement of the meeting contains important propositions on the basic issues of the national-liberation movement. It defines the tasks of the Communist Parties and their attitude to the various classes and social groups. In expressing the identity of views of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the Statement calls for the maximum utilisation of the revolutionary possibilities of the various classes and social strata and for drawing all allies, no matter if inconsistent,

Our world outlook, the interests of all working people for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples take the right road to progress, to the flowering of their material and spiritual forces. We, by means of our policy, must strengthen the confidence of the peoples in the Socialist countries.

The aid extended by the USSR and the other Socialist States to the countries which have won independence has but one aim—to help strengthen the position of these countries in the struggle against imperialism, to further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their people. Noting that the working class of the advanced countries is vitally interested in "ensuring the independence" of the colonial countries "in the shortest possible period", Engels wrote: "One thing is indisputable: the victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on another nation without undermining thereby its own victory" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 27 pp. 238, 239).

International Duty

The international duty of the victorious working class consists in helping the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries to smash the last links in the chains of colonial slavery, in rendering them all-round aid in their struggle against imperialism, for the right to self-determination and independent development.

The Soviet Union has been and is the sincere friend of the colonial peoples; it has always championed their rights, interests and strivings for independence. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our economic and cultural cooperation with countries which have become independent. The Soviet Union submitted to the Fifteenth Session of

IN ALGERIA: A Fighter of the heroic National Liberation Army.

the U.N. General Assembly the declaration for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

As a result of the bitter political struggle which raged round this proposal both within and without the U.N., the General Assembly adopted the declaration. The basic point in the Soviet Declaration—the need for abolishing

colonialism in all its forms and manifestations rapidly and for good was in the main reflected in the resolution adopted by the United Nations.

This was a victory for the progressive forces and all the Socialist countries, which are defending the cause of freedom and independent nation-

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KHRUSHCHOV

On Perspectives Of World Without Colonialism

African and Latin American countries, supported by the Socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, are inflicting defeats upon the imperialist Powers and coalitions more and more frequently.

We were glad to welcome at the Moscow meeting representatives from the fraternal Communist Parties of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, staunch fighters for the independence and free development of the peoples. Today there are Communist Parties in more than fifty countries of those continents. This has extended the sphere of influence of the Communist movement making it truly worldwide.

Addressing the Second All-Russian Congress (1919) of the Communist Organisations of the Eastern Peoples, Lenin said: "...Whereas the Russian Bolsheviks were able to

first set it, and there was no book to tell how it should be carried out. The Communist Parties in the countries which are now fighting for national independence or which have already won it, are in an incomparably more favourable position, for there is now a vast store of experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of countries and areas which capitalism had doomed to age-long backwardness.

This experience gained by the world Communist movement is a great treasure-house for all Communists. Obviously, only the Party operating in the country concerned can make proper use of this experience and correctly shape the policy to be pursued.

These Parties are concentrating on the main point of how best to approach their own peoples, how to convince the masses that they cannot win a better future unless they fight against imperialism and the forces of international reaction, and how to strengthen international solidarity with the Socialist countries, with the Communist vanguard of the working people of the world.

The renovation of the world on the principles of freedom, democracy and Socialism, in which we are now participating, is a great historical process in which different revolutionary and democratic movements unite and cooperate, with Socialist revolutions exerting the determining influence. The successes of the national-liberation movement, due in large measure to the victories of Socialism, in turn strengthen the international positions of Socialism in the struggle against imperialism.

It is this truly Leninist concept of the historical processes that forms the basis for the policy of the Communist Parties and Socialist countries, a policy aimed at strengthening the close alliance with those peoples fighting for in-

less to say, this is a falsehood.

It is an historical fact that attempts made by peoples to break the chains of colonialism prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, failed. History is the proof that until Socialism triumphed in at least a part of the world there could be no question of destroying colonialism.

The imperialist Powers, above all the United States, are doing their utmost to harness the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke to their system and thereby strengthen the positions of world capitalism, to infuse it, as bourgeois ideologists put it, with fresh blood, to rejuvenate and consolidate it.

Economic Dependence

If we look the facts in the face, we shall have to admit that the imperialists have powerful economic levers with which to exert pressure on the newly-independent countries. They still succeed in enmeshing some of the politically-independent countries in the web of economic dependence.

Now that it is no longer possible to establish outright colonial regimes, the imperialists resort to disguised forms and methods of enslaving and plundering the countries that have attained freedom.

At the same time, the colonial Powers back the internal reactionaries in all these countries; they impose on them puppet dictatorial regimes and involve them in aggressive blocs. Although there are sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries, they often take joint action against the national-liberation movement.

But if we take account of all the factors shaping the destinies of the peoples that

shaky and unstable, into the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are revolutionaries and it would be a bad thing if they failed to discern the new opportunities, to find the best ways and the best means of reaching the goal. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the Statement about the formation of National Democratic States. The Statement outlines the main characteristics of these States and their tasks.

It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now moulding their own way of life, a variety of ways of solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-independent countries consists precisely in seeking the forms that take cognisance of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples to unite all the sound forces of the nation, to ensure the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle completely to eradicate the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism and to clear the way for ultimate advance towards Socialism.

Today, when imperialist reaction is striving to foist the policy of anti-Communism on the young independent States, it is most important to give a truthful explanation of the Communist views and ideals. Communists support the general democratic measures of the national Governments. At the same time, they explain to the masses that these measures are far from being Socialist.

The aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of colonialism are particularly appreciated and understood best of all by the working people of the Socialist countries, by the Communists of the whole world.



WORKING CLASS AGAINST COLONIALISM: French Workers of Renault demonstrate (October 19) against compulsory service for 19-year-old boys in Algeria.



THE FIGHT GOES ON IN LAOS: Captain Kong Le (Left), Information Minister Quim Pholsena (Centre) and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman, Neo Lao Hksat Party, review troops in the Plain of Jars after its liberation.

SOVIET AGRICULTURE PREPARES NEW, BIG ADVANCE

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, January 25, 1961
THE bourgeois propagandists of the West who talk of crisis or the failure of Soviet agriculture system are barking up the wrong tree. Big successes achieved in the last few years in this field speak for themselves.

In September 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reviewed the whole agricultural position and took major decisions to remove weaknesses and reorganise work in the countryside. Since then tremendous work has been done by the Party and the Soviet people and the output of agricultural products and their purchases by the State have increased considerably.

ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1953

It is enough to have look at the food-shops to see the difference. Those who go out everyday for the daily shopping for household know what great improvements in food supplies have come about.

In 1953, for example, the country's product was 5,036 million poods of grain with State purchases at 1,899 million poods. In 1960, the grain output of the Soviet Union had reached the figure of 8,131 million poods with State purchases running up to 2,852 million poods. In other words the output of grain in the last seven years has gone up by more than 3,000 million poods and State purchases by nearly 1,000 million poods. Such a leap forward in agricultural production may show anything, but a state of crisis.

Meat production rose during the same period from 5,822 thousand tons to 8,725 thousand tons and State purchases from 3,600 thousand tons to 7,900 thousand tons. This means that over the past seven years, the output of meat in the Soviet Union has increased by 50 per cent and purchase more than twofold. Here, too, we don't find signs of any crisis or decline as some propagandists would have us believe.

Milk production during the same period went up from 36,475 thousand tons to 61,538 and purchases from 10,600 thousand tons to 26,300 thousand. Or, in other words, during the last seven years, milk output did not go down but went up by 70 per cent and purchases by nearly 150 per cent. As a matter of fact the Soviet Union never had such a fast rate of development of agriculture as during these last years.

All talk of failure of collective farming or of the Socialist agricultural system or of the Soviet organisational structure, etc., is usual balderdash which froths out in abundance from the mouths of the wishful tub-thumpers of the West as soon as the Soviet

Union takes stock of her position, criticises existing weaknesses and clears the way ahead for further progress.

There has been ruthless criticism and fearless open discussion of problems of agricultural development at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union which closed recently. Not only overall plans were discussed but even plans of the districts and individual farms were scrutinised and experience of advanced producers was compared with those who are lagging behind.

The causes of backwardness of agriculture in certain areas were analysed from all sides and ways and means for improvement were suggested. The best experts of land were gathered at the meeting and their collective wisdom explored all new possibilities and hidden avenues of development. Those who followed such discussions in the past felt the further blossoming out of Soviet Socialist democracy and fearless discussion of drawbacks which do not consider pitying defaulters even if they occupy high positions.

As a matter of fact the Soviet people more and more come out and interfere in the matters of State if they see that things are going wrong, being mismanaged or bungled by incompetent or dishonest careerists or bureaucrats. The people at lower levels do not want to patiently suffer the inefficiency and muddle and cheating wherever it still lurks in far corners. They come out and expose faults and the incompetence of officials. If they cannot get satisfaction at lower levels they approach higher authorities and do not rest till the matter is set right.

The initiative of the common people who consider State affairs to be their own helps the Government and the Central Committee to clear the way for progress at a faster rate. Khrushchov thanked many such people who have written and helped to expose weaknesses wherever they may be. This development is the real guarantee of the future progress because as Khrushchov put it, in the final analysis it is not land but the people that matter and it is they who produce.

One finds that with greater responsibility and greater targets for progress ahead of him, the Soviet Socialist man is also going ahead morally and spiritually fully conscious of the role he is called upon to play in his own country and in the world. The whole discussion in the Central Committee and in the Press brings out this growth of Socialist democracy at lower levels.

The Central Committee points out that today the failings in agriculture are being criticised in entirely different conditions than in 1953. Then it was the whole of agriculture that was seriously lagging behind. Today shortcomings are being criticised at

a time when the Socialist economy is rapidly advancing and great achievements have been scored in all branches of economy.

LAGGING BEHIND INDUSTRY

Although major successes have been won in agriculture it must be admitted, the Central Committee resolution says, that it is not developing at the industry's high pace and is not keeping up with the rising demand for agricultural produce. The interests of building Communism and achieving steady rise in peoples standards of welfare call today for a still higher rate of development in agriculture. The task is to make agricultural output always outpace the country's demands.

The powerful advance in agriculture cannot be achieved without heavy industry, without iron, steel and chemi-

cals and without extensive electrification, the resolution points out. In the early years of Soviet power the people denied themselves many things to be able to build up heavy industry but now the Soviet economy is flourishing and developing at rapid pace.

The country has entered a new stage in the historic development of comprehensive construction of a Communist society. Now industry is so powerful and the defence capacity so great that more means can be assigned to the people's wellbeing without any detriment to further development of industry or defence. The people have every ground to expect that their growing material and cultural requirements will be satisfied and everything done to achieve this aim, the Central Committee declares.

Therefore, capital investment in agriculture is to be greatly increased; much more than envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan. Agriculture production has to be made independent of the whims of nature.

It has been decided to change the organisational structure of the Ministry of Agriculture and its function.

It has to concentrate on all-round improvement of research and propaganda of scientific and progressive methods of production and training of specialists. A new administration is to be set up for supplying agriculture with machines, fertilisers, other technical means and organisation of repairs.

The Central Committee has decided that to fully satisfy the needs of the State, grain procurements should be brought up to 4,200 million poods, meat to 130,000 thousand tons, milk to 50,000 thousand tons annually and has worked out the share of each Republic in this. These planned figures, it declared, are quite realistic and feasible. The concrete programme for boosting the output of agricultural products in the country with a view to making up for lost time and ensuring a much higher rate of development of agricultural production in the remaining five years of the current Seven-Year Plan is to be worked out.

Fast record of achievements and the present resolve of the Soviet people to win the peaceful competition with the capitalist world are guarantees that the new targets of progress will be attained and surpassed.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY

Joint Management Council Brought To Dead End

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tion, is said to be closely associated with the attempts to disrupt the workers' unity. With the help of certain Congress bosses and the blessings of Union Deputy Labour Minister Abid Ali, who has never hidden his enthusiasm to sponsor rival unions, an IFTU-affiliated union was formed inside the factory.

Within six months of its starting, the Joint Council of Management was brought to a complete collapse. But that was not all. The disruption went to such an extent that anti-social elements were let loose on the workers, the union office was attacked, and the workers, in protest, staged a protest strike on December 8, 1959.

The Deccan Herald, a daily published from Bangalore, reported on February 20, 1960: "What is really disconcerting is the undesirable happenings that this split (among workers) has led to. There are various accounts concerning them."

TERRORISATION AND UNREST

"Terrorisation is alleged to be weaning away workers from the old union and forcing them into the new, personal and party scores are presumably being settled. Ideological ruptures are obviously taking place. The vigilance of the police vans round about the factory area was till recently too constant to be

explained away as accidental. Reference to this state of general unrest is of public importance in so far as this indicates the existence of an unhealthy atmosphere where such fissiparous tendencies are apt to find an unfettered play.

"The complacency of the management which was solicitous of cordial relations with labour till yesterday in not bothering to restore industrial harmony is indeed amazing."

The paper added: "Mr. N. Keshava, (Congress) M.P., and a director of the factory, openly accused in a statement issued on October 18, 1959 that some of the responsible officers of HMT were involved in the rivalry among the workers."

From the stage of cooperation with the HMT Employees' Union in the Joint Council, the management not only encouraged the rival union in the factory, but the office-bearers of the majority union were subjected to a policy of victimisation. The union President was prevented from entering the factory premises.

The disputes in the HMT have remained pending since May 1959. Several representations were made to the Mysore Labour Ministry and the Union Labour Ministry but the great enthusiasts of the scheme of Joint Management Councils took no notice of its collapse in HMT; none took action to rectify the sad state of industrial relations in a

The main immediate tasks of the Communist Party of Ceylon, says the Political Thesis adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Party, are to unite with the Government and all progressive forces to beat back reaction and to draw the mass movement unitedly into the struggle to prevent vacillations of the Government and for a firm policy towards imperialism.

WE must guard against the illusion, continues the Thesis, that the Government can do our job for us—or even do its own jobs without us. The Government is not a Socialist Government. We do not expect it to introduce Socialism. But we ask this Government to carry out resolutely the things it promised the people to do, and we will help it.

The Political Thesis after noting the favourable international situation, analysed the internal situation of Ceylon in detail to lay down these main tasks.

The points made by the Thesis on the internal situation can be summarised as:

1961 A Vital Year

1961 will be a vital year in deciding whether the progressive forces will go forward from the position of July 1960 (election and formation of the present Mrs. Bandaranaike Government) or whether they will be beaten back by reaction.

The political crisis that began in April 1959 and became acute when Mr. Bandaranaike was murdered, was temporarily solved in the interests of progress in July 1960 because the Communist Party's ten-year campaign to build a united national front was beginning to bear fruit. The election of July 1960 returned Ceylon to the road begun in April 1956.

But there were conditions more favourable for progress in July 1960 than in 1956.

- The political consciousness of the people has deepened;
- The vested interests are less represented in Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government than in the 1956 MEP Government;
- The July election was won as a result of unity between the national bourgeoisie and the Left, between nationalism and Socialism, between the SLFP, LSSP and the Communist Party and that unity still exists;
- The national prestige of the Communist Party is higher than ever before.

Reaction's Combined Offensive

But the Congress was meeting on the eve of a combined offensive of reaction against the Government and the popular forces. The maximum aim of reaction is to overthrow the Government. Its minimum aim is to force the Government to abandon some or all of its progressive measures (such as schools takeover, Insurance Corporation Act, Development Bank Bill, Petroleum Bill, etc.) and to break all connection between the Government and the Left.

Reaction cannot rely on mass support. It does not dare to put its policies fair and square before the people. It hopes to create a situation in which its friends in the armed forces, police and public administration can take over and do its job for it.

Certain factors have made the reactionaries more confident. The vacillations and weaknesses of the Government made them think they would have things all their own way. The

firmer line taken recently by the Government temporarily checked the growing violence, but it is a check for reaction to reorganise, not because it has given up the struggle.

Imperialist Pressure

Reactionaries have also seen that the Government has yielded to imperialist pressure in other fields—such as the decision to accept a World Bank Mission—and think this shows that the Government is economically in a very weak position and can be forced to capitulate if the screw is put on.

Dudley Senanayake and the rest of the UNP leadership have now decided to bring the UNP into the leadership of the reactionary campaign.

The different forces of reaction pretend that they have no connection with each other. But the UNP, Catholic Action,

News from brother parties

some of whose higher officers are extremely unreliable.

We must do everything possible to bring together all the progressive forces to rally the Government machine together with the vast popular masses to block reaction. Reaction must be beaten back on the broadest basis by uniting all the popular forces.

In the international field, the SLFP Government is generally following the policy of the late Mr. Bandaranaike, although, of course, with some vacillations. It remains committed to the policy of peaceful coexistence and the Bandung principles and this has to be welcomed and supported.

Biggest Weakness

But its biggest weakness is in the economic sphere. Imperialist pressure has won three victories: One, the early and cate-

gorical declaration of no nationalisation of estates; two, the decision to accept a second mission from the World Bank; and three, the inordinate delay in making use of Soviet aid for economic development projects.

Imperialism exerts its greatest pressure in the economic sphere and we need to pay great and detailed attention to the struggle in this field, says the Thesis.

Reaction, without popular support, depends for its strength on how much help it can get from imperialist and other outside reactionary sources, how much division it can create among the forces opposing it.

The reactionaries have not succeeded in creating divisions among the forces opposed to them. The Government has not been divided. It has begun to strike at some of the political centres of reaction. Its relations with the Left are still good. It has not succumbed to the anti-Communist campaign.

But the relations between the Government and the Left have not been consolidated sufficiently from below.

The Appeal to the People of Ceylon, adopted by the Congress, listed reaction's front of attack:

- U.S.-British oil monopolies' efforts to prevent the Petroleum Bill from becoming law;
- Foreign efforts to stop the Insurance Corporation and the People's Bank;
- U.S.-British imperialist pressure to prevent the Government from using aid from Socialist countries;
- The Vatican hierarchy's and Catholic Action's brazen defiance of all attempts to establish a unified system of national education;
- Press monopolies' intrigues to retain their power to confuse the people, destroy the progressive movement and promote the aims of foreign imperialism and Ceylonese reaction.

All the diverse forces of reaction, says the Appeal, have now united in a common counter-offensive and the UNP, the main party of foreign and domestic reaction, has put itself at the head of this reactionary campaign.

The Appeal adds: The Communist Party appeals to all progressive forces that contributed towards the victory of July 1960, to rally together at this crucial hour to protect that victory and carry it forward.

Let the SLFP, the LSSP and the Communist Party get together now and jointly beat back reaction's attack on the Government and the July victory....

Success in defending and carrying forward the July victory will depend on the extent to which we can consolidate and extend the unity that made this victory possible.

The good relations, cooperation and unity that exists between the SLFP, the LSSP and the Communist Party should be developed and transformed into a stable and united national front.

The Appeal concludes with the stirring words: Let all who love Ceylon and want progress and happiness for our people rally together and

who have actively worked for the Party and supported it both at elections and in other campaigns.

One-Year Plan

The Organisational Report also presented a one-year plan for building and strengthening the Party.

One year, the report says, while it is not very long, gives time for careful discussion in all Party units to work out the part that must be played by each unit and each member of the Party.

Carrying out this plan would also mean careful, regular, self-critical discussion and checking by all Party units.

The one-year plan is based on the Party's present position, strength and possibilities, given hard and devoted work. It is not a catalogue of what the

CEYLON COMMUNISTS CALL FOR UNITY TO DEFEAT REACTION

The Federal Party all use one rallying slogan — anti-Communism.

Since the beginning of the working class movement in Ceylon, the anti-Communist cry has been used to rally the forces of reaction. The present heroes of anti-Communism are trying to break up the present Government. The people have to teach a salutary lesson to them.

Reaction, without popular support, depends for its strength on how much help it can get from imperialist and other outside reactionary sources, how much division it can create among the forces opposing it.

The reactionaries have not succeeded in creating divisions among the forces opposed to them. The Government has not been divided. It has begun to strike at some of the political centres of reaction. Its relations with the Left are still good. It has not succumbed to the anti-Communist campaign.

But the relations between the Government and the Left have not been consolidated sufficiently from below.

The Appeal to the People of Ceylon, adopted by the Congress, listed reaction's front of attack:

- U.S.-British oil monopolies' efforts to prevent the Petroleum Bill from becoming law;
- Foreign efforts to stop the Insurance Corporation and the People's Bank;
- U.S.-British imperialist pressure to prevent the Government from using aid from Socialist countries;
- The Vatican hierarchy's and Catholic Action's brazen defiance of all attempts to establish a unified system of national education;
- Press monopolies' intrigues to retain their power to confuse the people, destroy the progressive movement and promote the aims of foreign imperialism and Ceylonese reaction.

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Party would like to accomplish. It is a statement of what can and should be done.

The plan includes: enrolment of 3,000 new Party members, establishment of a central Party school and week-end schools by District Committees, a special syllabus for new members, translation and publication of a number of documents, increasing the circulation of the Party journals, appointment of one full-time suitable cadre in each district for work on the Party front, appointment of suitable full-time cadres to work in areas where there are no Party branches at present, selection and allocation of full-time cadres for work among the peasantry and increasing the monthly income of the Party Centre.

Among the messages received by the Congress were those from the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China.

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PAGE ELEVEN

PUNJABI—OUR COMMON HERITAGE

★ by AVATAR SINGH MALHOTRA

After the release of the Akalis and the withdrawal of the Akali morcha the people of the Punjab had heaved a sigh of relief. But the communalists do not want to give them a respite. This time the Hindu communal leaders have begun a campaign—a campaign of hatred against their own mother-tongue Punjabi.

The main campaigner and ideological-political leader of Hindu communalism the Daily Pratap, has written a number of editorials under the heading: "Why Should We Get Hindi Recorded?"

The Punjabi Hindus are being asked to get Hindi and not Punjabi recorded as their mother-tongue in the coming census as an effective method of preventing the formation of Punjabi Suba.

For this nefarious purpose, these elements are also using the recent statements of Master Tara Singh and the coming Congress-Akalis negotiations. In these statements Master Tara Singh has linked up the issue of Punjabi language and Suba with Sikh religion and "Sikh rights", thus providing ammunition to the Hindu communalists.

The Sikh masses have been raising the question as to why despite such huge sacrifices on their part no advance has been made towards realisation of Punjabi Suba and the morcha has had to be withdrawn. The only answer to this can be that not making the Punjabi Suba a common issue of all Punjabis but distorting it into a communal demand backed by a communal agitation does not clear the way for a Punjabi State on linguistic basis. On the contrary, it impedes the building up of a united movement. This is the lesson of past developments in the Punjab and the recent Akali morcha.

Master Tara Singh has shown no indication of having learnt this. On the contrary, he has begun propagating that the morcha has brought big gains and victories, that Pandit Nehru has accepted the principles underlying the Akali demand and now negotiations will do the rest.

People have not forgotten the way the Akali leaders have used the slogan of Punjabi Suba for political deals with the Congress in the past and once again negotiations are being held—this time in the background of an impending general election.

All these facts are being exploited by Hindu communal leaders. With memories of the partition still fresh this time in the background of an impending general election.

Thus the Punjabi language is being—as it has continually been—made a counter in the game of communal politics.

'Hate Punjabi' Campaign

This is the third big campaign run by these elements against Punjabi. The first was on the eve of the 1951 census in which many Hindu Congressmen led by L. Jagat Narain were also in the forefront. Besides townspeople, the Harijans were also misled into declaring Hindi and not Punjabi as their mother-tongue. The Akalis, too, started their campaign for Punjabi in their characteristic manner.

Jinnah, of different homelands for different communities.

The present Punjab, in fact, is bilingual in quite a different sense, in that there are two different linguistic regions in it—one Punjabi-speaking and the other Hindi-speaking—a fact recognised in the Regional Formula. The Hindi-speaking areas—the Harijans District—was historically never a part of Punjab. Traditionally the rivers Saraswati and Drishadavati (now known as Ghaggar) separated the two regions. Today also the River Ghaggar does form, in the main, the boundary line between Punjabi and Hindi-speaking areas. Grierson also took Ghaggar as the border of demarcation in his linguistic survey.

In 1931, the last Census to give statistics of language, gives the following figures for Punjabi in the districts of Ambala Division:

District	Total Population	Punjabi speaking
Ambala	739,464	264,517
Hissar	899,115	219,718
Karnal	852,551	16,438
Gurgaon	739,970	895
Rohtak	805,585	526

Ambala district included (and includes) the Punjabi-speaking tehsils of Kharar and Rupar and some more contiguous villages. Similarly Hissar district included Punjabi-speaking areas of Rori, Rati, also Budhlada (now part of Bhatinda district) and some villages in Tohana. The figures for Punjabi-speaking people relate to here.

Similarly there are some such villages in Karnal on the borders with Punjabi-speaking Patiala.

Most of these Punjabi areas are beyond the River Ghaggar.

If we exclude these contiguous areas then the rest of Ambala Division is clearly Hindi-speaking, a fact known to and recognised by everybody formerly.

People of this area were always called "Hindustanis" in the Punjab. In 1946, late Pattabhi Sitaramayya said, while presiding over the Convention for Linguistic and Cultural Provinces, about these Harijana districts of the Punjab: "At one time this area was in U. P. But after the Mutiny of 1857 it was incorporated in Punjab as a punishment. Even today students from the Harijana districts of Ambala are called Hindustani in Punjab while the rest are called Punjabis."

He demanded that the vast region on both sides of the Jumna, including the territory of Delhi be formed into a separate province on the basis of common language and culture. Now truth has fallen victim to the expediencies of communal politics.

The bilingual theory is made to look plausible further by using the fact that now Punjabi refugees are dispersed in the towns and some rural areas of Harijana.

This fact, however, has not altered the linguistic-cultural character of this region. Punjabi refugees, constituting a distinct cultural entity there, are in a minority and mostly settled in the towns, while, leaving some tehsils near the borderland between the two regions, they are an insignificant minority in the rural areas elsewhere. This can be

come no justification for either declaring the area as Punjabi-speaking or making it out to be homogenous with the Punjabi region, which has been known to be Punjabi-speaking throughout the ages and has never been bilingual.

Same is the case with the story about the Gurmukhi script, originated by Guru Angad (the second Sikh Guru). It has nothing to do with historical facts, as established by various scholars.

The thirty-five letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet are to be found in one long poem (Pathi) of Guru Nanak (the first Guru) and in the same order as now and with the same names. This evidence from the Sikh scriptures itself refutes the theory of the second Guru having invented it.

Moreover, in village Hathor or in Ludhiana district among ancient ruins stone-inscriptions have been found, dated Samvat 1927 (i.e. before Guru Nanak's birth) with writing in the same script called Gurmukhi (from the Guru's mouth) later on. Photographs of these are printed in G. B. Singh's book on the origin of Gurmukhi script. This fact completely blows up the theory of the Gurmukhi script having originated with Sikhism.

The script existed before the Sikh Gurus, a fact also attested by others. For example, in an old 1916 article in the Tribune by L. Shiv Dayal, Inspector of Schools, stated that he had seen ancient writings in this script with some Pandas in Hardwar and also with some people in the Kangra areas.

The very ancient origin of the letters of Gurmukhi script is borne out by comparison with the letters of Takri and Saida, both prevalent during the Middle Ages (long before the Sikh Gurus) in Punjab Hills and Kashmir respectively. Fifteen letters of the Gurmukhi script are identical with those of Takri, five resemble them greatly and six have partial resemblance.

How The Script Arose

On the basis of historical evidence scholars generally are now of the view that a script known as Bhattachkhri or Bhattachkhri (script of the Bhattis—a Rajput clan whose chiefs ruled Bhatinda, Bhatnir and adjoining areas, and gave these places their present names) was prevalent in the plains of the Punjab and also among traders.

The Sikh Gurus used it for recording their religious hymns and the second Guru probably prepared some primer to help learn the script and or introduced some reforms to simplify it. As their scriptures were recorded in it the Sikhs began to call it Gurmukhi.

During Muslim rule when Persian was the court language the new name of the ancient script got currency among non-Muslims. Actually it is the Punjabi script and, as stated by Basham also it was the Brahmi script which evolved in the course of time with local variations into the Devnagri, Bengali, Gujerati and Punjabi scripts.

Thus the so-called Gurmukhi script is in fact, a most

precious common heritage—along with the Punjabi language—of the Punjabi people. But such is the jaundiced outlook of communalism that this common heritage, too, is disowned and communal sentiments incited against it.

No One Opposes Hindi

No one in the Punjab opposes Hindi at all. As regards its status in the Harijana area it is both the mother-tongue of the people and the national language and has received that status. All that is needed there is not to make the study of Punjabi as a second language compulsory but voluntary.

In the Punjabi area Punjabi should get its full rights as the regional language and Hindi as the national language. It is Punjabi that has so far been denied its due status, and the so-called champions of Hindi oppose any step that does away with the injustice. They want that Hindi should be recognised as the regional language also (in addition to being the national language) in the Punjabi region.

The real aim is that the Punjabis should remain divided along communal lines on the issue of language, with the coming generations owning and studying different languages (Hindi for Hindus and Punjabi for Sikhs), thus perpetuating communal thinking and division.

If the communalists are allowed to have their way, 1951 would be repeated with communal polarisation and tension rising to a new level again. The situation calls for a vigorous and timely campaign by all the healthy forces of the State—a campaign in defence of Punjabi and for communal unity, both of which have got inseparably linked.

Today the situation is more favourable than in 1951. People have seen what that campaign led to. The State Government is now committed to Punjabi as the regional language and has taken some significant, though belated steps to give it its rights. The Communist Party has greater influence and capacity to reach the masses—particularly the workers and agricultural labourers (Harijans) and Kisans in the rural areas.

If the Congress takes a firm stand and Congressmen also campaign in defence of that stand large sections of these two classes can be saved from the communal poison. However, no one can be sure about the Congress stand.

In these conditions special responsibility devolves upon the Communists, the vanguard of secular and democratic forces in Punjab to oppose vigorously the "Hate-Punjabi" campaign and rouse the Punjabis to unitedly own their mother-tongue.

Among other things it is also a question of defending the unity of the workers in the towns and of the peasantry (the kisans and Harijans) in the villages. If the present "Hate-Punjabi" campaign is not allowed to divide these classes—a realisable objective—that would strengthen the basis for a far broader and stronger unity in the future.

MOSCOW CELEBRATES REPUBLIC DAY

● From Hasood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, January 31.

Indian Republic Day celebrations went on in Moscow for full one week. They started with a meeting in one of Moscow's Boarding Schools where Hindi and Urdu are taught to children from the early age. Every day since then has been some function or another to demonstrate the deep love and respect and friendly feelings of the Soviet people from the topmost Government leaders to the man in the street have for India.

The eleventh anniversary of the Indian Republic was marked by festive meetings at Moscow's International Friendship House which, apart from prominent Moscow citizens was also attended by the Indian Ambassador K. P. S. Menon, Indian scientists, specialists, students and other members of Moscow's Indian colony. Andrei Shevchenko, Secretary, All-Union Council of Trade Unions, greeting India's national holiday pointed out that the Soviet people follow with deep sympathy and respect the constructive labour of the Indian people and highly appreciate their contribution to the struggle for world peace.

Different speakers characterised Indo-Soviet relations as a model for practical application of the principle of peaceful co-existence and surveyed growing and fruitful economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

The Indian Ambassador in his speech described the development of friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union as a logical historical process. Two remarkable men, both highly humane in understanding the problems of their own people and the world, Nehru and Khrushchov, were architects of our friendship, he said. Similar meetings were held at many factories, research and public establishments of Moscow, Leningrad and many other places. The press has been full of articles on India's struggle for independence, her economic progress and present problems, legacy of her colonial past and her mounting prestige and her great role in world affairs.

Highlight of the celebrations was certainly the grand reception given by the Indian Ambassador in Hotel Sovietskaya on the 26th. It was attended by Frol Kozlov and Alexei Kosygin and Ministers, Marshalls, Deputies of the Supreme Soviet, scientists, cultural leaders and representatives of public organisations. Khrushchov

spoke on behalf of the Soviet Government welcomed the successes of the Indian people in laying

the foundations for their heavy industry. He declared, "We are doing our best to help Indian friends to facilitate their progress and achievements of their planned targets."

"All the world knows today the word Bhitai," Kosygin said. "Today Bhitai has become the symbol of our economic cooperation. We are all pleased to note that the construction of this giant plant will be over shortly. Another 26 plants, factories and other undertakings built on the basis of Soviet-Indian cooperation will spring up alongside Bhitai during the Third Five-Year Plan period."

Soviet-Indian friendship, he said, was becoming an ever more impressive force in world affairs. He mentioned peace, disarmament, abolition of colonialism and rapid development and consolidation of underdeveloped countries as the common aims of the two countries whose relations were an example of disinterested and good-neighbourly relations.

Earlier Sunday in the grand building of the Moscow University, an evening of Indo-Soviet friendship was arranged by Indian and Soviet students. A joint cultural programme was presented and Indian dances and songs drew a lot of applause. Especially a

Menon, welcoming his guests, apologised that he could not greet them on Indian territory (in the Indian Embassy) as the circle of the India's Soviet friends had widened so much that even the big hall of the hotel was too small to accommodate them. This showed to what extent Indo-Soviet relations had developed, he said. One of the most remarkable developments during the last decade was the manner in which India and the Soviet Union had come closer to each other.

There were many monuments of Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation throughout the length and breadth of India, Menon said, enumerating some of the plants and power stations, oilwells, etc., built with Soviet help. "We shall cherish this friendship not merely because it has been of benefit to both the countries but because we are firmly convinced that it is good for the peace of the world," the Ambassador declared.

Despite the fact that the Andhra unit of the Party being a strong contingent of the Party, Andhra never had the opportunity to play host to any all-India Party Congress. The Party rank-and-file are therefore, still more eagerly awaiting the occasion.

Meeting after the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties and just on the eve of elections, this Party Congress is expected to be of historic importance.

When the Party took a decision earlier to hold the Congress in January, the Andhra Pradesh unit immediately constituted a Preparatory Committee composed of important Party leaders with Comrade Kadiyala Gopal Rao as the convenor to go ahead with preparations. The committee met, appointed various sub-committees to look after funds, volunteers, cultural programmes, conference arrangements and so on.

Punjab peasant dance was greatly admired by the youthful audience. Outside the hall, orchestra was provided and the dancing went on for a long time. Indian documentary films including a beautiful one on Pahari miniature paintings of Radha and Krishna were also shown after the concert.

Tagore Centenary Preparations

PREPARATIONS are going ahead here for Tagore Centenary celebrations. A documentary film on the life and work of our great poet is being prepared by the Moscow Documentary Film Studio for the occasion. Tagore will be presented in the film not only as a great humanist writer whose works are very popular in the USSR but as an outstanding civic leader, educationist, artist and musician.

Places connected with Tagore's life and work, his drawings and paintings will be shown and the audience will be able to hear his verses and music. The film will also include unique shots of Tagore's stay in USSR in 1930 showing him in the Red Square, Kremlin and at an exhibition of his own paintings in Moscow. Director Samuel Bubrik, author of many biographical films, has also included material shot in India. Script for Tagore film has been written by Soviet poet Mikhail Matusovsky.

EHRENBURG'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

Ilya Ehrenburg's birthday falls on India's Republic Day and this year it was a special occasion as it was his 70th. This veteran revolutionary, a great publicist, writer and journalist, has imbued within his personality an amazing range of human cultural achievement and has become a mighty voice and forum for the defence of human values and world civilisation.

My wife and I spent a pleasant evening at his flat on Gorky Street on the eve of his birthday. Great Ilya spoke of India, Tagore, modern Indian paintings, especially Amrita Sheril, whom he greatly admires; talked on Indian spices he grows in his orchard outside Moscow and declared that he is optimistic about the world at the age of 70. He talked on in his own inimitable way, gave us excellent coffee and very tasty appetizer and expressed satisfaction at the fact that things are again moving towards negotiations.

A new excellently produced book of his impressions of India, Japan and Greece with lots of lovely art photographs has just come out of the press. He inscribed in his own hand a copy for us. As we came out, where the evening Izvestia award for Ilya Ehrenburg was announced. Many happy returns to our Ilya, great friend and fighter.

ANDHRA PREPARES FOR PARTY CONGRESS

● From V. Hanumantha Rao

With the decision of the National Council of the Communist Party of India to hold the Party Congress from April 7 at Vijayawada, preparations for the Congress were immediately taken on hand. The uneasy suspense which was hanging on ever since the postponement of the Conference originally scheduled to be held in January, is now no more.

When is the Party Congress? This was the question that was on the lips of every delegate who attended the Provincial Party Conference held at Anantapur. This was again the question I faced in my tour of some of the districts. Such was the anxiety of Party ranks all over Andhra.

The enlarged meeting of the Town Communist Samiti met during the first week of January. Comrade T. Potharaju, Secretary of the City Committee explained the importance of the Conference and called upon all the branch units which have taken quotas for collecting Rs. 15,400, to call for general body meetings in their areas and take up the work of organisation for the Party Congress in right earnest. It was estimated that an amount of Rs. 50,000 may be needed for the conduct of the Congress.

This enlarged meeting was immediately followed up by ward meetings. The first ward took the lead in the campaign. Before asking the people to donate, the Party members of the ward themselves promised to pay Rs. 664.50. They were so confident that they said they would collect another Rs. 1,000 from those party members who could not at-

tend the meeting. Rs. 85 was collected on the spot.

The announcement by the City Party Secretary that the unit which collects the highest amount will get the Party fund Rolling cup in the meeting of the First Ward has moved the other ward units into action.

By January 10, already three ward units had deposited in the city Party office an amount of Rs. 262.09 that was collected through receipt books and Bundles.

While the amount that is to be spent for the Congress is a very modest one, the way it is being collected in small coins and the manner in which Party members have moved into action is encouraging and exemplary. It is quite unlike the Congress party meet to which Government send zinc sheets, various State Governments subsidise the expenses of the meeting by opening stalls and so on.

While that was the response from the town itself, the Party units in Krishna district also made a beginning in the direction. Report comes from Nandigama taluq that the peasants and agricultural labourers of Sher Mohammedpet collected four bags of paddy. From another village KETAVER-UNIPADU, agricultural labourers donated Rs. 25 by selling a bag of paddy.

All this happened as a result of initiative taken by Party members on their own. But with the call from the Pradesh Communist Committee and with a drive from the Preparatory Committee, it is expected the whole Party will swing into action in real big way.

PAGE THIRTEEN

FEBRUARY 5, 1961

NEW AGE

WEST BENGAL COMMUNISTS IN CONFERENCE

FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The Ninth West Bengal State Conference of the Communist Party of India began on January 17 with the hoisting of the Red Flag by Muzaffar Ahmed, veteran Communist leader and one of the founders of the Party. The delegates then met at a specially erected pandal, which was named after Sukumar, a martyr to the cause of the working class.

AFTER the election of the Presidium, the Steering Committee and the Credentials Committee, wreaths were placed on the Martyrs' Column. The Conference then adopted condolence resolutions on Harry Pollitt, Wilhelm Pieck, Hasso Nasir, martyrs of the food and other movements and the comrades who had died in the midst of privations and distress. Introducing the draft Political-Organisation Report of the State Council, Jyoti Basu, Secretary of the Council, in a one-hour speech drew the delegates' attention to the main points of the Report.

General Secretary Reports

Next day, Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party, addressed the Conference.

Out of 336 delegates, representing a total Party membership of 17,526, 309 were present. They had come from Darjeeling in the far north as well as from the Sunderbans on the seaboard of the Bay of Bengal in the South.

All the 16 districts of the State were represented. Among the delegates were women tea workers, Adivasi peasants, students, teachers, workers, doctors, lawyers and whole-timers, organisers of the Party. One hundred and sixty-nine of them were Party members of more than 20 years' standing and 72 had earned their membership between 1941-47.

Reporting on the recent Moscow Conference of the Communist Parties, Ajoy Ghosh explained at length the historic importance and the implications of the formulations of the 81-parties statement. He pointed out that the programme of every Communist Party in the world, including that of our Party, had been incorporated in the statement.

Characterising it as the "new Communist Manifesto", he emphasised that it was obligatory for every member of the Communist Party of India to study the Statement deeply, to make serious efforts to comprehend its significance and to organise his work in the light of its teachings.

The whole of the Conference's nine-hour session on the day was taken up by his reporting and simultaneous translation of his speech in Bengali.

Earlier in the day, Bhupesh Gupta opened a Foster Exhibition at the Local Town Hall. The Exhibition graphically depicted the evolution of Communist Press in West Bengal from Navdnyu, a left-nationalist paper which appeared in 1920, to the publication in March 1960 of the eight-pager daily Swadhinata, the proud inheritor of the countless struggles and many vicissitudes of these 40 glorious years.

The emergence and growth of the international working class movement from the Luddites to

ment of historic significance and a guide in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism the resolution says "It is the sacred duty of every Communist to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to defend the unity of the international Communist movement, to strengthen still further the confidence of the people in this unity, to popularise ceaselessly the great ideals of Communism, to comprehend the teachings of the historic Statement, to organise discussion on it in the entire Party, to strengthen the internal unity of the Party, to educate the entire Party in the light of the Statement and to organise our own work on the basis of this education and concrete experience."

The Conference is of the opinion that continuous and conscious efforts are necessary to fulfil all these duties. The resolution on the next general elections analyses the complex political situation in West Bengal, and the attitude and desires of the people despite the confusion and disruptions created by the anti-Communism of PSP in particular and the FB and RSP in general. The resolution then emphasises that "the basis for building broad democratic unity, and not merely left unity, is present today in this State. Steeled in countless battles, the people of West Bengal will defeat the policies of disruption and anti-Communism and lay the basis of a broad unity even before the forthcoming elections. We are confident that workers, peasants, middle class people and other democratic sections will come forward from now to overcome the relative weakness of democratic forces and to eliminate the domination of vested interests in the countryside, and to foil the machinations of the Government."

The Report covers a very wide ground—international situation, India's foreign policy, national situation, situation in West Bengal, mass campaigns conducted by the State Council and the movements of different sections of the people, position of the forthcoming general elections, ideological struggle, the Party and mass fronts, work in self-governing institutions, daily Swadhinata and Weekly Hindi Swadhinata, and the Party and its work in the legislature and Party organisation. The Report concludes with a rousing call to all comrades to spare no efforts to fulfil the heavy responsibilities that have devolved on the Party in this State.

After Jyoti Basu's reply to the points raised by the delegates, the Report was adopted with a number of amendments. The Conference then proceeded to discuss the nine-page resolution, entitled "Urgent Tasks Before the Party".

Based on the political-organisational Report, the resolution outlines the main tasks before the West Bengal Party in relation to the issues of war and peace, fight for democracy and national reconstruction, ensuring general elections, mass movements, different mass fronts, ideological struggle, Party education and Party organisation.

The resolution was discussed at length on January 21, and was finally adopted with certain amendments.

Two of the most important organisational decisions of the Conference were to increase the present Party membership by at least 50 per cent, and to collect two lakhs of rupees by August 15 next.

In between the discussions on the Political-Organisation Report and the above resolution the Conference passed several resolutions on international and national issues and those affecting West Bengal in particular.

Delegates thunderously shouted "Long Live the Unity of the International Communist Movement" as the Conference adopted a resolution greeting the 81-parties Statement.

Characterising it as a docu-

ment of historic significance and a guide in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism the resolution says "It is the sacred duty of every Communist to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to defend the unity of the international Communist movement, to strengthen still further the confidence of the people in this unity, to popularise ceaselessly the great ideals of Communism, to comprehend the teachings of the historic Statement, to organise discussion on it in the entire Party, to strengthen the internal unity of the Party, to educate the entire Party in the light of the Statement and to organise our own work on the basis of this education and concrete experience."

The Conference finally took up the last item on the agenda—the election of the State Council, the Control Commission and Delegates to the Party Congress.

It elected a State Council of 101 comrades, seven of whom are new-comers. The outgoing Control Commission was re-elected for a fresh term. The Conference also elected 45 delegates to the Party Congress on the basis of West Bengal's membership in 1959.

The new State Council met in the morning of January 22 and elected an Executive Committee of 25 members and a Secretary of the State Council.

Promode Das Gupta was elected Secretary of the State Council.

The following were elected members of the new Secretariat: Muzaffar Ahmed, Promode Das Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Ranen Sen, Hare Krishna Konar, Niranjan Sen Gupta, Samar Mukherjee and Saroj Mukherjee. The ninth member will be one of the leaders of the Calcutta District Council.

Mass Rally

The mass rally in the afternoon of January 22 was the grand finale of two months of the most intensive political and organisational preparations that had preceded the Conference.

From the morning on the day it was apparent that Burdwan had caught up an entirely new mood. The atmosphere was unmistakably one of a political festival of the masses of people.

As the day wore on, innumerable processions of peasants from nearby as well as distant villages began to pour into the town. Dressed in their colour-

ful festival attire, Santhal peasants came dancing to the accompaniment of "madril" and cymbals. By 2 o'clock the main roads were crowded. All were going to Atiab Club Maidan, the venue of the rally.

At one place, I unexpectedly came across a group of nearly 500 lower middle class and bustee women and children, all dressed up for the occasion and marching in disciplined formation to the Maidan.

The main procession, several thousands strong, was headed by the leaders of the Party and the delegates. Women workers of Darjeeling tea-gardens were singing the songs of their militant movement. Adivasi men and women were singing of their joys and sorrows, of their struggles and hopes. The people participating in the procession had come by train and in reserved buses and trucks from Calcutta, Bankura, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah and Birbhum districts.

The massive rows of flags from one end to the other but a peculiar majesty to the entire procession. Burdwan pulsed with a new life. One could feel it tingling in one's blood.

By the time the rally began, the number of people had swelled to 50,000. It was the biggest-ever rally in the history of Burdwan.

Another significant fact about the Conference was that it was the first State Conference to be held outside Calcutta after the Chandannagore Conference, which took place in 1938 in conditions of illegality.

The Burdwan Conference was a measure of the broad mass base of the Party in the district. It was also a clear demonstration of the fact that the Party is looked upon by large sections of people as the only Party capable of replacing the Congress Government and building a prosperous and happy West Bengal.

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KHRUSHCHOV

* FROM CENTRE PAGE.

al development of peoples firmly and consistently.

It should be stressed that when the matter was debated in the General Assembly the colonialists were isolated by the Socialist and neutral countries—countries which are also working for the abolition of the colonial system. Even some of the aggressive blocs, Norway and Denmark for instance, voted for the abolition of colonialism. The colonialists comprised a group of merely nine countries which abstained during the voting.

Not all the peoples which have won national independence enjoy its fruits, because their economies are still dominated by foreign monopolies. The peoples of the Socialist countries, the Communists and progressives all over the world, see their duty in abolishing the last remnants of the colonial system of imperialism, in supporting the peoples now liberating themselves from the colonial Powers and in helping them to realise their ideals of liberation. (Reprinted from the World Marxist Review, January 1961)

Though doomed, colonialism still has a considerable power of resistance and causes untold harm to many peoples. All that is moribund and reactionary rallies round it. Colonialism is the direct or indirect cause of many conflicts which threaten humanity with another war.

Colonialism, which has caused bloodshed on so many occasions, is to this day a source of the war danger. It manifests itself repeatedly in outbreaks of maniacal fury, as eloquently illustrated by the bloodshed in Algeria, in the Congo and in Laos; it still holds tens of millions of people in chains.

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KENNEDY'S PROGRAMME

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

We must strengthen our military tools."

Stepping Up Arms Drive

He has asked that increased attention be given to air-transport mobility which will "better assure the ability of our conventional forces to respond, with discrimination and speed, to any problem at any spot on the globe at any moment's notice." In addition, the Polaris submarine programme is to be stepped up and the entire missile programme to be accelerated.

He states again the maniacal policy of rearmament and the arms race as the path to peace—"only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed."

With regard to Cuba he says: "In Latin America, Communist agents seeking to exploit that region's peaceful revolution of hope, have established a base in Cuba. Our objection is to Cuba's domination by foreign and domestic tyrannies. Communist domination in this hemisphere can never be negotiated. We are pledged to work with our sister Republics to free the Americas of all such foreign domination and all tyranny."

"Twelve long years after Congress declared our goal to be a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family, we still have 25 million Americans living in sub-standard housing."

In addition there is the serious balance of payments position manifested, above all, in the fact that foreigners now hold (according to the New York Herald Tribune) 19 billion worth of short-term dollar balances which can be cashed at any time for gold or foreign currency. It is this fact which necessitates a high interest rate, which in its turn, is one of the inhibiting factors in capital investment, the shortfall of which is one of the more pronounced features of economic stagnation.

With regard to Laos many Indian newspapers had suggested that the new US President had an approach that was similar to that of the Government of India. But there is no mention at all in Kennedy's Message of any slackening of support for the Nosavann-Boun Oun rebels, any recognition of the neutralist Souvanna Phouma Government, of the need for the Conference of all those countries who had participated in the 1954 Geneva Conference or of the despatching of the International Commission set up by it.

On the Congo, there is not only an unconditional justification of all that has been done to date and try to destroy the freedom of the Congo by the imperialists through the U.N. Secretary-General. Kennedy goes even further and by implication criticises the moves made by many advanced African and Asian States to prevent further imperialist inroads into the Congo and to restore the sovereignty of its Parliament.

The US President has spoken on the question of disarmament also. He has mentioned the "deadly arms race" and the need to "prevent that arms race from spreading to new nations, to new nuclear powers and to the reaches of outer space."

Simultaneously, he serves notice of greater US interference in the internal affairs of the recipient countries. He states that the new "aid" programme will place "greater emphasis on the recipient nation's role, efforts and purpose, with greater social justice, broader distribution and participation and more efficient administration and taxation."

As with all other portions, this aspect of the new President's programme is as yet too shrouded in generalities to enable us to hazard more than rather tentative conclusions. But it would appear that there is a likelihood of the US making a turn towards rapprochement with neutralist underdeveloped countries on the basis of providing bigger dosages of economic aid, combined with a refurbishing of the more disgraceful puppet regimes which it bolsters up in different parts of the world.

Economic aid for developmental efforts will be welcomed by all and it has been one of the criticisms of US policy that it is doing far, far too little in this regard, because of its imperialist desire to keep these vast areas as raw material appendages.

But the very mention of the Marshall Plan makes it quite clear that along with the import of capital in various forms will come the paraphernalia of reaction. Marshall Plan aid in Europe has had two inevitable concomitants—a sharp swing to the Right internally and slightly later entanglement with US military alliances. These dangers signals the patriotic forces in all underdeveloped countries can ignore only at the cost of a future loss of much that all of them cherish.

Apart from this, Kennedy has said, "we must never forgo our hopes for the ultimate freedom and welfare of the East European peoples." One wonders whether this is going to be followed up at some stage with the "liberation" and "roll-back" which one had thought had died with the late unlamented Foster Dulles.

It goes on to say "the problems in achieving this goal are towering and unprecedented—the response must be lowering and unprecedented as well as such as lend-lease and the Marshall Plan were in earlier years." In this context, Kennedy advocates the coordination of the "aid" to underdeveloped countries by all the "Western Allies."

It is significant that he calls for greater flexibility for short-run emergencies and at the same time "more commitment to long-term development."

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The inaugural speech and the State of the Union Message of President Kennedy fail to provide clear-cut contours of any change in US policy in the coming months. It looks very much as if US policy will build up more under pressures from without than from the impulses of its own initiatives.

The various commentators of the capitalist press have been cautious. Walter Lippman, an ardent admirer, could go no further than saying "Kennedy is a conservative of the age he lives in" (New York Herald Tribune of December 30, 1960). R. H. S. Crossman in New Statesman (January 27) describes his policies with that ominous phrase "masterly moderation." The Economist, London, (January 21) feels that the new President will need "the initiative and personal flair of Roosevelt, sometimes the warm downright sense of Truman and, often, the patient humility of Lincoln." A tall order indeed!

The same feeling of small likelihood of spectacular change is aroused by the Cabinet he has chosen. Dean Rusk of the Rockefeller Foundation, McNamara of the Ford empire, McCloy of the Chase Manhattan Bank are likely to emerge as the key men of the new administration, apart from the President's brother.

It is significant that Kennedy himself has had to unwind an enormous quantity of shares on the stock market as soon as he learnt of his victory, as the U.S. Constitution forbids its executive officers from "holding interests in companies while in service. If this is not exactly Ike's Cadillac Cabinet, it is pretty close to it.

If we turn to his State of the Union Message, we get the continued impression of ambivalence.

Devastated Economy

Kennedy has drawn a really devastating picture of the stagnation—and worse—of the U.S. economy.

He states: "The present state of the economy is disturbing. We take offence in the wake of seven months of recession, three and a half years of slack, seven years of diminished economic growth and nine years of falling farm income."

"Business bankruptcies have reached their highest level since the great depression."

"Since 1951 farm income has been squeezed down by 25 per cent."

"Save for a brief period in 1958, insured unemployment is at the highest peak in history. Of some five and-a-half million Americans without jobs, more than one million have been searching for work for more than four months. And during each month some 150,000 workers are exhausting their already meagre jobless benefits rights."

"Nearly one-eighths of those who are without jobs live almost without hope in nearly a hundred especially depressed and troubled areas."

"The rest include new school graduates unable to use their

talents, farmers forced to give up the part-time jobs that had balanced their budgets, skilled and unskilled workers laid off in such important industries: metals, machinery, automobiles and apparel.

"Our recovery from the 1958 recession, moreover, was anaemic and incomplete. . . ."

"In short, the American economy is in trouble. The most resourceful industrialised economy on earth ranks among the last in economic growth. Since last spring it has actually receded. Business investment is in a decline. Profits have fallen below predicted levels. Construction is off."

"A million unsold automobiles are in inventory. Fewer people are working and the average work week has shrunk well below 40 hours. Yet prices have continued to rise—so that now too many Americans have less to spend for items that cost them more to buy. . . ."

"Twelve long years after Congress declared our goal to be a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family, we still have 25 million Americans living in sub-standard housing."

In addition there is the serious balance of payments position manifested, above all, in the fact that foreigners now hold (according to the New York Herald Tribune) 19 billion worth of short-term dollar balances which can be cashed at any time for gold or foreign currency. It is this fact which necessitates a high interest rate, which in its turn, is one of the inhibiting factors in capital investment, the shortfall of which is one of the more pronounced features of economic stagnation.

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Economic aid for developmental efforts will be welcomed by all and it has been one of the criticisms of US policy that it is doing far, far too little in this regard, because of its imperialist desire to keep these vast areas as raw material appendages.

But the very mention of the Marshall Plan makes it quite clear that along with the import of capital in various forms will come the paraphernalia of reaction. Marshall Plan aid in Europe has had two inevitable concomitants—a sharp swing to the Right internally and slightly later entanglement with US military alliances. These dangers signals the patriotic forces in all underdeveloped countries can ignore only at the cost of a future loss of much that all of them cherish.

Threat To Cuba

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TIMES OF INDIA'S CANARDS AND CHINESE REALITY

Existence would be drab if the Times of India were not there to bring fresh excitement every morning. For days one had been hearing about the natural calamity that had overtaken China and its effect on China's agriculture, but it required the Times of India's Correspondent on China who operates from Hong Kong to tell us the details of the widespread food riots and the killing of officials and the hunger-marches in Fukien Province.

NOT that other papers had not printed reports of food scarcity in China and of even food queues, but they never thought of making it a splash lead story as the Times of India did on January 30, perhaps because common sense dictated to them that with all the calamity, China's industrial advance continued at a rapid rate in 1960 and more important, but for the achievements of China in the field of agriculture itself and the battle against nature, the disaster would have been much more calamitous.

More objectionable than the despatch from Hong Kong, was the Times of India's editorial on January 24 with the caption "China's Ordeal."

The editorial, on the basis of the Communiqué of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, offers the sympathy of the rest of the world to China, but doesn't have a word to say of the tremendous achievements of China, despite the natural calamity. Read what the Communiqué says:

Match These Achievements

"China's level of industrial production has been greatly raised as a result of the big leap forward in three consecutive years.

"In steel production, China's place in the world has risen from ninth in 1957 to sixth and in coal production from fifth to second.

"The material and techni-

cal base of industry has been enormously strengthened.

"The stock of machine-tools is more than double that of 1957; and the number of engineers and technicians has also more than doubled.

"In the past three years, the gross value of industrial output increased at an average annual rate of 40 per cent, or more than double the average annual rate during the First Five-Year Plan."

Natural Calamities Worst In A Century

These are no mean achievements which the editorial-writer of the Times of India can just write off because a natural calamity—the worst in a century—has created some difficulties in the agricultural front this year.

And even about this calamity, what does the editorial say: "... any further drastic cut in food rations in the ninth year of planning cannot but have a demoralising effect on the peasantry." One could understand such writing if the paper which wrote it was in a country which had attained self-sufficiency in food in nine years or even more of planning.

The Times of India is clear "that the communes have not fulfilled all the hopes of their sponsors."

Pity the scribe for his ignorance. For the Communiqué says:

"In agriculture, the production plan was not fulfilled in 1960 because the country suffered the most severe natural

calamities in a century following upon the serious natural calamities of 1959.

"In the past three years, however, the organisation of the people's communes has steadily improved and become more firmly consolidated. Water conservancy work has made tremendous progress with an increase of more than 300 million mou in the effectively irrigated area in three years.

"There has been a definite improvement in the technical equipment for agriculture with a roughly nine-fold increase in irrigation equipment and an approximately three-fold increase in the number of tractors in three years....

"All this has not only mitigated the loss caused by the severe natural calamities in the last two years, but also provided favourable conditions for the expansion of agricultural production in the future."

The Times of India's purpose in charging that the communes have not been successful is to prove its thesis that "it is difficult to say whether the present crisis can be ascribed entirely to natural causes." What it wants its readers to believe is that along with natural calamities, Government policies have also been responsible for this year's difficulties in agriculture, a conclusion which unfortunately can be substantiated only by the paper's Hong Kong Correspondent and not by a reading of the Communiqué.

The editorial says, "the resolution does not refer to sabotage in so many words," but the Communiqué does, and not only refer to it but says:

"The Session decided that this (rectification) movement be carried out throughout the country, stage by stage and area by area to help the functionaries enhance their ideological and political level, improve their method and style of work and purify the organisations by cleaning out the extremely few bad elements who have been verified by very careful check as having sneaked into the Party and Government organisations and at the same time prevent and stop the sabotaging activities of the bad elements."

Readjustment To Consolidate Success

The Times of India which wishfully hopes that the Chinese will be "forced to reconsider their entire approach to the problems of economic development" will not be very happy with the decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which says, according to the Communiqué, "in view of the serious natural calamities that affected agricultural production for two successive years, the whole nation in 1961 must concentrate on strengthening the agricultural front, must carry out the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy and of developing agriculture and grain production in a big way, must step up support for agriculture by all sectors and occupations and must exert the utmost effort to

win a better harvest in agricultural production."

The Communiqué calls for efforts in the rural areas "to consolidate further the people's communes," for the light industry to strive to overcome the difficulties of raw material shortages brought about by the natural calamities, open up new sources of materials, increase production and ensure the supply of the people's daily necessities as far as possible, for reducing the scope of capital construction in 1961—because tremendous development has been achieved in the last three years and output of major products has greatly exceeded levels originally scheduled for 1961 and 1962—and readjustment of the rate of development, for efforts to improve the quality of products, increase their variety, strengthen the weak links in production and continue to develop the mass movement in technical innovations, economise raw materials, lower costs of production and raise labour productivity.

Why Keep Silent About These ?

There is just one little thing one would like to ask the Times of India. Its Correspondent stationed in Hong Kong cannot go into China but he certainly makes occasional hops to Taiwan. Why didn't he report

—that many private-owned factories in Taiwan recently closed down as the result of the infiltration of US capital and the dumping of US goods and tens of thousands of work-

ers were thrown out to become paupers and beggars;

—That the *Taiwan Hsing Sheng Pao* reported that there were now 84,000 paupers and beggars in Taipei city, 10,000 more than at the beginning of last year;

—That paupers and beggars faint of starvation in public places, sell their children, are frozen to death or commit suicides.

—That the *United Daily News* recently reported that the dog of a US "missionary" in Taipei was found carrying a human head in its mouth, and that it was later found to be the head of an abandoned infant.

And, finally, we in India have plenty of natural calamities and every year. The Times of India might perhaps like foreigners to exploit these calamities to peddle anti-Indian stuff but any self-respecting Indian will be indignant at such an effort. Why have a different attitude to a natural calamity in China?

COMRADE PREM NARAYAN

The Delhi State Council of the Communist Party announces with deep sorrow the death on January 25 of Comrade Prem Narayan, Secretary of the Clock Tower Branch of the Party. He died of heart attack at the age of 45, serving the cause of the Party and the masses.

We dip the red banner in homage to our departed comrade.

KERALA BY-ELECTION

THE first by-election in Kerala since the present Coalition Ministry assumed office a year ago, is to take place next week in the Parli constituency which was won in the mid-term elections by Communist-supported Independent Dr. A. R. Menon with a huge majority of about 17,000 votes.

It is a straight contest between a Communist candidate and a PSP candidate of the Congress-PSP League united front.

The Communist candidate, M. V. Vasu, is a young lawyer of Palghat and a kisan worker, while the PSP candidate A. S. Diwakaran is the same person who contested the seat and lost it last time.

At the time of the mid-term elections, the united front had attacked Dr. A. R. Menon as a power-mad individual who had gone with the Communist Party to become a Minister.

Now, the united front

workers are all praise for the late Dr. Menon, saying how he had grown in the Congress and through the Congress. But they mention not a word about the hard-hitting speeches the late-Dr. Menon made in the Assembly on each and every misdeed of the Coalition Government.

The Communist Party is approaching the people precisely on this question—asking them to give their verdict on the nearly one-year-old rule of the Coalition Government.

When a by-election came in the Devicolum constituency during the tenure of the Communist-led Ministry, it was decided that no Minister would participate in the election campaign.

But in Parli today, not only are Ministers campaigning, but the entire Governmental machinery is being used in a futile effort to defeat the Communist candidate.

COMRADE EUGENE DENNIS

AS we go to press we learn with deep anguish and profound grief of the death of Comrade Eugene Dennis, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America. He had been seriously ill for the past several weeks.

General Secretary of the Party for several years, under his leadership the heroic CPUSA emerged victorious from the last few years' political battles against revisionists and dogmatists, stronger as a real party of the working class basing itself solidly on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism. His courage, invincibility and loyalty to principles were great asset to the entire progressive movement of the United States.

His example will continue to inspire fighters for peace, democracy and socialism all over the world.

Condoling the death of Comrade Dennis we take this opportunity to convey our feelings of fraternal solidarity with the Communist Party of USA and all American progressives who are so courageously manning a crucial front of world peace.

—EDITORIAL BOARD