

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY VOL. VIII, NO. 16 **SUNDAY, APRIL 17, 1960** 16 nP.

-Draft Resolution for National Council

The draft resolution on the current situation adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi from April 3 to 10, to be placed before the meeting of the National Council of the Party being held in May 1960, reads:

The Fourth Congress of our Party (Palghat) laid down the general political line for our Party and this was further elaborated, in the light of developments, by the Amritsar Congress of the Amritsar Congress of the Party. The developments that have taken place in the inter-national arena as well as within our own country have, on the whole, confirmed the correctness of the analysis and the political line.

At the same time, some features of the international and national situation that had been noted earlier have become more pronounced. Some new features have ap-peared. Also, the democratic movement has gathered new experiences. This would call for a proper assessment of the situation and further elucidation of the tasks before the Party.

蜜

During the years since Amritsar, significant and encouraging changes have taken place in the world situation. The Soviet Union and the Socialist world play-ed a decisive role. In bringing ed a decisive role. In bringing about these changes, India and other peace-loving na-tions as well as the peoples all over the world fighting for the cause of world peace and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, struggling for their national independence, have played of strugging for their national independence, have played a notable part. The correlation of world forces has changed still more in favour of world peace and freedom.

The tremendous growth in the moral prestige and mate-rial power of the Soviet nal power of the Soviet Union, the breath-taking ad-vance of Soviet science and technology demonstrated in the conquest of outer space, the great leap-forward in the economy of the People's Re-public of China and the tre-mendous unsure in the sec public of China and the tre-mendous upsurge in the eco-nomy of the Socialist coun-tries have not only further proved the superiority of So-cialism but also have pro-foundly impressed diverse

In this context, the initia-tive of the Soviet Union and ils concrete proposals and measures in the interest of world peace, including further unilateral reduction of armed forces stands out as an ex-ample of unmatched contri-bution to the relaxation of tension and the creation of the climate of negotiations.

In this background, im-perialism and warmongers have suffered serious isola-tion and set-back. Evea within the USA itself, a popular upsurge for putting an end to the cold war has grown. grown.

The meetings between the Head of the Government of the USSE on the one hand and the Heads of the Gov-ernments of the USA, Britain ernments of the USA, Britain and France on the other, the recent progress in the nego-tiations to suspend nuclear tests, growing urge for com-plete and general disarma-ment which find expression in the resolution of the United Nations General As-sembly, and above all the sembly, and, above all, the decision to hold the much-desized Summit Conference, underline the significant changes in world affairs.

The contradictions within the imperialist camp itself have further sharpened. The have further sharpened. The recovery and expansion of the industry in other capitalist countries, especially in coun-tries of Western Europe and Japan, has confronted the USA with growing competi-tion in fields where hitherto it reigned supreme. The power of the USA to compel other countries to toe its line has visibly weakened.

A number of countries in Africa have won national freedom. The movement for democracy and independence has gone forward in Latin

* SKE PAGE 5



Premier Chon En-lai of the People's Republic of China arrives in our Capi-tal next week. The week-China arrives in our Capi-tal next week. The week-long talks between him and our Prime Minister will be of momentous significance not only as a step towards the settlement of the un-fortunate border dispute that has arisen between China and our country, but also for the future of India - China friendship, Asian solidarity and world peace. DESCO

The Communist Party The community rary was among the first to ex-press its wish for such a high-level meeting. Notes between New Delhi and Peking, however, useful they might have been in the initial strange to get and the initial stages to set out the different positions of the two countries, could not have taken the issue y further forward to-rds a solution of the any differences and normali-sation of relations be-tween the two countries. Only a Nehru-Chou meet-ing and discussions in the spirit of the Panch Sheel and India-China friend-ship could break the stalemate

With this awareness, the Chinese Government had invited our Prime Minister invited our Prime Minister to Rangoon or China for talks. Our Prime Minister, though he was then un-able to accept this invita-tion, himself later invited the Chinese Prime Minis-ter to New Delhi for a meeting.

Prime Minister Nehru fn his letter inviting Chon En-lai (February 5) ex-pressed his deep pain "that pressed his deep pain "that the relations between India and China which have, in the past, been so friendly and which we have end-eavoured to strengthen should have deteriorated rapidly and led to bitter-ness and resentment. That is a tragedy for both our countries as well as for the larger issues in the world." Though "for the moment

I do not see any common ground between our res-pective viewpoints," Prime

Editorial

Minister Nehru said, "Nevertheless, I think that we should make every effort to explore avenues which might lead to a peaceful settlement. Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible, still I think it might be useful for us to

The Chinese Prime Minister readily responded, saying: "The Chinese Gov-ernment has consistently held that the friendship held that the friendship between the Chinese and the Indian people is eter-nal, that it is necessary and entirely possible to settle the boundary issue between the two countries in a friendly and peaceful manner, and that the two

countries must not waver in their common desire for a peaceful settlement of the boundary issue on account of temporary dif-ferences of opinion and certain unfortunate and unexpected incidents. The Chinese Government is the Chinese Government, there-fore, takes a positive attitude towards the forthcoming meeting and has confidence in it." (Note of February 26) Free India and Socialist

China cooperating for peace had become a powerful factor in Asia and the cornerstone of Afro-Asian solidarity. Independent Stasolidarity. Independent Sta-tes of Asia and Africa con-sidered this a guarantee for their living in peace and building for prospe-rity, colonial peoples still struggling for their free-dom received a new inspiration, and as a check to imperialist intrigues in Asia it was the bedrock of Asian peace and a mighty contribution to world peace.

contribution to world peace. It was all this that was in danger when the two countries fell apart on the question of the border. Only the imperialists and their friends were happy, peace-loving people not only here, but elsewhere, too, expressed their con-cern at the disruption of the cordial relations be-tween the two countries, The first step is now being taken to retrieve the situation and the Commusituation and the Commu-

* SEE PAGE 13

KERALA ASSEMBLY

The session of the Kerala Legislative Assembly, said that it would not be concluded was important for many reasons. The right to ask the Centre for just concluded, was important for many reasons. The session had attracted extraordinary attention because it was the first after the mid-erm elections and the formation of the new Ministry.

THE united parties, (the Congress, PSP and the League) were beating the drums of their victory and had a big majority in the legislature (96 out of the 127 had a big majority members are supporting them); the Communist Opposition had been red small number: and the peowere anxious to know the and policies of programme and policies of the new Ministry—these were the factors which lent specia rtance to this session.

The pro-Government Press had run an incessant cam-paign about all the attractive and beneficial measures the new Ministry would bring forward like reduction of reduction of rice-prices, free high sch education, provision for old age pensions, etc. Simultathe impression was sought to be created that the Communist Party would organise walk-outs and create ther difficulties

Contrary to all these expectations, it was a compara-tively calm first session that the Assembly had

Not that there were no sharp conflicts, there were plenty of them. And through each of them the Ministry exposed its real anti-people face. On each of these toccasions, the Comhese toccasions, the Com-nunist Party did not fail n its responsibility of de-ending the interests of the in its responsibility of de-fending the interests of the people. The Party also put forward constructive propoals for the building of the State and fulfilled its role as a responsible Opposition.

Anti-People Policies

It was with a restricted ia that the session met -the Governor's Address and the debate on it, the vote on account of the Budget and the discussion on it, and one or two essential legislations.

Since the Budget was only a vote on account, there was no full-dress debate on it, the Ministry saying such a debate can take place when the supplementary budget is pre-sented within three months

The Budget was nothing re than a routine one and more than a routine one and the Governor's Address just a report of the administration. The new Ministry did not evolve any programme to attractive slogans it had raised when it was in the Oppoistion as, for instance, forest nationalisation, transport nationalisaday meals to make it univer-sal, etc. At the same time, through the new police policy, attacks on cooperatives, etc., it has inaugurated an era of anti-people activities.

The Budget and the Governor's Address both show-ed total ignorance of the problems of the State and a pitiable lack of imagin tion. The Opposition alone drew the attention of the of those who rule at the Centre to these problems.

PAGE TWO

Mention has to be made here of two programmes which the supporters of the ruling party are lauding to the skies: reduction of rice the skies: reduction of rice prices and abolition of fees in the eighth standard.

Rice Price Reduction

Communist MLAs spoke in the Assembly welcoming the first measure. But it does not help to exaggerate the effects of this measure reducing an average one anna per mea-sure in the price of rice-from 53 to 59 naye palse to 50. The ruling party's attempt is to make out that rice prices have gone down all over the State as its result.

This is a baseless claim. The price of rice in the mar-ket has not come down even by a naya paisa after this policy declaration. Food Minister E. P. Poulose said on the floor of the Assembly that it was not the aim of the Government to supply from fairprice shops all the rice reuirements of a family, that all that it was proposing to do was to supply a limited quan-tity of rice through these shops so as to bring down the prices prevailing in the market.

This is precisely what the Communist Ministry had tried to do while it was in office. Then also subsidised rice distribution was being made through the fair-price shops

The Communist Government was distributing rice at what it considered to be a fair price-Rs. 32 a bag when its market price was Rs. 42. Rs. 50 lakhs had been allot-ted every year in the budget for this subsidy and the Government had said it was ready to spend more if it be-came necessary.

No Effect On Market Prices

But the Communist Ministry also thought it incorrect to distribute rice at less than Rs. 32 a bag (53 less than Rs. 32 a bas to 59 n.p. per measure), for what was necessary was to the quantum of increase the quantum of rice supplied through the fair-price shops rather than restricting the supply to one measure and reducing its price. That would have enabled each family to get more rice and would, at the same time, have helped to control the prices in the open market.

Unfortunately, the attitude of the Central Government did not permit the Communist Government doing this. But this Government is not aking any effort to increase the quantum though it gets all the help from the Centre.

Opposing a Communist member's resolution demand-ing that the Centre should give Kerala 25,000 tons of rice every month for distribu-tion through fair-price shops, Food Minister E. P. Poulose

more than two lakh tons a year. Participating in the same debate, Deputy Chief and Finance Minister R. Sankar said that in order to distribute 25.000 tons of rice a month through fair-price shops, the Government would have to suffer a loss of two to three crores of rupes and that this was not possible.

All these statements only mean that not more than one measure of rice will be available through the fair-price shops and prices in the mar-ket will not be brought down. It is worth noting that the same people who asked the Communist Government to go and buy rice from anywhere if the Centre did not give it, are totally silent today.

Abolition Of Fees

There was no discussion about the abolition of fees in the eighth standard because the eighth standard because it was no new policy. The Communist Government had itself given this benefit to children of parents whose in-come was less than Rs. 100 per month-that is, those who deserved it. to all

The effect of the present measure, therefore, is that

Thus while on many issues there was a disquieting lack of clarity, the Ministry has not hesitated in adopting clearly anti-people policies in other cases, the crassest example of which is the Government's stand on the Anti-Eviction Act.

bu C. Achutha Menon

(An abridged version of the original article in Malayalam)

Anti-Eviction Act

The Anti-Eviction Act Was The Anti-Eviction Act was to lapse on April 11. The Law Minister moved a Bill to ex-tend its life by six months. During the discussion of this Bill, Communist members and some members from the rul-ing parties also pointed out that it was not enough to just extend the Act in the present conditions and that it needed certain amendments. The Law Minister also agreed with it and the Bill was referred to the Select Committee, which was also to examine the orlginal Act.

The Select Committee made The Select Committee made a unanimous report suggest-ing.some amendments to the original Act. When this re-port came before the As-sembly, the Law Minister who, in the Select Committee had agreed to all the amend. bad agreed to all the amend-ments, changed his stand

who were members of the Communist Party had not drawn even the Rs. 500, they had only drawn Rs. 350.

オー・シック

Apart from the Communist PSP also spoke opposing the PSP also spoke opposing the present Bill and at the time of voting on the Bill, three PSP members kept away from the House the House.

It was to cover up this dis-graceful action of theirs that some members of the ruling parties and the newspapers that support them have start-ed the slander campaign that the Communist Ministers, though they reduced their salaries, had drawn huge allowances.

The truth. however, came out in answer to a question in this session of the As-sembly itself: the total amount drawn by all Communist Ministers during the entire period they in office was R ie. an average of Rs. 1,068 per Minister per month. And this includes the ex-penditure incurred when Ministers travelled to Delhi by air on various occasions. K. R. Gowri, Revenue Minister in the Communist Cabi-net who had travelled the

least, had drawn only Rs. 671 per month on an aver-

much less than what had been

spent on Congress and PSP Ministers in the past in this

State itself. And what the new

Ministers will be spending on

themselves can be seen in the

The law and order problem and the new Government's police policy had naturally attracted the attention of the

House. Just before the As-sembly met, the Chief Minis-

nist Government and re-

establish the rule of law.

Police lock-ups had again

come scenes of torture and

heart-rending cries of inno-

cent neonle could already be

heard from them. The poorer

sections of the people were finding it difficult to live in

going to be.

onths

New Police

Policu

FIRST SESSION

LOOKING BACK ON THE

even those who can afford to and insisted that it was ne-pay the fees need not pay cessary only to extend the it. It is doubtful whether life of the Act for another six it. It is doubtful whether this is a reform in the right direction, considering that the expenditure on educa-tion is going up from year to year (it is already Rs. 1.5 crores now) and that the budget speech gave the im-pression that there was a smove to impose an educanove to impose an educacose to meet this ex-

Except for these two issues, there was nothing of any importance in the budget speech nd the Governor's Address If there were any other policy indications, they were all dis-quieting for the people.

For instance, though there were no concrete sche announced for setting up industrial units, it was mised that a favourable no concrete scheme ced for setting up new mosphere for this would be reated No assurance Was created. No assurance was forthcoming as to whether this would not mean an at-tack on the rights and free-dom of organisation of the workers.

No clear answers were given to repeated questions as to what would be done about the Agrarian Relations Bill Debt Relief Bill, Jenmikaram Bill, Education Act, etc. Though the Law Minister in-dulged in a lot of tall talk about the Agrarian Relations Bill, the other Ministers kept silence on the issue and the Governor's Address and other speeches did not make any mention of it.

months. This is much less than what is spent on a Minister in any other State in India and also

There are many stories making the rounds as to what happened behind the scenes. Whatever that might he, the difference in the two standpoints is not just a technical one. As a result of a judgment of the High Court, there is no protection today from eviction from homesteads. What the Communist members tried to do was to remedy this situation. A number of amendments were moved but they were all rejected by the Government side.

Raising Own Salaries

er had, in a Press Conference, declared that the new Gov-ernment would change the police policy of the Commu-Another measure adopted Another measure adopted by the Assembly was the Salaries Bill raising the sala-ries of Ministers and the Speaker of the Assembly from Rs. 500 to 800, that of the Deputy Speaker from Rs. 250 to 400 and of MLAs from Rs. establish the rule of law. The people from their own experience already had a taste of what this rule of law 150 to Rs. 200.

The Communist Party vehemently opposed this Bill. It was deplorable that the new Ministers showed such anxiety to increase their own salaries specially so when they had themselves opposed the Sala-ries Bill which the Commu-nist Ministry had introduced. The Communist Ministry had then reduced the salaries of the Ministers from Rs. 700 to Rs. 500, and those Ministers ***** SEF FACTOR

20 M

TWO FALLEN SOILS

T WO good men, who were first fallen among Congressmen, and then fallen away from Congress-men, dominated Delhi last week. They adhered together at more than one function, at more than one func only to speak in diffe voices, and with their gues in their cheeks. J. P. praised C. R. on Friday at a citizens' reception organised by the Swatantra Party; and C. R. repaid the compliment by praising Nehru on Saturpraising Nehru on Satur-y at the Tibetan Conven-n, presided over by J. P.

J. P. wailed that Frank Moraes was not known wide-iy in India, whereas he was only second to Nehru among the best known Indian wri-ters in the United States of America. And then he pos the question: "After Nehru who?" He did not quite answer the question at the Imperial Hotel, where he launched Frank's book, launched Frank's book, "India Today"—for he was going to answer another question the day after.

For Rajaji, politics was a for heavy, F thought that mere game. He thought that those who played thief in this game should play police-man in the next, and vice versa. Each game would last for five years in his calcula-tion. The obvious conclusion

* FROM FACING PAGE

attention of the Assembly by Communist members in their speeches and through ques-

The Police Minister had no satisfactory answers. Instead of dealing with these questions in a straightforward manner, he played hide and

manner, ne played hide and seek with them. To a question whether the final election rally of the Communist Party was attack-ed in Guruvayoor on January 55 and whether a parson Communist Party was attack-ed in Guruvayoor on January 25 and whether a person Government action during named Sankaran had been killed, the written reply was that there was no such raily and hence the question did cases that his Government and hence the question did cases that his Government not arise Due to lack of time, had withdrawn were very few the question could not be orally asked and so no sup-plementaries could be put these contentions are incor-which would have exposed the Police Minister's written re-When the Communist Min-istry written

It is a fact that there was a It is a fact that there was a procession on the day in that place and Sankaran had been killed. Many days have pass-ed but nobody has been arres-ted for this crime and it was to cover up this fact that the Minister had even such a re-Minister had given such a re-

ply. Similarly, to the question how many people had been murdered for exercising the franchise the Constitution ad granted them, and how outions had been many prosecutions had been launched, the reply was that there was only one such case. When half a dozen murders were known to have taken place in the State, this rerly was surprising, to say the least

When supplementaries when supplementations when supplementations when supplementations when a supplementation when a supplementation when a supplementation of the supplementation of exercised his franchise (he was killed as he was pro-ceeding to the polling booth along with a number of

APRIL 17, 1960

istry withdrew the cases and remitted the sentences, it was an inroad into the free the Constitution grants Government officials. to celebrate a special occasion The Chief Minister at one the formation of the first eleced Ministry in the newly-inaugurated Kerala State. It stage agreed that his nev policy only meant that Government officials should not take an active part in politics, though they could have their own political views and vote according to their beliefs. But was also as a part of the general jail delivery in the whole of the country to mark the centenary of the First Indian War of Independence. the Explanations which have since come from him and the Police. Minister are enough to What the Minister said about the nature of the cases now withdrawn is also not correct. Among them were cases which had alcause alarm. The Police Minister said The Powce minister said there were Communists in-side the services and even in the Secretariat. Though no investigations had been made to find out who the ready been committed to the Sessions Courts and in two of these cases, it is said, the courts had refused permade to ind out who the Communists were, he knew them from their "behavi-our". It is a terrible pros-pect if people are to be dub-bed Communists because of mission for their with-drawal. If this had been done by the Communists when they were in office, the uproar that would have ensued can be easily imaany particular behaviour and action is to be taken against them on that basis. eined. And the famouse Ankamali case (attack on the police station) which the Govern-An explanation given by the Chief Minister held out even more dangerous possibilities. ment dared not withdraw when the Assembly was in

that this would be playing with the lives of the peope has not occurred to Rajaji. RAJANI'S

TRAGEDY AJAJI is full of energy

question the day atter. The question he answered was, "After Rajaji, who?" J.P. looks two steps ahead. Rajaji declared that the Swatantra Party would come to power after Nehru. After the Swatantra Party, J.P. will be in power, (implied J.P.), unwilling to contra-dict Rajaji. For Bajaji.

other voters). What can one other voters). What can one say about this Police Min-ister's respect for truth? When the Communist Min-istry assumed office, it with-drew a number of criminal cases and remitted some sen-tences. That was said to be the reason then for the break-down of law and order in the



R AJAJI is full of energy and enthusiasm today. It is a delight to watch his alert brain ticking away as precisely as it ever did. His resonant voice, his clarity of expression, his command of the English language—they all compel attention and add to the entertainment value of his speech. He cannot be blamed if his leadership was pressed into service by the Swatantra Party. A leader must have a following, and that was forthcoming only from the founder-leader of the Swa-tantra Party.

Tounder-leader of the Swa-tantra Party. On the eve of the forma-tion of the Swatantra Party, this was the pattern of con-versation whenever anybody called on Rajaji at Madras: VISITOR: "What are your activities nowadays?"

activities nowadays?" C. R.: "I am engaged in a comparative study of Kam-ban's Ramayana and Valmiki's Ramayana." VISITOR: "It is a pity you

VISITOR: "It is a pity you are not engaged in building the country." C.R.: "I am glad. Anybody can build the country. But I alone can study Ramayana." VISITOR: "India needs people like you in the con-

down of law and order in the State. But this Government,

struction of the country." C. R.: "Jawaharlal is there to carry on the construction" VISITOR: "But Nehru needs your advice and gui-dance."

C. R.: "He does not need an adviser. He only needs a heavy "yes-man"... In fact, he wants a huge rubber-

fact, he wants a huge rubber-stamp." Such was the frustration of the former Governor-General. It was only because of this that he fell a prey to the machinations of the Forum of Free Enterprise-which has made Rajaji the head of its political wing. The most glorious period of Rajaji's life was the one timmediately preceding the Swatantra period. He was occupied with the problems of world peace, and he made substantial contributions to the solution of these prob-lems. The idea of unilateral suspension of nuclear tests was Rajaji's. That such a man should now fall among the pluto-crats of the Swatantra Party is a tragedy of the magni-tude of King Lear's.

PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION

THE enforced idleness of another man with an active brain has resulted in his taking to the study not of Kamban and Valmiki, but

reading Marx, Lenin and

Mao, After all, J.P. is twenty

Mao, After all, J.P. is twenty years younger: so he can be excused for quoting from "scriptures" which came two thousand years after Kam-ban and Valmiki. It is a genuine lack of understanding of economics and sociology in the case of Rajaji. He has a brilliant mind, a sharp intellect, re-markable analytical power, an even more remarkable thirst for power, but sur-prisingly little amount of book-study.

book-study. As for J.P., he cannot be accused of not reading books. He is obsessed with the pro-blems of succession. Some psycho-analyst may be able to put his thumb on the kmob, and tell us what this

Is due to. J.P. seems at the present moment to think that if it is moment to think that if it is not possible to succeed Nehru, he can at least suc-ceed Rajaji—either as leader of the Swatantra Party, or as Prime Minister, after Rajaji succeeds Nehru as Prime Minister!

QUOTING SCHIPTURES

J AYA Prakash Nara-yan made a brilliant speech as President of the Tibetan Convention. His Convention. His was interspersed more brilliant speech was interspersed with even more brilliant quotations from Marx, Lenin and Mao.

But before he began his speech he requested all those But before he began his speech he requested all those present at Vigyan Bhavan to stand in silence for two minutes to honour the me-mory of those who fell be-fore the white man's bullets in South Africa. The whole assemblage of men, women and children stood in silence

It was expected that J.P. would next ask those present to stand similarly for those who died "defending" Tibet. But he did not. He was not sure that his interpretation of events in Tibet would meet with the approval of many among the

Jaya Prakash Narayan agreed with the packed In-ternational Commission of Jurists when it says: "From 1912 to 1950, Tibet was vir-tually an independent coun-try." Independence means political control try." Independence means political control by the Bri-tish, and free play for feudal oppression and exploitation!

J.P. says he does not understand the term "libera-tion" because he fails to see that liberation can only be from feudal oppression and exploitation, as well as from British and American influence which was trying to entrench itself in Tibet.

The struggle in Tibet has been between the feudal been between the feudal landlords and their serfs landlords and their series namely, the entire popula-tion of Tibet. But study of Marxis: "scriptures" doesn't seem to have taught J.P. this elementary fact of life. But then, perhaps, he is too pre-occupied about "succession" problems. How nice if the problems. Dalai Lam Dalai Lama and the Kashag could give him a tip or two.

-P. VRNKATESWARA

McCarthyism In Kerala

session, was withdrawn just after the Assembly was pro-

rogued. Another policy issue which came for bitter criticism from Opposition benches was the new Ministry's attitude to Government officials. This

Government officials. This policy had also been enuncta-ted by the Chief Minister in his Press Conference just before the Assembly session. The long and short of this policy is that the new Gov-ernment considers a number of officials guilty because they of officials guilty because they carried out the policies of the Communist Government (though it was their duty to do so then). This is McCar-thyism, it is contrary to the spirit of our Constitution and

NEW AGE

Till the Communists came to office, there was a regulation which could be freely used to keep Communists out of Government services. Even after the Public Service Conmission selected any person for a post, a police enquiry would be made into the per-son's record and cnly if this report was satisfactory, would he be appointed. Communists, their sympathisers and even friends and relatives could thus be kept out of Govern-

ment service. The Communist Ministry had changed all this and ruled that circe the Public Service Commission select-ed a person, he should be recruited without any further enquiry. The new Chief Minister's declaration—that anybody connected with violent political activities will not be recruited to Government service—indi-Government cates a return to the old practice. The Communist **Opposition** raised its voice against this in the Assemb-ly but it has to be backed by a powerful movement outside.

Equally powerfully did the Equally powerfully did the Opposition attack the Minis-try's policy of strangling cooperatives, specially the toddy-tappers' cooperatives and coir cooperatives. But the Communist Party did not restrict itself to point-ing out the shortcomings and anti-people character of Gove

anti-people character of Gov-ernment policies, it took up a number of vital issues of interest to the whole people and the State. The speeches and the State. The spectrus and heserve Danks als, and of Communist members on Finance Minister's reply show-the Budget were not made the baselessness of the charge from any narrow partisan viewpoint, they put forward ment had overdrawn to the constructive suggestions for extent of crores of rupees.

colving Kerala's numerous

and difficult problems. The Opposition also moved two resolutions in the same spirit—one by E. M. S. Nam-boodiripad demanding the setting up of the second ship-yard in Kerala and the second demanding a monthly supply of 25,000 tons of rice to the State by the Centre. While the first one was un

animously adopted to the satisfaction of the people of the entire State. the Government side defeated second one purely out of anti-Communism. Before concluding, it is

aspect of the session — of how the Government leaders had to give the lie to the slanders they themselves had earlier spread about the Communist Government, and swallow Government, and swallow some of their own previous statements.

For instance, they had always said that the Com-munist Government had endangered the financial stability of the State. But Finance Minister Sankar in reply to a question had to admit that the financial position of the State had improved—in 1257, the, assets of the State were Rs. 64.41 crores and its liabili-ties Rs. 52.08 crores and in 1057, 1959-60 when the Communists were removed from office, the assets were Rs. 93.02 crores against liabili-ties of Rs. 76.43 crores.

Similarly, on the question overdrafts from the State and Reserve Banks also, the the baselessness of the charge to the

PAGE THREE

?~

LOK SABHA DEBATES

OIL POLICY

Last week, while the Lok Sabha was debating the demands for grants of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, the Oil Minister declared on the floor of the House that in Cambay we have "commercially feasible and a medium-sized refinery will be set up there; and that in the Cauvery basin seismic work in search for oil will start "very soon".

the Lok Sabha and the coun-try as a whole, how serious is Government itself in teking immediate concrete steps and how far is it pre-pared to go in this direction? The occasion for an answer to this question was all the portant as the year was the closing year of the Second Five-Year Plan and we were on the eve of the

Third Plan. The immediate tasks facing the Ministry, tasks "most vital to the national developactivities"-to quot ment K. D. Malaviva-were those of exploration, imports, distribu-tion, pricing and the training of technical personnel in the oil industry. And the imminent danger was the foreign monopolies' machinations 'to scuttle the development the public sector in this

industry. How has the Ministry fared n tackling these tasks? The Minister of Steel, Mines

Swaran and Fuel, Sardar Singh, initiating the discus-sion dwelt upon the situation in the oil industry as well. He started by reminding

the Bouse of the Industria Policy Resolution of 1956 which has included oil among industries which were to be "the exclusive responsibility of the State." And in the next sentence, he was informing the House that interested foreign par-ties have approached the Government' for participation in exploration for oil. thanks to last year's new Petroleum and Natural Gas Rules, with proposals wh fall "generally within the ambit of the Industrial Policy Resolution and of the new Rules."

Who Are These Interests ?

Although the Minister did not mention the names "interested foreign parties" it is understood from orts that these inpress reports that these in-clude the Assam Oil Com-pany (a subsidiary of Burmah Shell), the Standard Vacuum Oil Co., the Calter, the Shell group, the ENI (an Italian State-owned company), the State-owned French Petroleum Institute several American companies.

How far their proposals, which the Ministry is enter-taining, fall outside the ambit of the Industrial Policy Resolution is left to anybody's

The rest of Minister Swaran Singh's speech, dealing with oil, was a mere reiteration of ome of Government's good intentions. In vain would one try to find in it either a pro-per, serious assessment of the results achieved so far or signs of any concrete plan for ntation of these oft-repeated intention outstanding contribu-

tion to the discussion was

PAGE FOUR

W HILE this statement has made by Communist M.P. been welcomed both in T. C. N. Menon who, in a the Lok Sabha and the coun-hard-hitting speech, pointed out the dangers of giving concessions to foreign oil in-terests and to some of the main problems the Ministry must come to grips with. At the outset T. C. N. Menon accused the Ministry of lack of any serious planning worth the name, in its activities.

Referring to the experience of the Second Plan, when the Planning Com-misison had initially allocated only Rs. seven crores, - eventually to Rs. 30 crores, he said: "The ulti-mate result was that because the money did. not come in time, the

Communist member re our own experience with foreign monopolies who hold entire distribution wing of this clutches. of this industry in their clutches. In striking con-trast with each other are the experiences of the Indo-Stanac project and of Cambay; in sharp conflict are our all of extensive exploratory wo -for. in the words of K. D. Malaviya, "the whole strategy of oil exploration is, the more areas we tackle, the greater are the chances for us to find oil and gas fields"-and the reported negotiations to let a foreign monopoly to come in the Kutch area where seismographic survey has been completed and oil has been struck.

States within States, the

Is it that exploration work in the private sector costs less? T. C. N. Menon gave a devastating answer to this question:

In the public sector, for the gravimetric survey, the expenditure of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission comes to o per month, es to only Rs. 14,000 month, while in the of the Standard Vacuweek in parliament

fields as petroleum and synthetic rubber to be domina-ted by the 'public sector' i.e. State-owned."

Against Policy Resolution

The Communist M. P. asked: "When the thing is so clear that the oil exploration part of it is to be the excluonsibility of . the sive responsibility of the State, how does it arise that the private sector has to be invited for participation in oil exploration?....We demand a categorical answer from the Hon. Minister as to whether his Ministry proposed by an executive order, to amend by an and also modify the Industrial Policy Resolution, without the consultation of this House, and face this House with a fait accompli at the nd of the Third Five-Year

Plan saying that the circums-tances had forced them to modify the resolution." It was, however, refreshing to hear Minister Mala-viya declare: "All that I

Rs. 750 crores should be set spart for oil alone during the Third Five-Year Plan period. For, then alone shall we be able to get some consider-able results and we shall be able to have our own oil."

The fourth main point raised by T. C. N. Menon was as regards distribution and tankerage system. It is a well-known fact that through their distribution network, the foreign monopolies suck colo-ssal amounts in foreign exthe change from the country. And yet apart from the ump-teen times repeated promises to start a national distribution company, the Govern-ment not only did not pre-sent any concrete plan about the functioning of this com-pany, but manifested an ex-tramely complement attitude pany, but manifested an ex-tremely complacent attitude even towards setting up its own storage facilities. All this while the storage facilities belonging to the Defence Ministry at Antop Hill in Bombay and at Bhusaval have been leased out to Stanvac been leased out to for a ten-year period.

The Government talks of

DRAFT RESOLUTION

people for-

solidarity;

ence:

ü

* FROM FRONT PAGE America and achieved notable

As a result of all this, the prospects for prevention of world war and preserving peace and for further advance in the struggle for nationa dependence and freedom have grown as never before. Although the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan remain yet to be solved, some progress has, however, been made follow-ing the Nehru-Noon agreeagree-border ment in 1958, the border settlement and the recent trade negotiations. This cords to the desires of our responds to the desires of our people for normalising the re-lations between the two tions between the two eighbouring countries. Our Party naturally welcomes every step in this direction.

文

However, it will be a pro-found mistake to imagine that the imperialists have reconciled themselves to peace coexistence. Policies of war and war preparation continue. The U.S. TLS. still continue. monopolists are strengthening their links with the Japanese and West German monopo-lists. The frenzied re-milita-Germany West risation of with American backing can weaken not but cause the gravest anxiety. In defiance of public opinion in Afro-Asian coun-tries, the French imperialists have carried out nuclear tests in Sahara, Attempts are still racialists have surpa themselves in their wanton violence and barbarism aga-inst the Africans. They have

blatantly violated Traited Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights that the conscience of the whole world is ranged against them. Moreover, the imperialists,

specially the U.S. imperial sts, still continue their policies of intervention in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Faced with changed international the the changed includes and adopting their old tactics and adopting new ones. They seek to corrupt and win over the reactionary elements in the ruling classes through the instru-ment of economic aid, by intrigues and pressure, by ment of economic aid, by intrigues and pressure, by raising the begy of Commuism and by other insidious methods, including assassina-tion of progressive political political leaders. Pakistan renains a constant reminder the mena : e and misfortune

or the ment is inperialist intrigues and intervention spell. One of the most tragic developments is the present terioration in the relations between India and China over border question. This is sought to be exploited by the sought to be explored by the imperialists abroad and by reactionary and disruptive forces within our country. The outstanding positive achievements of the recent

period have shown that 'he Imperialists and warmong-ers can be pushed back and the cause of world peace and national freedom can advance

APRIL 17, 1960

concessions to foreign monopolies

has very miserably sufferhas very miserably suffer-ed, and as against what might have been done. with this sum of Rs. 30 crores, we got the result of only about Rs. five to ten

Concrete Plan Needed

So his first question was "Whether the Government has a concrete plan to place before the Planning Commission so that we may get comprehensive picture of a comprenensive picture of the shape of things to come during the Third Plan period" or whether the money is to come in the

money is to come in the same "haphazard way". A concrete plan for the development of this industry is all the more necessary to-day, than ever before, be-cause by the end of the cause by the end of the Third Plan, the consumption pattern of energy would be reaching a level of 15 million tons of oil, which if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, would mean a drain of Rs. 1,000 crores of foreign exchange by that time.

And yet we have it from And yet we have it from Press reports that the Min-istry has proposed Rs. 400 crores, while the Planning Commission has got only Rs. 116 crores, for the develop-ment of this industry in the ment of this industry in the

Third Plan! Why? Beca Why? Because the tend-ency on the part of the Gov-ernment is to go to the private sector. But can the prisector deliver vate goods? the

In the background of the experiences of the other ger in any new venture must countries where the oil Indians hold majority stock monopolies have built up control. No longer are such

um the expenditure is Rs. 80,000 and for the Canadian team it is Rs. 31,000. For the seismic survey, the ex-penditure of the Commis-sion is Rs. 50,000 whereas for the same work it is Rs. 325,000 in the case of Stand-ard Vacuum and Rs. 128,000 the case of the Canadian team. For geological survey, the expenditure of the Commission is Rs. 14,-500, while it is Rs. 35,000 in the case of the Indoin the case of the Indo-Stanvac project. As regards drilling also, the

expenditure of Stanvac is Rs. 800 per foot whereas the Government knows that for drilling in Cambay, for which accounts are not finali expenditure will not be more than Rs. 350 per foot.

Whose Counsels ?

Why then are some persons so enamoured of foreign mo-nopolies? Whose counsels have prevailed upon the Government to issue invitation cards to the oil sharks?

Effectively did T. C. N. Menon recall: Lord Mountbatten's letter, the Abbs-Frank-Sproul Report and a recent issue of the Time magazine gleefully telling its readers: "For long after India got its freedom, Socialist Jawaharlal Nehru regarded foreign in-vestors with the narrow-eyed suspicion of a spinster convinced that friendly attentions from any man probably conceal evil designs." But now, thanks to Morarii Desai's visit to U.S. "they made many policy changes. No lon-ger in any new venture must Indians hold majority stock

NEW AGE

can say is that any future agreement with any party which wishes to come here which wishes t will be strictly the two facts bacod · 01 that it is within the framework of the Industrial Pollcy Reson and that the agree ment is consistent national interests." with

But how on earth are you going to keep the foreign monopolies in tight reins in the exploration field, in the existing state of affairs? With what curbs? There is no answer from the Government as

foreign monopolies have been successfully dodging the Gov-ernment on the pricing quesyet. In the course of the debate. tion. apart from those who appear-ed to have a Macawberian faith in the doings of the Ministry there were other who were either underesti-mating or even oblivious to the dangers in giving con-cessions to the foreign mononolies or were gloomy as regards the financial potentias existing in this industry itself.

T. C. N. Menon's suggestion for financing the develop-mental requirements of this industry was: "According to the ad hoc agreements that have already been entered into, the Government would be getting a sum of about Rs. 30 crores by 1961 and if the report given by the cost ac-countant of the Government of India is relied upon, and the agreement is finalised in 1961, they will be getting about Rs. 250 crores out of the surplus profit of the oll com-panies alone, and, therefore, Government should provide only Rs. 500 crores.

"I submit that this House should take this proposition very seriously, and at least

Communist M. P. draws attention to dangers of giving

importing oil in the public

storage of that oil, unless you

have a distribution machi-nery, what will you do with it asked T. C. N. Menon.

Another important aspect of the problem is, because of

their sole monopoly over the

distribution and imports, the

Even the Oil Minister

Even the on minister had to admit that under the existing agreements, "sky is the limit or the ceiling price is the limit." More. The situation is such

that "we have to pay for freight charges also for the

petroleum products that we produce in Bombay. The

freight element is, I sup-pose, to be included in it as if it has been brought from

Can there he any serious

talk of building our own oil industry unless and until we are in a position at least not

to pay freight charges for oil which is produced in our own

country? The last point raised by

T. C. N. Menon was about the

conditions of young engineers and technicians employed under the Oil and Natural

Gas Commission. Paying a tribute to their services in the

interests of the nation, he demanded that they should be given a decent living wage

-RAZA ALI

APRT. 17 1980

and security of service.

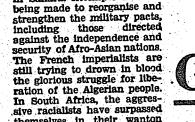
the Persian Gulf."

your the

sector. Unless you have own installations for

Problem Of

Distribution



has reduced to some extent our economic dependence and added to the possibilities of further progress. Expan-sion of irrigation and elec-tricity and the implementation of a number of other projects have no doubt con-tributed to the strengthen-

A number of agreements A number of agreements between our country and the Soviet Union and other So-cialist States for the build-ing of basic industries like steel and machine-building, have played the decisive role in achieving these results.

\bigstar

But the over-all picture of our economy is far from re-assuring. It remains in con-ditions that would call for autions that would call for serious rethinking on the part of the planners and the Government. Not only the policies and methods, but the anner of planning very manner of planeds radical changes.

accounting for almost one-half of our national income, continues to be in a state of stagnation. Although more than a thousand crores of

of peace-loving Governments and peoples. The coming period summons the Indian Deo tasks in carrying forward these achievements.

This is no time for resting on our cars or for any manner of complacence. On the contrary, efforts must be redoubled to mobilise our

General and complete • General and complete disarmament and suc-cess of the Summit Confer-

Support to African De0ple in their struggle for freedom and for further strengthening Afro - Asian

Peaceful solution of India-China border dis-pute and restoration of friendly relations between India and China; ceful solution of

through negotiations and normalisation of relations between the two neighbour-

ing countries. Vigilance, initiative and activity on the part of our people and democratic orga-nisations become all the more urgent in view of the concerted efforts of extreme Right reaction and disrup-tive forces to discredit and India's policy of

only by the combined efforts rupees have been spent for of peace-loving Governments its development; most of it has been misused; whatever technical advance has been registered has not reached the mass of poor and middle neasants cultivating the major part of the land but only a narrow stratum of rich peasants cultivating a frac-tion of the land. The result is that increase in foodgrains duction has been meagre and the economy has been as dependent as ever on has been heavy imports of foc dgrains, particularly from the USA.

Moreover, certain vital steps of land reform, which constitute the most import-ant lever for developing the certain vital initiative and capacity of the reasant masses for an up-surge in agricultural produc-India and China; Peaceful solution of tion, have either been aban-iv outstanding problems doned or relegated to the between India and Pakistan background. Proper type of background. Proper type of ceilings are not being seri-ously imposed on the hold-ings of landlords, evictions restored to their possession and land is not being given to the landless and poor tillers. On the contrary, with some exceptions here and there, the landlords are being helped, directly or indirectly, to retain big holdings and also to grab most of the re-

One of the most disturbing features of the economic situation is the growth of urban unemployment, inclu-ding middle-class; unemployment. In fact, the situation has considerably worsened since the commencement of the Second Plan.

The execution of the Plan, as was apprehended by the Fourth Congress of our Party, has been accompanied by heavy burdens on the mass of our people. The continu-ous rise in prices stemning from the policies of the Govrnment has led to enormous suffering for the entire people, barring the upper strata of capitalists, landlords and

speculators. The rise in prices has also had disastrous consequences for the economy. It has raised the cost of every project included in the Pla their internal cost as well as the foreign exchange re-quired for them. This led to a further accentuation of the difficulties in raising inter ously imposed on the fold-ings of landlords, evictions nal resources and securing are not being stopped, the evicted tenants are not being restored to their possession to the cut in physical tar-

gets. Taxes, especially those on the common people, have gone on increasing. By way of additional taxation, more than double the target originally fixed in the Plan has

RESULTS OF security of Airo-Asian nations. The French imperialists are still trying to drown in blood the glorious struggle for libe-ration of the Algerian people. GOVT. POLICIES

> the second rive leaf this has achieved certain results. The industrial base of our economy has been strength-ened as a result of the estabened as a result of the estab-lishment of the steel plants and the expansion of the cement, engineering, chemi-cal and other industries. This Exnaning of our economy.

The Second Five-Year Plan as achieved certain results. The industrial base of our ment of agriculture. The conomy has been strength-grip of big landowners, moneylenders and profiteer traders over the rural eco-nomy has further strengthened resulting in greater ened resulting in grater pauperisation of vast masses of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers. All this has strengthened hoard-ing and profiteering in foodgrains, which has aggravated the food situation. Thus, this narrow stratum of exploiters appro in the countryside appro-priates a big surplus from agriculture. Thus the most important source of capital formation is being frittered away.

Rural unemployment and under - employment have grown and the vast masses of agricultural labourers and peasants have had to face increasing privation and

in the industrial Even sector, the progress has be slow, halting and partial. A number of targets, which by themselves were modest, had been either slashed or remain unattained.

*

Despite rise in producti-Agriculture, the biggest vity and increased profits, sector of our economy and the real wages of workers accounting for almost one- have remained static and in have remained static and in declined have many cases giving rise to adverse reper-cussions on industrial relations.

NEW AGE

The policies and methods of the Plan give rise to seri-ous difficulties and contra-dictions and indeed have gone to create a critical situation in the life of the people. Instead of changing these policies the Governpolicies, the Govern-however, took to the took to the ment, path of giving concessions to the very elements that go to retard the country's balanpath of giving co ced and uninterrupted development.

*

Despite the stress originally laid in the Plan for the public sector, the private sec-tor has, in practice, been allowed to secure a large share of investment in the first half of the Plan. The private sector still continues to be in a dominant position to be in a dominant position and pushes ahead, not only at the cost of the people but at the cost of the national economy. Concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of the few has ontinued to increase all these years.

There has been yet another disturbing development. The Amritsar Congress had noted "the heavy reliance by planners on U.S. economic assist-ance which is generally ac-companied by designs and terms detrimental to the interests of our economy. This is an extremely dangerous tendency considering the role American imperialism the

playing world

throughout

the

This tendency has grown since then. The bulk of the U. S. assistance in the public sector that has been accept-ed not only does not add to the productive capacity of the country, but has been accom-panied with onerous terms and conditions as regards and conditions as regards price, interest rates and shipping charges. Moreover, it is also being utilised to buttress the private sector to the de-triment of the public sector.

Apart from this, there has been a continuous rise in and penetration of foreign capital in the private sector Foreign nrivate business investment has grown from Rs. 256 crores to Rs. 600 crores.

X

While Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate, and developed basic indus-tries and as a result, the Ingrowing capital, dian bourgeoisie is growing stronger, foreign capital, however, continues to occupy important positions in cer-tain vital sectors of our ecoforeign nomy, particularly trade, shipping and oil

Taking · advantage of the difficulties of the Plan and dimcuities of the Plan and the approach of the Govern-ment, foreign capital, not-ably American capital, has already succeeded in securing a number of concessions in the matter of taxation, remittance of profits and repatriation of capital. Even the Government's own Indus-trial Policy Resolution is be-ing modified step by step, to ing modified step by step, to accommodate foreign capita-lists, as has been done in the

lists, as has been done in the case of oil. Restrictions on joint participation of foreign capital with Indian mono-polists are being relaxed. All these concessions and opportunities for exploiting India's wealth are now sou-ght to be justified in the name of helping the process of building what they call a self-generating economy. elf-generating economy. Actually the perennial and

Actually the power resources heavy drain on our resources that these concessions spell, restricts and retards our eco-development. Moreover, links between Big Business and Indian Big Business and foreign monopolists are strengthened and new vested interests are being created. All these exer-cise a reactionary influence in our national-political life. All patriotic forces have to take note of the dangerous potentialities, both political and economic, stemming from all this and expose and resist. them.

No wonder the four declared principal objectives the Second Plan remain far from being realised and the expectations of the people belied. Instead of have been dienari reducing econd tion, these have been allowed to widen. The Government has remained indifferent to the living standards which have, in fact, been deteriorating. The Pay Commission's Report and the Government's to its own employees are an example of this difference and callousness. of this in-

Thus, while the main burand of development has been put on the shoulders of the people, the fruits have been carnered by Big Business, foreign capitolists, big land-lords and certain other

* SEE PAGE 8

PAGE FIVE

<u>}</u>



Over 15,000 representatives of the working people of Moscow City and Region gathered in Moscow's Sports Palace on April 4 to hear Soviet Prime Minister N.S. Khrush-chov speak on the results of his visit to France. Here below are some extracts from the Soviet Premier's speech:

W HY did we go to France? What was it that interest-ed us there? It was, above all, a desire to establish better contacts with President de Gaulle and the Government of the French Republic, to exchange opinions with the French leaders on questions which are of interest to our countries and which we long awaited their solu-

We made this trip for the sake of reducing international tensions, ensuring the peaceful coexistence of States, and, con-sequently, strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the blrov

Summing up the results, one might say that the visit has been rather successful. The been rather successful. The talks and conversations between General de Gaulle and myself us and highly useful. were seric Naturally, our positions on the key issues do not fully coincide. But our thorough ex change of opinions has shown change of opinions has snown that our views are close on most issues.

On the question of disarma-ment-and this is the main question agitating all people if Mr. Chancellor does not ncerned for security, for

with President de Gaulle was a problem which deeply agitates the peoples of the Soviet Union and other European countries which had been invaded by the Hitlerites.' The President and I had a very frank discussion on I had a very frank discussion the German problem.

a just solution of the Grinnin problem and for removing the threat of a violation of peace by German militarists. It has always been our view that it is issible to tarry in the quest of a solution which would conform to the interests of all peoples, including the German people, the interests of preserving and consolidating world

of a peace treaty and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin to be settled jointly, by agreement, with all countries which fought against Nazi Gerany in the last war.

Antics

But there still are many difficulties on this road. It is impossible not to mention these difficulties. Some leaders—and I mean Chancellor Adenauer above all—do not want the conclusion of a peace treaty w Germany, and they are against this question being settled by agreement between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. They are trying to make the German question a matter of showdown between the East and West.

APRIL 17, 1960

During his stay in the

APRIL 17, 1960

CEYLON Out With This Govt. Of Fraud

everything to remove it from power. The voting on the Throne Speech has been fixed for April 22. If we can't get rid of the UNP Government before then, we shall try to do so by that deta

Dudley Senanayake claims

to be a man of honour and principle. During the elec-tions, he inveighed against

"achcharu" Governments and said he would not take

power unless he was given a clear majority. His pre-sent actions belie his words. If he is an honour-

able man, as he claims, he will not cling to power when he is in a hopeless

hackstairs horse-deals. Re

should resign and advise the Governor-General to invite the Leader of the

Opposition to form a Gov-

QUESTION: If the UNP

Government is defeated

nent.

minority or resort to ch

that date.

Dudley Senanayake's UNP Government in Ceylon came to power by a confidence trick and rules by deceit and fraud. The main job now is to throw it out. This is the gist of an interview given to the Press by Pieter Kueneman, M.P., General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, on the political situation following the General Elections in the country. The questions and answers follow:

OURSTION: What is the Communist Party's atti-tude towards Dudley Senanavake's UNP Governnt? Do you think it will last long?

ANSWER: Dudley Senanayake's UNP Government came to power by a confi-dence trick and rules by deceit and fraud.

The UNP has no moral or other right to govern. It received only 29 per cent of the total vote and onethird of the seats in Parent. As things stand it commands only 52 now, it comn from elected members. Even with the six members it has appointed, it is in a hopeless minority. Dudley Senanayake was

called upon to form a Government as a result of a confidence trick. The UNP pretended at the time to have the support of the Federal Party and the LPP. It has subsequently been revealed that it never had

this support. The main job now is to kick out this unrepresenta-tive and minority Govern-tive and minority Govern-Communist Party will vote against the UNP and do

POLITICAL STALEMATE AND INSTABILITY

* by N. SANNUGATHASAN

The elections to the Fourth Parliament of Ceylon held on March 19 have ended inconclusively and pro-duced a stalemate. As the Communist Party predicted before the elections, no single party was able to win a sufficient number of seats to form a Government by itself.

managed to become singly the party with the largest numparty with the largest hum-ber of members in Parlia-ment and has, therefore, been called upon by the Governor-General to form a Government.

But the UNP polled only 29 and per cent of the total votes and obtained only 50 seats in a Parliament of 151.

It was only slightly ahead of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the party of the late Premier Bandara-naike, which polled 22.19 per cent of votes and obtained 46

seats. Of the balance, 23 seats went to the three Left parties, Philip Gunawardena's MEP ten, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP-troiskylst) ten and Communists three.

The Federal Party which contested in the Tamil areas of the North and the East on 15 seats.

Won 15 seats. The other seats were won by individuals and splinter groups. Of these one has already joined the UNP while four have indicated their intention of working with the SLFP

Although the results were onclusive they indicate a high degree of political consciousness and maturity on the part of the electorate. This election was one the most hard fought

PAGE SIX

E LTHOUGH decisively re-jected by the voters, the reactionary, pro-imperialist, former ruling party, the United National Party (UNP) geared towards this, They had a plentiful supply of money, subscribed by both foreign and local capitalists who ral-lied to a man behind the UNP. They had the powerful back-ing of the Catholic hierarchy and foreign imperialist forces in the country. The entire in the country. The entire capitalist Press openly cam-paigned for it. This was in contrast to the previous elec-tion when at least one Sinha-lese daily supported Bandaranaike's party.

They were further aided by the disunity of the anti-UNP forces and the exposure of the previous Government during its last days as a result of the assassination of Bandara and the unpopular actions of his successor, Dahanayake.

Divided Votes

Yet, despite all these ad-vantages, the UNP managed to increase its votes from 195 to increase its voies from 1950 by only 2.4 per cent. The polarisation of forces that took place between the UNP and anti-UNP forces in 1956 more or less remained the same But, whereas in 1956, the people were presented with a clear alternative to the UNP in the form of a People's The results have left the Front which they voted to parties speechless and with power overwhelmingly, in out excuses and with a ra 1960 there was no such unity. As a result, the people dividenter defende ander

ed their votes and allowed the UNP to score many undeserv-

ed victories. One thing is quite clear. The people have once again endorsed the line of proendorsed the line of pro-gress, and advance for which they gave a mandata' to the late Bandaranaike in 1956. This they did by refusing to go back to the UNP. But in 1960, the peo-ple were undecided as to which party was best suited to carry forward the tradi-tions and policies of the Bandaranaike Government. In fact, all the anti-UNP parties elaimed the mantle of Bandaranaike. In such a situation, the

only course of action that should have been followed was to have united all the anti-UNP forces into one solid anti-UNP front. Such a front would have meant a decisive rout of the UNP in the country. This was what was advocated by the Com-munist Party but the appeal fell on deaf ears.

A particularly heavy blame rests on the leadership of the other two Left parties, the LSSP and MEP. It was their sectarianism and anti-unity policies that contributed to several UNP victories. Not only did they refuse unity between the three Left par-

ties, they even spurned a no-contest agreement. With an astonishing disregard for the realities of the situation and with inflated notions of their own grandeur and strength, both these parties put forward nearly 100 candidates each and went round the country claiming that, alone and unaided by any other progressive forces, they would come to power. The results have left these parties speechless and with-out excuses and with a rank and file which is beginning to

NEW AGE

the new voters on the elec-toral registers. The SLFP and the Left parties posed, in various ways, the issue of continuing the 1956 advance and got nearly 48 per cent of the total vote. After the failure of the attempts at unity, the Com-munist Party put forward candidates where it had a The pattern of voting in the 1960 General Election fair measure of support and continued to campaign for a Government based on is about the same as in the 1956 General Election. The a covernment based on unity of the anti-UNP forces. The Communist-Party contested 52 seats, difference is that in 1960 the progressive forces were divided whereas there was polled 4.3 per cent of the votes (which is an increase, of 0.5 per cent) and won three seats which is the greater unity in 1956. It is owing to this that the UNP was able to increase its number of seats from eight to 50 although its vote resame as its strength in the previous Parliament. mains almost static. If the Communist Static if the Communist Party's pro-posal for a united front of the Left and progressive forces had been accepted,

COMMUNIST LEADER SAYS

and the SLFP can form a the local and foreign capi-Government, what will be tailst newspapers that this the attitude of the Com- is a defeat for the Left?

ANSWER: It was the Left" are taiking when the UNP is defeated, through their hats. the Communist Party is The three parties whom ready to help it to do so. they and the people re-We think this is the garded as Left are the realize that the Left as a Communist Party, the

ANSWER: Those who

speak about a "defeat for the Left" are talking

ties polled 25 per cent of the total vote. In other

words, one out of every four persons who voted on March 19 voted for parties

who were dubbed as "Left" and "Marxist".

The real issue of the 1960

General Elections was not Left vs. Right, "Demo-cracy" vs. Marxism, or capitalism vs. Socialism. It

was whether the progre

sive advance started in 1956 under the late Banda-

ranaike's leadership should

The UNP led the cam-

paign to stop this advance

Its main slogans were: "No more experiments" and "Back to stability". But it

only got 29 per cent of the vote, i.e, less than two per cent more than it got in 1956, an increase that is

not even proportionate to the new voters on the elec-

it would have been a diffe-

In the 1960 election, the

middle forces opposed to the UNP generally rallied round the SLFP. This was

due to the division in the

Left and to the fact that the programmes of the Left parties were too secta-

rian and did not seek to answer the problems of these middle forces. But those who voted for the SLFP were in no way vot-

ing for the Right. They were voting against the UNP and with the idea of defending the late Banda-

conflict between the mid-

actionary vested interests

represented by the UNP is

more sharp and real than any ideological differences these middle forces may

have with the Left. This

dle forces and

is being realised the SLFP itself."

nt story.

continue or be stopped.

LSSP and MEP. Th

munist Party?

ties.

ap,

ANSWER. If the SLFP

policy that the Left as a whole should follow. We should not act like the pro-

verbial dog in the mager because the people gave the SLFP a majority over the other anti-UNP par-

We do not expect the

We do not expect the SLFP to follow our policy. But if they follow the broad lines of the policy of their founder, the late Bandaranaike, we are ready to help them.

QUESTION: What do

you think of the outcome of the elections? Do you agree with the analysis of

Baseless Propaganda

The reactionary forces and their Press have tried to interpret the election results as a decisive defeat for the Left. This, they try to do by lumping the SLFP along with the UNP as a Right party.

But facts are otherwise. The three Left parties toge-ther polled 721,626 votes, nearly one lakh more than the SLFP (632,678). Their percentage of the votes was 25.35 per cent. That is, one in every four voters voted Left. This is quite an achie-

forces. Before the election, the UNP leader had publicly stated that he would form a Government only if he obtained a clear mandate. But when the elections ended inconclusively giving the UNP a slight lead over the SLFP, Dudley Senanayake, its leader, was

* SEE PAGE 11 ********************

within

the re-

concerned for security, per-the maintenance of peace-our positions with General de Gaulle coincide, I should say. And mutual clarification of the positions of the Soviet Union and France on ques-tions of disarmament alone made going to France worth-while. This is why it can be considered that the trip was a succes a success. You will realise, of course, Comrades, that looming large in our talks and conversa

There is every possibility for a just solution of the German

we would like the question

Adenauer's

ful coexistence of countries with different social systems,

but on mobilising the co war advocates, on rally

them to prevent agreement or a peace treaty with Germany. Later, when he was in Japan, Adenauer continued to speak in the same vein. Here is his position: if NATO wants to

prove its strength, it should not retreat an inch, it should not

allow any changes in the pre-sent status of West Berlin. But this is an extremely dangerous position. Such an approach can lead mankind to the brink of war, and we are in duty bound to warn of this all those interested in the pre-

United · States of America, Chancellor Adenauer concen trated his efforts not on settl-ing the issues in dispute and clearing the way to the peacebloo

an most increased in the pre-servation of peace. In follow-ing this policy, Adenauer is do-ing a bad service to West Ger-many herself. He is causing great harm to all the people striving for peace and the liquiPowers will sooner or later arrive at the same conclusion as ours. Life itself will make them understand that the con-clusion of a peace treaty with the two German States is the only correct solution guaran-teeing a normal situation of peace and tranquillity in Europe.

Relations With France

We attach great importance to our relations with France. If the Soviet Union and France, as the two biggest continental Powers of Europe, pool their efforts with all the other nat-ions upholding peace, an insur-mountable obstacle will be put to new aggression and to new wars in Europe.

During out stay in France attempts were made by some ill-wishers in the West to allege that the Soviet Union wants to sow discord between France and Western Germany, to incite the French against the Germans.

It is difficult to think of a more absurd lie. Although the Soviet people have suffered from the Hitlerites more than the other nations, we have al-ways based and are basing our policy vis-a-vis Germany on anything but hatred towards the



Huge crowds lined the roads and che everywhere the Soviet Premier went in France.

KHRUSHCHOV Sums Up Results

armament question, by conclud-ing a peace treaty with the two German States. We are also convinced that

despite Chancellor Adenauer's endeapours the Western

change his policy, if he persists in continuing his present course, life will sweep him off his feet, because every thing living wants to live. People want a normal, peaceful life. It can be ensured only by solving the dis-armament question, by conclud-sincere friendship with the Ger-man Democratic Republic. We shall go on strengthening and developing these relations. developing these relation

At the same time, the Soviet Union wishes to have normal friendly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We are not afraid of the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany has good relations with other nat-ions, notably France. We are convinced, however, that truly friendly relations beween West Germany and the other European States are possible only in a Europe rid of World War II vestiges...If the Soviet Union, France and the two German States are

friends, reasons for any sort of unrest and alarm will dis-appear from Europe. [N.S. Khrushchov then dealt

with economic and cultural relations and said how the exlations and said how the ex-change of views had shown the deep interest of both the coun-tries in developing these rela-tions. Specially, "the first agree-ment on cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of ato-mic energy," said the Soviet Premier, "will be of value **both** to us and to France"! to us and to France."]

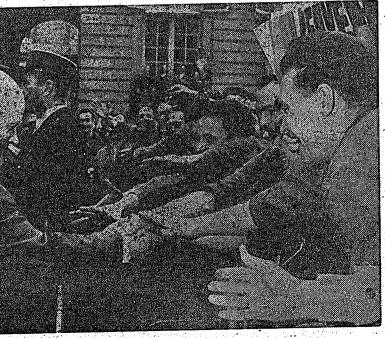
With The People

Permit me, comrades, to speak now of my impressions of the visit to various parts of

France. It is difficult to select words for expressing the feelings which we experienced while among the French. Their cordi-ality and warmth was manifested everywhere we went. The French people wanted to show s all the best things they have in economics, engineering, science and culture. This is an understandable and natural de

The French people are industrious. They have a wealth of technical experience and tradi-tions and their land is fertile. If the strength and energy of the French was concentrated only on the solution of peaceful tasks, there is no arguing that they would achieve even great-er successes. Life shows that it is unnecessary to search for * SEE PAGE 11

PAGE SEVEN



People vie with each other to shake the Soviet Prime Minister's hand.

NEW AGE

DRAFT RESOLUTION

*FROM PAGE 5

tions of the exploiting class-

As important as the content of the Five-Year Plan is the way in which it is formu-lated and implemented. The ated and implemented. The are mounting new onenaves enthusiastic cooperation of against popular rights and the masses both in formulat-liberties. The wanton repres-ing and implementing the sive measures against the Plan is the surest guarantee workers of Jamshedpur, the of its success.

This has, in principle, been accepted by the Government, but violated in practice. De-mocratisation and decentra-lisation in words but centralisation and bureaucratisation in practice—such has been the trend in adminis-tration. The result is the ad-mitted failure of the Committed failure of move-munity Development move-ment in the very field in the two supposed to lead to a fundamental changemutual cooperation between the people and the officials.

All this has proved the cor-Congress of the Fourth Party Congress which stated: "While opposing imperialism and attempting to weaken its grip over national econo-my, the bourgeoiste simulta-neously maintains its links with British capital and gives facilities for further inflow of foreign capital. While striving to curb and weaken feudalism, it simultaneously maintains its alliance with landlords against the democratic forces and makes concersions to landlords. While striving to industrialise the country, it seeks to place the burdens of economic developwhile extending the public sector, it simultaneously pursues policies of support to monopolists in their attacks on the working people and adopts many measures which adopts many measures which enrich monopolists and thus help them to strengthen their position in important spheres of our life. While calling upon the people to cooperate in the task of na-tional reconstruction, it cooperate in the task of na-tional reconstruction, it simultaneously strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus, places main reliance on it, refuses to extend democracy and to adopt measures that would improve the conditions of the people.

"Due to all this and the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the Gov-ernment to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions."

As was to be expected, this trend in our economic life, together with partisan admitogether with partisan admin-nistration of public funds and the monopoly of politi-cal power enjoyed by the Congress Party, has led to in-creasing degeneration of the ruling party. Links between monopolists and landlords on funds the one hand and Congress busses on the other have grown stronger. Corruption has become rampant. In such a situation, it is understand-able that the Plan does not evoke public enthusiasm. Popular discontent against the policies of the Govern-

PAGE EIGHT

ment and the ruling class has grown and given rise to struggles on the part of the marses. Congress Govern-ments in all the States have continuously strengthened the repressive apparatus and are mounting new offensive Punjab peasants and against the lood movement in West Bengal would show the length to which the Government can go to suppress popular move-ments and the grave peril to democracy inherent in the Government's policies.

The Amritsar Party Con-gress pointed to the growth of discontent against the Government, as well as of mass radicalisation. It noted the declining hold of the Congress on the masses. It, however, underlined the fact that the growth of the Com-munist Party and of the genuine democratic forces was lagging far behind the forces growth of popular discontent and that the parties of extreme reaction were utilist situation to consolidate

led Government in Kerala. inevitably conflicting trends The ousted Government had exercised profound, influence over the entire democratic movement and indeed be-come a rallying point of the hopes and aspirations of the hopes and aspirations of the masses. The way in which the Communist-led Govern-ment was overthrown and the subsequent activities of the ruling party in Kerala show the length to which the Government Congress and its Government would go to arrest the grow-th of the democratic move-ment and the Communist

ment and the community Party. Faced with the growing mass discontent and the ad-vance of the democratic mo-vement on the one hand and the difficulties of its own creation in the matter of Disc and development on the Plan and development on the other, the Government, ins-tead of correcting its poli-cies, actually shifted further to the Right, as will be seen in the economic policies al-ready noted earlier. Within the ruling party and Gov-crnment, forces of the Right have further strengthened their position. The shift to the Right has

found concrete manifesta-tions in the Central Govern-ment's Budgets of the last two years which increased

have manifested themselves. Not merely has the Right grown inside the Congress and the Government. Another factor of significance is that the forces of extreme Right have now found an independent open political platform in the Swatantra Party.

*

The formation of the Swa-tantra Party does not signify a split in the bourgeois class into two sections, one colla-borationist and the other borationist and the other anti-imperialist, nor even a clear differentiation in the ruling classes. Nor should the emergence of the Swatantra Party be looked upon as due only to factional squables, of only to rectional squables, of no importance to our nation-al-political life, although many disgrunted elements in the Congress Party gravitate towards the Swatantra Party. towards the swatantra Party. Its emergence and the grow-th of the Right betoken the growth of a more conciliatory imperialists, especially Ame-tendency towards Western rican imperialists, who are

imperialism. The imperialists, especially the U. S. imperia-lists, will strive their best to strengthen these forces. The growth of this trend is dan-

Party, just as the Swatantra Party draws inspiration and encouragement from the activities of the Right inside the Congress.

The reactionary forces and the big bourgeois Press have specially chosen India's fore-ign policy for attack. Tiber and the India-China dispute have strikingly revealed; as no other incident in recent years, how well-entrenched these forces are and how wide these forces are and now wide is the support they enjoy from the big bourgeois Press. The Swatantra Party, the PSP, Jan Sangh, the Ganatantra Parishad, and the Socialist Party, with active encourage-ment from the extreme Right incide the Congresse lained inside the Congress loined forces to lead an ass the Government's ault on policy, which it was alleged was "weak" and had exposed the country to grave danger.

imperialists, especially Ame-rican imperialists, who are opposed to India's independent foreign policy and who seek to disrupt Asian solida-

rity. The trends that extreme Rightists, both inside and outside the Congress, are helping to develop are—

ing down of the public sector, creation of a "suitable cli-mate" for investment of foreign private capital, espe-cially American capital, and a conciliatory attitude to-wards it; C) Sabotage of agrarian reforms; and

d) Undermining of parlia-

(d) International of partial-mentary democracy and the suppression of the Com-munist Party.

Therefore, a determined and sustained, ideological-political battle has to be waged against the Swatantra waged against the Swatantra Party. Their political slogans have to be exposed and laid bare as being anti-national and anti-people and diame-trically opposed to the tradi-tions of our national move-ment, as well as the interest of our people. Every effort should be made to rouse all demo-cratically-minded people, including those inside the Congress, to the danger posed by those slogans and draw them into the campaign.

*

It must not be forgotten that, while the Swatantra that, while the Swatantra Party is indisputably the open spokesman of the poli-cies of the Right, the main forces of the Right still re-main inside the Congress. But with the formation of the Swatantra Party, which, together with the forces of forces of the Right inside the Con-gress, is trying to take the Government further in a Rightward direction, conflicts

APRIL 17, 1960

get sharper, both in the rul-ing party and in the country. the Government is going to

The struggle against Right reaction itself requires firm Left. opposition to and struggle against the anti-popular policies of the Government, as well as popularisation of the Party's policies. For, it is pre-cisely the anti-people policies and measures of the Government and its failure to tackle corruption in administration that are providing fertile, ground for the demagogy of the Swatantra Party. Morethat are providing fertile, ground for the demagogy of the Swatantra Party. More-over, in defence of the ever-mounting attacks on their standard of life and demo-cratic liberties, the pepple inevitably come into conflict with the forces of the Goveinment.

But even when opposing these policies and measures of the Government, we must concentrate fire, wherever possible, on the Right ele-ments in the Government. We must not, when fighting the Government and the Congress, lose sight of the broader perspective. Our ap-proach, our slogans should be such as serve to strength en the democratic movement

as a whole. It is evident that the Indian bourgeoisie and is Government, while compro-mising with feudalism and giving concessions to the lim-perialists, are determined to go ahead with building their capitalist economy. Not only has the Indian bourgeoisie grown stronger, but it is also mocratic forces in the coun- low political level and has not the Party must use them for nomic assistance by the So-viet Union and other Socia-Union and other Socialits countries for building heavy and basic industries on the one hand and striving to cvercome imperialist obstruc-tions and secure favourable terms, at least partially, in the matter of economic assistance from the West on the

policies. The limitations in-herent in the capitalist path, further accentuated by the attempt to build our economy

and turns, giving rise to sharp

conflicts and profound con-tradictions. The food pro-

other.

carry forward the shift to the Right. In short, our Party has to play its part to bring about a major shift on a nationwide scale in our poli-tical life. In this context, broad-hard mass actions and strug-This, by itself, cannot, how-ever, ensure continuous and steady advance nor solve the profound contradictions that arise from the Government's

In this context, broad-based mass actions and strug-gles on economic and politi-cal issues naturally assume importance. The Party can-not discharge its responsibi-lity without waging sustain-ed battle on policy questions. It will be the task of the leading organs of the Party to evolve key slogans for na-tionwide campaigns on such policy issues as-

attempt to build our economy without resolute action aga-inst the entrenched position of British capital, without radical agrarian reforms and by concessions to foreign capitalists to the detriment of our economy continue. and non-alignment; Nationalisation of banks;

- capitalists to the detriment of our economy, continue. The same approach marks the proposals of the Third Plan also. In such a situation, progress cannot but be slow and halting, marked by twists and third progress to shorp
 - burdens on the people;

Immediate imposition of effective cellings on land-holdings and distribution of surplus land to agricultural tradictions. The food pro-blem will continue. Unem-ployment will grow. Condi-tions of the vast majority of people will remain wretched. Antagonism between the Government and the people will sharpen still further. In such a situation, the anti-popular and dangerous trends which have already manifeslabourers and poor peasants and State trading in foodorains:

For increased dearness

• For greater powers to the

mocracy. Obviously, in such a situa-tion, things cannot remain

which have already manifes-ted themselves are likely to

accentuate, inflicting colossal misery on the people and creating grave perils for de-

APRIL 17. 1960

Political Developments Since Amritsan their position and to mount offensives against the Gor-erroment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-present policy of the present policy of industrial de-velopment from a reactionary modifica-present policy of industrial de-velopment further concessions in the mat-present main party of Oppo-

sures.

then position and to mount offensives against the Gov-ernment from a reactionary

direction. It further stated that "the present crisis of the Second Five-Year Plan, which has resulted from the policies and methods of the Governand methods of the Govern-ment, is being exploited by these reactionary elements not only to sabotage the good features of the Plan but also to strengthen their position and secure changes in the position and economic life in the political and economic life of the country in an anti-national and anti-democratic cirection." the

*

All these features have All these features have grown and got accentuated during the last two years. The radicalisation of the masses and the advance of

the democratic movement have been seen in a number of mass struggles such as the strikes of the TISCO workstrikes of the Tisco what ers, the U. P. food satyagra-ha, the Punjab anti-better-ment levy struggle, the food struggles in West Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, Government employees' strike in Madhya Pradesh, the strike strike State Bank employees in Machya Pracesn, the strike of the State Bank employees, the one-day strike of all the Central Government emplo-yees, the one-day general strike in Bombay and the prolonged strike of the Har-yey Mill workers.

This mass radicalisation and mass activity reached its peak in the mass demonstrations that took place all over the country over the issue of the unconstitutional move-ment for Central interven-tion to oust the Communist-

NEW AGR

resistance to the demands of

the Right. The shift of the

Government to the Right has

the indirect taxes on the common people, while they gave concessions in the mat-ter of wealth and other direct taxes falling on the rich, in the scuttling of the agararian reforms, in the abidage of State trading, in the attitude towards labour ter of wealth and other direct taxes falling on the rich, in the scuttling of the agrarian reforms, in the sabotage of State trading, in the attitude towards labour demands, in the encourage-ment to the private sector at the cost of the public sector, in the concessions to foreign capital and in the increasing reliance on repressive mea-Party is skilfully utilising the popular discontent against the Government. It argues that shortage of foodgrains is due to the "killing of incen-tive" of the landed interests by talk of agrarian reforms, reliance on repressive meathat the high prices of indus-trial goods are due to the "in-equitous" taxation system. It The shift is manifested in the Congress Party's and Covernment's intensified at-tack on the Communist Party plays upon the landowning peasants' prejudice against ccoperative farming to dis-credit agrarian reforms. It thunders against corruption and their efforts to mallgn and isolate the Communist Party for which purpose they do not shrink from combinand nepotism with a view to discredit the public sector and planned development. It ing with all reactionary and communal forces, as was seen in Kerala. The shift is also reflected openly assalls the foreign policy of the Government and advocates "defence pacts" with Pakistan and with counin the Congress Party's alli-ance with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa, with communal and caste forces, in the munal and case follows in the encouragement given to the Muslim League and in using the Catholic church for fur-thering its political aims. on "honourable terms."

The policies of the Nehru Government are a result of intense push and pull among the different sections of the ruling circles as well as bet-ween the ruling circles and the people. The policies have, therefore, a dual character of conciliation as well as of weapon to pressurise the Congress Government. The Right inside the Con-

been, therefore, a complex process and in this process gress feels emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra

tries of Southeast Asia threatened by "Chinese expan-sionism" so that American military aid can be secured

with parties of communal reaction in several States, such as the Akalis in the Punjab and the Jan Sangh in U. P. The wide publicity given to the utterances of the leaders of the Swatantra Party in the big bourgeois Press is meant to project it Press is meant to project it in the consciousness of the people and build it up as the

together with the

over policies are bound to * SEE FACING PAGE

The Swatantra Party is striving to build alliances



the Government is going to move backwards, yielding more and more to the pressures of the Right or it has to be compelled by the popu-lar forces to move to the

It has, however, to be re-It has, however, to be re-membered that twelve years of Congress rule and nine years of Plans have conclu-sively proved that the basic capitalist nature of the Plans has got very limited possibi-lities, that the capitalist path of development cannot basically solve the problems of our country and it is bound to intensify all the crisis and contradictions in the life of contradictions in the life of our people. Hence it has be-come all the more necessary come all the more necessary to educate the people about the basic weakness of these Plans and the necessity for the alternate people's path of development, while simulta-neously defending the pro-gressive aspects of the Plans and fighting for their reorie-ntation for the better on the one hand and resisting the reactionary attacks on the other.

presentative levels;

 Peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues with Pakistan and of the border dispute with China;

For defence and exten-sion of the democratic rights of the people.

Day-to-day struggles, strug-gles for the defence of the economic interests of the working class, peasantry and working class, peasantry and the toiling people is a factor of tremendous importance in this task. It is all the more necessary to stress this be-cause of the new burdens that are going to be imposed on the people.

Also sustained, nationwide Also sustained, nationwide or even Statewide campaigns and struggles over policies have been rather weak. Wherever they were undertaken, the mass response was taken, the mass response was big. There can be no doubt that if such campaigns had been undertaken by the en-tire Party and in a big way, the day-to-day struggles themselves would have grown stronger and won more con-

cessions. This failure has had another result. The existing mass following of the Communist Party, acquired through years and decades of devoted work in trade unions and kisan sabhas as well as through

*

Precisely because of the de-Precisely because of the de-velopment that have taken place since Palghat and espe-cially since Amritsar, it has become all the more neces-sary that mass unity is built to defend the interests of the more and also bring about people and also bring about a move to the Left. In order to develop such a

democratic movement, it becomes particularly important to draw, by correctly formulated demands, correct ap-proach and suitable forms of ctivity, the masses following the Congress and Congress-men into such movements. The situation is going in such The situation is going in such a way that it cannot but cause disillusionment and stirrings among the vast masses following the Congress. Moreover, in many places a number of Congressmen are getting worried over the acti-vities of the Swatantra Party as well as of Bipht reaction as well as of Right reaction inside the Congress itself.

This would require a pro-per approach on our part lo-wards the progressive decla-rations of the Congress and the Government. While ex-plaining the real content of the delarations of the ruling

the formation of elected re-presentative bodies at all parliamentary measures. Must be borne in mind is that in a number of places, these parties enjoy consider-able support in the working class—e.g. the Socialist Party in Bombay. An attitude of blind hostility towards these parties will affect the unity of the working class itself.

Exposure of the ideology and politics of the PSP SP needs even today to be combined with united front approach locally and Statewise and also serious wise and also senous enorts to maintain good relations locally. In places like West Bengal and Maharashtra, we should strive our utmost to maintain good relation with as many other parties as pos-

sible. In the context of the In the context of the offensive of the Right and the disruptive activities of the leadership of the PSP and such other parties to divide the democratic movement, the importance of winning allies, however temporary and vacillating, for the working-class and the Party can hardly be exaggerated. the contrary, every effort should be made to win such allies, including progressive independents, The Party must follow a policy of tolerance, respect and persua-sion towards its allies.

Defence of foreign policy

Against increasing tax

For decentralisation of administration through

mocratic forces in the coun-try, including those inside the Congress, will act in unity to bring about a move to the Left or whether the big bourgeoisie and landlords, already strongly entrenched inside the Congress and Gov-ernment, will be allowed to carry forward the shift to the Right. In short, our Party cally in the fast developing situation which could bring about a shift among the broader masses. In many places, we have not really educated our following on our policies. As a result, even masses under our influence have sometimes fallen vic-tims to caste and communal derragory. Today, when the tims to caste and communal demagogy. Today, when the parties of extreme Right are also in the field, trying to utilise the popular discontent, this weakness of our own mass following can have dan-gerous results for the democratic movement.

The struggle for defence of democracy and for its expan-sion is an integral part of the great national-political tasks facing the Party and the de-

mocratic movement. The defence of democracy Effective measures to demands sharp exposure of the extreme Right and its bring down prices;
Against increasing tax ugh. In order to rally the marses in defence of deniomarses in defence of tende cracy, they must be made to feel that democracy is worth defending, that through de-mocratic processes and insti-tutions and by popular action, tney can better their condi-tions and changes can be brought about, changes that For increased dearness allowance for all in- dustrial workers and employees and for fixation of minimum wages for agricul- tural workers;
Against corruption;
For greater powers to the States;
For decentralisation of
For decentralisation of cessions for the people thro-ugh mass campaigns and

NEW AGE

the Party must use them for developing common activity with the followers of the Congress in order to ensure implementation of such declarations. Our agitation and our approach should bear this our approach should bea important task in view.

The leadership of the PSP and certain other Left groups have been increasingly fol-lowing a poncy of disruption of the Left and democratic forces. Finding that all hopes of its becoming the "alter-native" has vanished, the PSP leadership has played a PSP leadersmip has played a treacherous role during the last two years in relation to the Kerala Government, peo-ple's movements in West Bengal, U. P., Bihar, etc. It has joined hands with the Congress to form a Coalition Government in Kerala. Its links with the extreme Right in the Congress have widened. Its role with regard to fore-ign policy and India's rela-tion with Tibet and China are well-known. A section of the weil-known. A section of the Congress leadership, too, is trying to build up the PSP as the main opposition and dis-ruptor of Left unity. As for the Socialist Party,

its attitude towards the Com-munist Party has also been one of blind hostility and, thanks to the internal squabbles, it has been in a state of chronic crisis and disinte-

these parties especially the

not only from the competi-tion and encroachment of the big bourgecisie but also from the fiscal and other policies the fiscal and other policies of the Government. The Party should take up their just de-mands against the big bour-geoiste and Government. It has also to be borne in mind that in matters of trade union demands, this section of the bourgeoisie cannot be treated on the same footing as the big bourgeoisie. It must not be forgotten that in order to defend and strengthen our Parliamentary institutions and fight against reactionary trends, the support and active institutions participation of these sec-tions is very important.

The advance of the democratic movement and the strengthening of the demo-cratic front requires, above cratic front requires, above all, painstaking efforts to build the mass organisations. build the mass organisations, particularly among the work-ing class and the peasantry. Amritsar gave the slogan "Turn the face of the Party to the peasants." Little has been done to implement the slogan. This constitutes the mattern washings not only greatest weakness not only of the Party but of the enof the Party but of the en-tire democratic movement. It should be remembered that the bulk of the peasantry re-mains the main pillar of sup-port behind the Congress and is liable to be exploited by the Swatantra and other re-actionary and communal parties.

Party committees at every level must give utmost tho-ught and attention to the problems of building the problems of building the peasant movement and work out concrete steps for this

purpose. Systematic efforts must be made to overcome the weakness in the Party's work among the middle-class aud intelligentsia.

PAGE NINE

WANTON INTERFERENCE By Congress Boss In Local Administration

A LETTER whose photo-stat copy is being reproduced here (see transla-tion below) is the latest example of the shameless intervention by Congress Party bosses in the admini-

The letter written in Bhojpuri on the Muzaffar-pur District Congress Committee letterhead and sign-ed by its President Thakur unandan Singh, is ad-sed to one Raghuvansh of the District Congress Yadunandan Singh, is ad-

Babu, the Block Develop-ment Officer of the Saheb-ganj Block Area. Committee President was very simple. A rest house had to be constructed in Sahebganj for the emplo-yees of the Block Develop-ment Office. Land had been Ramdeo Sharma 'is 'a mber of the Secretariat

of the Muzaffarpur District Council of the Communist Party of India against Party of India against whom the District Congress President has instructed the B.D.O. to "act in such a way that they give up their badmashi". college was obtained. This would have blocked any future expansion of the latter and hence was op-posed by the college autho-rities and the local people.

23.2.1960

allotted and even the foun-dation had been dug. But as this was just in front of

the hungalow of a Congress

leader, the whole plan had to be changed. Another plot of land in front of a local

college was obtained. This

This caused the ire of the

District Congress authori-ties who intervened to in-

struct the B.D.O. to sup-press the "badmashi" of the Communist leaders who

The District Congress

ublished in a section of

President's letter has been

the Bihar Press and people are demanding that Gov-

ernment should set up an

enquiry into the conduct of the Congress President for

the Congress President for such wanton interference in the local administration.

Til-Muslimeer

had.

led the opposition.

(Exact translation of the Bhojpuri original) Phone No. 100

District Congress Committee, Tilak Maidan Muzaffarnur

Letter No.-

Dear Raghuvansh Babn, Please accept my regards. Everything is going on well here. Biswanath Jaiswal had come. Pandeji and ector saheb are not here at present. They went to Debi Babu with Bam Deo Sharma. He turned them out. They came away disappointed. I too snubbed them and asked them not to fight against law. They want to go their own way. Now yon should act in such a way that they give up their badmashi. I shall come as soon as ell me. These people have to be forced to give up you t their badmashi.

Thakur Yadunandan Singh

ENACTING CEILINGS OR A FARCE? In Andhra, Limit Of

Rs. 1.20 Lakhs Gross Income Is Proposed

From V. HANUMANTHA RAO HYDERABAD, APRIL 7.

A proposal to place the ceiling on the income from landholdings at a gross income of Rs. 1.20 lakhs, made by no less a person than the Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh himself, has come as a shock and surprise to the vast mass of the peasantry and the ocratic-minded public of Andhra. As Congress daily Andhra Janata put it, "even the landlords could not have expected such a high ceiling."

Though this proposal was limitations, the Telangana Land Reforms Act had adopt-ed this suggestion of the said to have not even inform-party though the connect it ally discussed this proposal, it ssumed a serious character, coming as it did from the Deputy Chief Minister and Chairman of the Select Committee on the Land Ceilings Bill. The general body of the Congress Legislature Party was specially convened to diswas specially convenent to dis-cuss these proposal and K. V. Ranga Reddi, the Deputy-Chief Minister, is understood to have won over the MLAs from the Andhra area to his proposals.

It may be mentioned here that the Panel on Land Re-forms of the Planning Commission strongly recommended a ceiling on income from land at Rs. 3,600 for a family. of five members. The Commu nist Party in Andhra has been agitating for radical reforms on similar lines. With all its

PAGE TEN

T HOUGH this proposal was limitations, the Telangana

The Bill on Land Ceilings, introduced in the Assembly last year and now before the Select Committee, has raised the ceiling to Rs. 5,400 net or Rs. 10,800 gro aside the record gross, brushing aside the recommendation of the Panel of the Planning Commission as well as public opinion in the State.

While the proposals made in the Bill themselves were considered very high and leave not a single inch of land above the ceiling, a still upward revision of the has been proposed ceilin by the Deputy Chief Minis-Instead of the income basis

dopted in the Cellings Bill, the Deputy Chief Minister, who is also the Revenue Min-

* SEE FACING PAGE

HE notorious Razakar by manipulating the deli-organisation of Kasim mitation of wards in such organisation of Kasim Razvi—the Majlis Ittehada way as to ensure the vic-tory of the Congress in a

Unholy Kerala Alliance

Gives New Life To Razakars

fresh lease of life, thanks to the bolstering up of the Muslim League in Kerala Nizamshahi, thousands of irregular soldiers were de-mobilised and they joined by the Congress. The only difference between Kerala and Hydera-bad is: due to that unholy alliance, Congress gained the ranks of unemployed. Similarly, the abolition of sarf-e-khas and hundreds of others who lived on the in Kerala, but the Congress is going to lose in Hyderacharities of and under the service of Nizam and his with the announcement Peshi also swelled the number of the Muslim un-

that elections will be held to the Municipal Corpora-tions of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, the Ittehademployed. Neither the regime of Boorgula Ramakrishna Rao Ul-Muslimeen has declared nor the present Andhra Pradesh Government did that it will contest all the ats in Hyderahad and anything to mitigate this few seats in Secunderaunemployment among the Muslim masses. They were Fortyeight per cent of fed on rank Muslim com-munalism during the Nimunalism during the Ni-sam's regime and demo-eracy made little inroads

gress

of this communal organisa-

the present" and concen-

trate on winning

has got a

Hyderabad City's popula-tion is Muslims and if one particular ward is removed, then, it will be the Musl constitute the majothat rity in the City. Abdul Wahed Ovesi, Ka-

sim Razvi's nominee as the leader of the Majlis, has challenged the Congress saying that his organisawould rule the Corporation for the next term. It is undoubtedly tall talk. But it did cause jitters inside the Congress Party and a good section of Con-gressmen wanted postponegres ment of the elections on the plea that the Congress. was unprepared to meet the challenge. But, the danger has been averted

seats so that they will be in a better position to speak from "positions of strength". majority of seats. With the abolition of the

strength". The Majlis leader is fur-ther basing his confidence on the fact that two inde-pendents supported by his organisation scored sensa-tional victories over their Congress rivals in recent by-elections to the municipality.

जोन न०-१००

जिला कांग्रेस कमिटी, मुखप्रकरपुर

मिय (यूवंसवा

8141 - 11 HA 16 2 912-1929914

Angination 2012012012012012

415 A - 41 21 MALHIE 9 ALAIZ

9-20191. as 1. stor 1 (1124

aimi à ma 1-3 10 minizi

301-301314/290105401

2413 MEHMJERM aracon

こうの日ははかち-るのういとり

10 4 Car - 11 2 A 9 2- 34 4 - 1/ 2013

A Q Z N/ M 24 E H A 7 - - 7 99 8]

aien -1 en =412-4/2 enizien

43 MIMILISIZMATIZ-1

gal Mm

अ तिलङ्मीदान

Alu 23-2 1960

4131962

As already stated, his talk of winning the Cornoration is too tall to be lieve, but there is no doubt that the Majlis will emerge as a strong opposition party inside the Hyderabad Mu-

गःभुवद्गांभह

nicipal Corporation. This resurgence of the communal organisation will have its own repercussions in the districts and on the politics of the State as a whole, though it may not be very significant.

If this organisation has into their hearts. This was . been able to attain at least fertile ground for Abdul Vahed Ovesi to spread his campaign against the Conthis stature in the city. It is the Congress leadersh alone that has to be blan ed. For. it is no secret In an effort to remove that one or the other group inside the Congress Party in the City has been makthe stigma of the old days, he has decided to set up Hindu candidates and Hariing overtures to this orgajan candidates on behalf nisation to strengthen its position vis-a-vis the other group in his own party. Top Congress leaders of the State are known to Though there had been some differences earlier between the Muslim Lea-gue and the Majlis, both of them have agreed to set aside their differences "for have conducted even 'nego tiations'. It is this that has been responsible for the resurgence of this communal organisation in the City. some

APRIL 17, 1960

natural resources somewhere beyond the national boundaries for the development of the economy, particularly if the creative forces and material re-

FROM PAGE 7

snits. The mood of the French men and women who came out to velcome us was marked by a esire for peace, and this feeling of theirs is easy to understand considering how many wars raged on French soil. We saw monuments to people who fell in battles throughout the country.

Particularly impressive was the visit to Verdun which is surstone crosses above soliders' graves. These crosses and graves, inese crosses and graves are an everlasting re-minder for the French people whence the enemies attacked them most of all. And many Frenchmen obviously realise that now, too, the danger to France is not ruled out from the side whence it repeatedly over-shadowed their land.

Lenin's Rooms

I could speak at great length about hown one onere re length about how we were re-ceived in various towns and villages of France. If we discount the very few volces of hide-bound cold warriors, who just cannot force them-selves to change and who continue to play the old tune,

Andhra Ceiling 10 222222222222 From Page 10 2222222222

ister, proposes to fix a celling in terms of acres, by making seven categories of land. The family holding is proposed to be fixed at nine acres in respect of irrigated wet first quality land, which normally means land for which water

is available the whole year. The other six varieties of lands with figures in brackets temples, etc. indicating the extent of each family holding are: irrigated wet second quality (12 acres), irrigated wet third quality (15 acres), doubtful wet and tri-gated dry first quality (27 acres), dry second quality (36 acres), dry third quality (45 acres) and dry fourth quality (72 acres).

Basing on the assumption that the net income per acre of irrigated wet first quality in Andhra area is Rs. 300 and last quality Rs. 100, the new als of the Deputy Chief proposals of the Deputy Children Minister would raise the celling from Rs. 5.400 net in the to Rs. 12.000 or from Rs. 00 gross according to the to Rs. 24,000. Bill to

While these are the fig-ures for each family hold-ing, the ceiling for each family of five would work ing, the family of family of five would work out to Rs. 60,000 net or Rs. 1.20 lakhs gross. (The draft Bill defines the family as according to the Hindu Law).

These can be termed "the last straw on the camel's back" and big landlords cultivating vast stretches of lands will escape altogether from the Celling Bill on the plea of "efficiently managed farms" farms". Thus, the proposals of the Deputy Chief Minister which go against the suggestion of the Panel of the Planning Commission, which go against the Telangana Act as also against the proposals in the Gill before the Select Committee make a farce of land

reforms. Leaders of the Communist Legislature Party in the Assembly have termed these proposals "reactionary, re-trograde and shocking." Since these proposals have to go before the Planning Commisston, they have urged the to dwell in greater detail on our Planning Commission to re-ject these proposals lock, Mayor is Canon Felix Kir. He is ject these proposals lock, stock and barrel and insist that its original recommenda-

tions be stuck to.

it can be safely said that the people of France unanimously received the envoys of the thei Soviet country as their friends. It was deeply movsources of every country are wholly devoted to peaceful puring, it made us very proud of our homeland, of the Soviet Socialist State. Yet another thing comes to mind: the majesty of Lenin's work, Lenin's ideas, whose realisation has elevated our country to such summits. We walked with veneration through the rooms of a small modest flat in Paris where Vladimir Ilyich lived and worked in 1909-1912, while in emigration. Lovingly exhibited there are

rounded by huge cemeteries with scores of thousands of

coming decisive battles.

We shook hands warmly with Comrades Thorez, Duclos and other leaders of the French Communist Party who received us at the flat, and we thanked them for looking after places connected with the life of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. And outside the building, dear to every Leninist, thousands of Parisians shouted slogans in honour of the Soviet Union, in honour of Franco-Soviet friendship, for ce and cooperation betw

On April 22 we shall cele-brate the 90th Anniversary of the birth of our Ilyich. Tri-umph of the Communist ideas

the revolutionary forces for the



documents which reminded us of how the great Lenin, a man of iron will and conviction, in the extremely difficult conditions of that time, was rallying

-such is the gift that has been prepared for this date by grateful mankind.



This is not the end of the Deputy Chief Minister's pro-posal. He has suggested for exemption from the purvlew of ceiling eleven varieties of lande which include efficiently managed farms, sugar, tea, coffee, rubber plantations, lands under endowments and

Dear Comrades, it is not only France's greatness, a fighter in city streets and factory shops against the German invaders. in city streets and factory shops that we met with French men and women. It is not only officials we talked to. I have al-ready said that we were given an opportunity to talk to repre-sentatives of most diverse orga-nisations. We met with the Franco-Soviet Parliamentary group, with a delegation of the Franco-USSR Society, with leaders of the French peace movement, with active trade unionists - representatives of the valiant working class of

The meeting with trade union leaders was especially memo-rable. One of the reasons for this is that I could not but compare it with the conversation I had with some American trad union leaders in San Francisco We realised that in France the thoughts and vital interests of the working men are closer and more understandable to trade union leaders. It is interesting to speak to such people, it is easy to find common language easy to find with them.

The representatives of the French public understand us, French public understand us, hey appreciate our peaceful policy, they want friendship with the Soviet Union so as to fight for peace, for the develop-ment of economic, cultural and scientific ties, for rapprochement between all peoples.

Provocateurs In Action

however, not to see that there are forces in France which actively resist the peaceful aspi-rations of the French people. These forces are prepared to torpedo the noble cause of the struggle for peace and preserve the state of the cold war. They are, of course, obliged to some extent to heed the will of the majority of the French people and, therefore, toned down for the time being. Their voices were drowned out by the com-mon striving of the ordinary people of France for friendship between the peoples of our countries, for the establishment of peace on earth.

But they have not stopped their subversive work. Here are some facts to illustrate this.

On the eve of our arrival in Marseilles, a trade union activist was killed by a knife stab in the back while he was pasting a slogan "Welcome Khrushchor". The funeral of the murdered trade union-ist developed into a mighty demonstration of the people of Marseilles who clearly expres-sed their attitude to provocateur and killers.

We must thus soberly judge and understand well that there are bound to be reactionary pro-fascist forces in a Stat divided into antagonistic classe as France is. These forces see to alienate us from the French people, they strive not for friendship but to undermine it and aggravate relations between our two countries.

I should like, dear comrades, t if only because he is a priest. He is a genuine

fighter Felix Kir's biography is a

moving document. He is now 84 years old. In the First World War he already actively defended his country. In the Second World War he fought in the ranks of the French resist ence fighters against the Nazi invaders. Canon Kir was sentenced to death twice. The first time he escaped, the second time he was shot together with a group of French patriots by the Nazis but his wounds were not deadly and he remained alive. For many years the peo-ple of Dijon have been electing Canon Kir as Mayor of their city.

This man, who has earned great esteem, entertains warm sympathies for the Soviet Union, for our people, who gal-lantly and heroically fought against the common enemy----Nazi Germany.

I looked forward to meeting Canon Kir and to shaking his noble hand. But the forces that dislike good and friendly relations between our peoples prevented this meeting. These forces were not French. The Vatican issued instructions prohibiting Canon Kir to meet Khrushchov as a Communist. On the eve of our arrival in Dijon he was whisked out of the city and the Deputy Mayour welcomed

It was a dull day when we arrived in Dijon but we were welcomed by big crowds. The Deputy Mayor told us that the entire population of Dijon had come out into the streets And indeed, we felt their w friendly attitude towards We felt the sincerity and the ardent love of the people of Di-jon for peace, for friendship be-tween our peoples. Thousands of, people chanted: "Khrushchoy, free Kir,"

But you, of course, under-stand that we could not inter-fere in French internal affairs ough our sympathies were th Canon Felix Kir. I sent with Felix Kir a message regretting that I had no opportunity of meeting him and embraced him in my thoughts as a courageous French patriot and friend of the Soviet Union

Talks With de Gaulle

Comrades, I should like to tell of my meetings and conversa-tions with General de Gaulle. the President of France. Both in Paris and in Rambouillet, the Both President's country - residence, we held talks at a table and during our walks. These frank, good talks; they wer warm, I should say, friendly.

During our negotiations and talks with General de Gaulle we unanimously arrived at the conclusion that the de lopment of relations between the Soviet Union and France in the spirit of friendship and cooperation as well as the establishment of better understanding between us will pro-mote the further relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace in Europe and throughout the world

Dear Comrades, Muscovites, you have now heard our report it. (April 5)

on the work done in France, on the meetings and discussions with General de Gaulle, on the meetings with the French people.

You know that this was the first time in history that the head of the Soviet Government visited the French Republic. The meetings and talks of heads of Governments and States, taking place of late, are of great importance for an international detente, for an improvement in the political climate.

The summit meeting or in Paris on May 10 will be of special importance.

Many complex and difficult disputes have accumulated in the world. The relations be tween States were tense and aggravated over a long postwar period. At one time they re-sembled a cocked gun. But we are not living in the period of ordinary rifles and side nary rifles and pistols now. Now the great States are armed with powerful rockets, atom and hydrogen weapons.

The guns must not be allowed to speak, the voice of reason must triumph in the world. For this sake the Soviet Government and the Soviet r stint no effort. We are strong, patient and persiste t. enough and we shall prove to all people on earth that peace and happi-ness can and must triumph in

Cevlon Post From Page 7 199

urised by a combination of all reactionary forces, both foreign and local, into accept-ing the office of Prime Minis-tership and attempting to form a Government.

The UNP held discussions alternatively with the SLFP and the Federal Party but to no purpose. On the very first day it faced Parlia-ment, the UNP faced ignomine s defeat when its nominee for Speaker was de-feated by Opposition candidate, T. B. Subasinghe, well known Leftist, by 93 votes to 60. But Senanayake still clings to power.

The Throne Speech read.on April 6 contained demagood attempts at fooling the people, like reductions in price of rice, sugar, etc. But no such tricks are likely to succeed. The UNP Government will meet its nemesis on April 22 when the vote on the Throne Speech is likely to be taken.

What next? The Governor-General can can upon leader of the SLFP to try to Covernment. This form a Government. This would be possible if the Left parties agree to support such a Government

This is what the Comm nists have suggested but the other two Left parties, steeped in their sectarian-ism, have not yet indicated their minds. Or else, the Governor-General can order dissolution

At present, there is a per-ect political stalemate. It fect political stalemate. It also means political instabi-lity. But all such periods also indicate tremendous political education. People ar begin ning to learn the lessons of disunity. Very soon, they will have nothing to do with leaders and parties that reject unity. The people want the UNP defeated and they will find their own ways of doing

PAGE ELEVEN

Shattering Blow To Some SOOK REVIEW Economic Illusions

ILLUSIONS by J. R. Campbell. Lawrence and

debate developing debate which convulses the Labour Party in Britain.

The Swatantra soothsayers have seized upon it as clear . evidence of the breakdown of Socialism. The Congress ideo-logues, including some pretty high-placed ones, see in the Gaitskell bid to eliminate Clause Four (demanding public ownership) the vin which tion of "pragmatism," is the latest device to cover the retreat from the procla-mations of Socialism.

Context Of Controversy

To understand the context of the controversy as well as the underlying basic approach which has led to the present Labour idea gical debacle, it would be difficult to find a better guide than J. R. Campbell's crisply written pamphlet.

Some Economic Illusions in the Labour Movement is the ond in the "Socialism Toseries, now being under-

Rs. 3.00.

encouragement.

s and to what great

heights it can reach

truly capable hands. The

as worthless and obscure are bound to fail miserably.

poems by Nagarjun

poet's fancy touche

The present collection con-

Nagarjun has been praised by foes and friends alike as a great novelist. His famous

upon varied subjects.

PAGE TWELVE

tains 29

SOME ECONOMIC taken by Lawrence and Wishart. It reminds one of the Socialist offensive that had been launched some 20 Wishart, London. Price ago by the Left Book Club. 2 sh. 6 d. Dobb's which inaugurated the needs to be widel Q UITE an amount of popularised in our country, in the supply the bolding core to an element of toughness, to supply the holding core, to our own intellectual grappl-ing with problems of our own developn

The crucial thesis advanced by the author is that the "new thinkers" of the Labour Party wish to effect the trans-formation of their party from an organisation struggling to abolish capitalism to one seeking to manage capitalism. This they feel is now possible because of the growth in size. and change in character of the industrial concerns, the growth of a managerial class and the "new and intelligent State", operating in the State", operating in the national economy largely through intricate financial manipulations. Campbell correctly points

out that these all stem from the "new" economics of Key-nes. He, of course, makes it clear that what was new in Keynes was already clearly emunicated by Marx, i.e., that capitalism cannot maintain full employment, equilibrium and growth in a smooth and laissez faire manner. This was the repudiation of Say's law, which was startling for bourgeois academicians who never had the guts to read Marx.

Apart from the flaw in Keynes' understanding of the State-a veritable 'deus ex machina' to him—which Marxists have long ago pointed out, our author goes further and with a wealth of logic and facts gives a shattering blow to the Key-nesian concept of a "mixed economy." This is what makes the pamphlet so utterly topical for all of us.

Mixed

Economy

A mixed economy can mean many things—there can be both Socialist and capitalist variants, in the sense of different economic formations coexisting for a time, under the leadership of one domi-nant formation. What was accomplished in Britain under the Labour Party and what, in a different situation and with obviously dissimilar implications, is being attempted in India is a mixed economy with private capitalist predon

ominance. On the difference between this type of economy and a true Socialist economy Camp-bell writes: "The socially-owned indus-

tries and firms (they need not the economic climate in A special favourite w which the economy can ex-pand, and must be vastly clans and their revision

opposite of the present mono-poly capitalist set-up where the big privately owned mono-polies set the tone and the nationalised industries function as their milch cows." (p. 60).

Another chapter having immediate lessons for us is "The Illusion of Wage Restraint," which also takes up the problem of economic development with price stability under capitalism:

"The great problem, however, is to secure a rapid ex-pansion of the capitalist economy with stable prices. The Labour Party is really making a tremendous claim when it says that it can do this, for most upsurges in the capitalist economy in the past have been accompanied by rising prices.

"The United Nations Economic Survey already mention-ed documents this fully from the closing half of the nineteenth century to the present day. The same survey den that if we take the period from 1950 to 1956 rising prices were 'always wage initiated. On the contrary it is only during a relatively brief period at the end, that wage costs have been the major costs have been the major causal element in price in-creases'." (p. 48)

Economic

Crises

special favourite with

another Hindi poet. This is a tribute that a poet conscious of the role of a people's poet

alone can pay to another per-son. The other poet here is, of course, Kedar Nath Agra-

The review of Nagarjun's

more important than any competers is the argument that enterprises still in private contemporary capitalism has ownership. This is exactly the done away with economic contemporary capitalism has done away with economic crises. The change in form has been taken to mean that the thing itself has dis-appeared. Particularly after the 1957-58 downturn it be-comes difficult to maintain that violent fluctuations are not a characteristic of the most up-to-date of capitalism with all its built-in stabilisers.

> This illusion is central to who attribute magical thas powers to Keynesian doctrines and Campbell blows it up: "It is one thing to say that the main business decisions can continue to be made by the capitalist groups in industry and if a slump occurs the State can be compelled to do something to fight it.

No Alternative To Socialism

"It is an entirely different thing to say that the main decisions can be left in capitalist hands, but the State can so cooperate with the capitalist as to ensure uninterrupted expansion full employment, rising wages and steady prices. This is the totally unjustifiable theoretical 'jump' that the Labour leaders are making, and there is noth ing whatever in the postwar experience-particularly of the experience of the Labour Mox ent from 1946 to 1951-to justify it." (pp 13-14).

The breakdown of these illusions is not meant to Collection Of Nagarjun's Poems create despair but simply to state the home truth that there is no alternative to create despair but simply to Socialism, Decisive inroads, into, concentrated private rty, working class power prop and a planned economy are inescapable whether it be Britain or India. Or else confused thinking will land us in the bog.

-Mohit Sen

CONNUNIST PARTY WELLT

> Printed by D. P. Sinha at the BW AGE PRINTING PRESS Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. him from 74. Asaf Ali Boad

Telegraphic Address MARXBADI SUBSCRIPTION RATES NLAND : Yearly Rs. 12-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.



A FROM BACK PAGE

rocate and an ex-Ministerto move the resolution. The resolution was scrupulously silent is to who was responfor the situation in Algeria.

Oyangi moved an alternate resolution which only sought to mention France by name liming up on all issues inclu-as being responsible for the ding Algeria showed itself to colonial war and continuing be what it was. bloodshed in Algeria. Out of The lone delegate from moderation perhaps or fear Burma was from U Ba Swe's that it might not be accept- defeated party and two of the that it might not be accept-able to this convention, even the alternate resolution did not mention the responsibi-lity of NATO and France's allies as the Algerian National Liberation Front has repeatdone (see for instance edly done (see for instance CNRA's last declaration of February 2, 1960, quoted in New Age of March 27).

But the brave warriors of the Tibet Convention nov out to assume leadership of the entire anti-colon of the entire and over Asia and Africa would not accept a mention even of France alone by name. They said it in so many words that it would spoil the chances of "contillation". Shamelessly they sought to take refuge behind the Nehru-Nasser joint statement.

The stooge from Jordan went to the extent of claim-ing that even the UAR delegate agreed with this omis-sion. The lone UAR delegate was not present in the hall to contradict this malicious statement. But the fact that he had hardly attended any session, never spoke at the convention, whether at ple-nary or at committee stage, together with the well-known stand of the UAR Govern-ment and people was suffi-cient to show up the lie for what it was.

After the Kenya delegates After the Kenya delegates announced their anguished disagreement and collecting all their papers walked out of the hall the rest of the parti-cipants unanimously adopted that shameless resolution without a single mention of French imperialism or France by na

By this single act all of them will stand condemn forever before the people of Africa and Asia and before all those who fight against colonialism anywhere in the world. Never can they claim that they too ar fighting against colonialism too are And this were no mere acci-dent. For with the composition of delegations ass nothing better could be ex-pected. Leaving aside the In-dian delegates and the Tibe-

an Kashag people there were only 40 delegates from abroad. Of these the largest single delegation of eight was from Hong-Kong, four from the American colony of South Vietnam, four from anti-Chinese establishments in Japan, three from Malaya, two from Philippines, two from Turkey (besides two others from that country claiming to represent "Chinese Tukestan").

Indonesian delegation of two was headed by a for-mer Foreign Minister be-longing to the Masjumi Party which was notorious for its anti-national role even be-fore it supported the Ameri--sponsored rebellion against President Sukarno.

The two-man delegation from Lebanon by its conduct over the Algeria resolution

APRTL 17, 1960

ation

T is always a pleasure to novel **Balchanma** has re-read good poetry, though ceived universal admiration. read good poetry, though much in Hindi that is being But in the field of poetry his reputation has been chiefly that of a political satirist.

Publisher: Yatri Prakashan, Calcutta. Pages 64, Price

SATARANGE PANKHONWALI: by Nargarjun. Ankhen Hi Ankhen are unique

put forward today (inci-dentally by a tiny section of the so-called 'modern' The present collection, how-ever, brings him forward as poets) as new poetry is dull, insipid and unpoetic. something more than a mere satirist—though to be a successful political satirist is In fact the term Nai Kavita no ordinary achievement either. Nagarjun of Satarange is being used as a safe garb to couch the morbid, obscure, minilistic obsessions of a few Pankhonwall is a poet with deep sensibility and compas-sion, conscious of his role as socially uprooted individuals. However, all Nai Kavita is not a tribune of the neglected and like that. In fact, there is much in it which deserves not only close attention but poslthe suffering poor, a poet confronted with the task of discovering new modes of ex-pressions, new symbols, new forms for giving proper outlet Nagarjun's present colto the various facets of human experiences and feel-ings in all their complexity. lection of poems is clear indication of what immense potentialities 'Nai Kavita' His two poems Yeh Tum Theen and Neem ki Do Dalen are a break from the conventional forms. Addressing his beloved the poet says, efforts of orthodox critics to water down all new poetry

You have torn asunder The mighty breast of

darkness O crescent of light O yon

The other poems Kale Kale Bhanvanre, Khuradare Pair, tion, O Jan-Man ke Sajag Nak-heen Mukh, Hotin Bas Chitere is a rich tribute to

portraits in verse, pungent in sensibility and moving in denth of compassion. Then lepth of compassion the other poems, viz. Akal Aur Uske Bad, Bahut Dinon Ke Uske Bad, Bahut Dinon Ke Bad, Aisa Kya Ab Phir Hoga emanate from the poet's per-sonal experience of pain and misery, joy and happiness. Only the poet breathing, liv-ing and suffering with the poorest of the poor could write of the famines: The hearth wept for days and the grinding stones were silent. His two other poems, Hate Danuj Dal and Kaisa Lagega Tumhe are devoted to the. lofty theme of peace:

Let every man be happy Let every heart be happy, Let life be livable and worthwhile

Let there be no war Let there be no stagnation Let youth be fearless and brave.

Kaisa Lagega Tumhe is n less powerful and more unique for its simplicity.

and the Jamuna Or gas poisonous Pollutes the Southern wind

as a superman or perhaps a super-poet had nothing else but contempt for the next generation to offer. This poet is no other than Agyeya. Says he: "Come, O Come, walking on my foot-

wal.

steps, obliterating them and abusing me to thy mouthful, Come, O come". As against this Nagarjun has only

If Robbers Treacherous and vicious

Dilute poison In the waters of the Ganges

How will you feel?

The last poem of the collec-

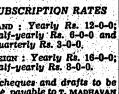
NEW AGE

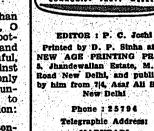
poems would not be complete without a few words on his poem Tum Kishore, Tun Tarun. I am referring to this particular poem since another poet and supposed to be very high and mighty in his own respects, picturising himself

Phone : 25796

FOREIGN : Yearly Rs. 16-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0. All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

APRIL 17, 1960





Take this torch and carry light to every house.

And Nagarjun's poems truly bring new light and faith to

-Munshi

the new generation.

instruction of the second s

modest assurance and un-shakable faith in future to offer to the new generation We are cleaning the poison-ous weeds for you Making new paths.

exposed itself as representing remnants of the the former French rulers of

that country.

tries.

The two-man delegation from Pakistan by dutifully raising the issue of self-determination for Kashmir and

defeated party and two of the four Ceylonese delegates were Buddhist monks.

Only two Nepalese could be got and they came as repre-sentatives of American-sub-sidised Refugee Relief Society.

With the forty-one Indian delegates, most of them notorious not only for their hatred of Communism and China but also for their rabid opposition Talks Must Succeed

to India's independent foreign policy, they com-pleted the picture of an in-ternational mobilisation of stooges of various imperia-lisms and dictators and Nehru-hating Indians parading as patriots and anti-

The Swatantraite orientation became further obvious when along with the running thread of anti-Chinese, anti-Communist propaganda declarations, th so-called antithe convention's so-called anti-colonial reso-lution urged Asian and African countries "in the interests of Afro-Asian solidarity (to) settle all their disputes inter se peacefully and ami-cably, and that the disputes between India and Pakistan including Kashmir to be set-tled in the same manner." The only dispute inter se

among the Aslan countries that should in no case be settled peacefully and amicably in view of the con-vention was the India-China border dispute. For such a peaceful and amicable set-tlement would endanger the "Afro-Asian solidarity" that they have set out to build.

Attending the convention at times one felt that despite its being called a Tibet Con-vention—despite the long pompous presidential address of Chairman Jaya Prakash which dealt almost exclusi-vely with Tibet and closed with the slogan of "Jai Jagat" —a gem of an original contribution to our political voca-bulary it had very little to do with Tibet. Tibet and the Tibetans now in India were mere convenient tools for the nisers. Nobody really had any feeling for them.

The usual resolutions alleging genocide and denial of human rights were passed, the call for raising the Tibet ue at the U.N. was repeated. The Kashag tried

again through the Dalai Lama's message to pretend that the Governmen of Tridia stand on Tibet is identical with theirs. They have seized upon a sentence in one of the Government of India notes to the Chinese Govern-ment to try to show that India recognised Tibet's alleged sovereign status.

This is the old familiar tactic of the Kashag in alliance with the Tibetan patriots in our midst to involve the Government of India further in their game. Such cleverness, however, has failed to pay any dividends so far. One would have thought

"highly successful" "inter-national" gathering which Delhi's bright sun-



G ENERAL Secretary G of the All-India Trade Union Congress S.A. Dange M.P. has called upon all trade unions in the country to observe April 17 South Africa Day.

In a statement ssued in Delhi on Wednesday he urged trade unions to orgameetings nise strations on that day to express their support for the struggle the African pe to protest age the "fascist rule of the racists."

He said resolutions should be sent to the Commonwealth Pre-miers' Conference asking it "to put an end to the oppression of the African people."

The Communist Paru of India is observing a protest week against South African atrocities which closes on April 17.

has given birth to an 'Afro-Asian Council', projecting Jaya Prakash Narayan from the much too narrow Indian scene to the wider scene of two continents, the organi-sers would have at least held a public rally, if not at the Ramila Maidan at least at the Parade Grounds, at least to introduce the honourable foreign delegates to the Delhi public. They, however, did nothing of the sort. The remote precincts of the Vigyan Bhavan Committee room alone were considered safe.

* FROM FRONT PAGE that they have roused nist Party of India is the happiest at what sane opinion has hailed as a among our people to press for a reversal of India's policy of non-alignment. They are the elements welcome development." A who are today calling for a defence Pact with all Asian countries against China. What they want is clear.

happy augury to the New Delhi meeting are the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese agreements on the border disputes between China and these two coun-

Chou En-lai comes to our country as "our honoured guest"—a friend on a misguest — a mend on a mis-sion of peace. But there are people in our country who have been against his visit from the day it was

Acharya Kripalani's statement that "there was no basis for a meeting at present" and that the co was being betrayed—obvi-ously by Nehru and the Government of India—was only the beginning of a campaign to spoil the at-mosphere before the Chi-nese Prime Minister arriv-

ed here. The PSP and the Jan Sangh have directed their demonstrations on April 17 —disregarding Nebru's ap-peal: "The Chinese Prime Minister is coming to India as our guest. He is coming to India on our invitation To stage demonstrations against the invited guest

goes against all canons of our public morality." The Swatantra Party has equally vehemently ex-pressed its opposition to the forthcoming meeting and Ram Manohar Lohia has forecast nothing will come out of the talks.

They organised the Tibe-tan Convention in Delhiwhose proceedings, inciden-tally, have torn their mask of anti-coloniaus. shown them up for what mashamed apothey are—unashamed logists of imperialism

Agents of reaction mas-querading themselves as Political Commentators of influențial dailies have already either doomed the talks to failure or began warning the people against warning the people against Prime Minister Nehru making concessions detrimental the interest of the

nation. All these elements are trying to exploit the un-fortunate differences be-tween the two countries and the incidents on the border and the feelings (April 13)

freedom and peace. If anybody in the coun-iry is doing anything de-trimental to national inte-rests, it is these people. Of them, our Prime right'y said: "My difficulty is they are absorbed with vested interests in opposing any settleme ing any score and india and China," some individual members opposite "are so passionately committed to the cold way attitude. That, is what I call vested interests." This is not an attitude to which the overwhelmin majority of the Indian peo rwhelming

They want India to give up its policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel—the policy

which has earned for India

its present status in Asian and World affairs, their

activities only play into the hands of the enemies of

freedom and peace.

ple subscribe, whatever the passions that have been roused in them by the India-China dispute. Our people's sentiments

were expressed by Vinoba Bhave, when recently adeting in Pun-"India and dressing a mee jab, he said: China are bound to come nearer to each other. In the past the Himalayas separated the two. Now they cannot remain isolat-ed from each other. Any friction between them will not only harm the two the entire world, not for just a few years but for thousands of years to come The two statesmen of

Asia who gave the Panch-sheel to the world, who created the Bandung spirit mg spirit must rise to the occasion and take decisive steps to settle the border so that India an and China -can again in friendly co-operation clear the path for Asia's march forward in peace. This is the ardent wish of millions on both sides and millions more in the other Asian-African countries. This wish must be fulfilled, the Nehru-Chou talks must succeed.

NEW AGE



CENTRAL GOV'T EMPLOYEES **DECIDE ON UNITED ACTION**

T HE meeting of the repre-sentatives of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation, the Confederation of Central Government Employees and Workers, the National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation that was held in Bombay on April 2-3, reported briefly in these columns last week, is a landreported mark in the annals of the Central Government emplovees' movement.

The Government of India has been adding insult to the injury inflicted by the Second Pay Commission by refusing "to give thought to the intensity of feeling and frustration amongst Central Government emplo-

The Finance Minister's replies in Parliament "reveal an piles in rainfantation of the state of the s negotiation with their organons is a virtual repudiation of the principle of s olving prohlems by democratic meth says the resolution unanimously adopted by this Convention.

The Government has been deliberately trying to misrepresent the employees and prejudice their case in public eyes. It out the "financial burdens" that flow from Pay Commission recom but conceal the "benefits that

D UE to the failure of garh.

Delectric supply from Bhakra during the last three-and-a-half months, the indus-

has resulted in huge loss in

production and put the small-scale industrialists to great

hardships, the worst sections

Several thousands of them have been rendered surplus and

retrenched due to closure of shifts, while about two lakhs

have had to suffer severe loss in wages. Most of the industrial

inits being small even the

tion were not available to them.

their hardships. A protest week was observed from

strations and rallies were held

all over the State. This was

followed by four-day protest hunger-strikes in 16 different centres. On April 4, a demon-stration was held at Chandi-

week was observed March 3 to 10 when der

of the State participa

all workers and

mit in electricity, particip

PAGE FOURTEEN

benefits of lay-off compen

hit have been the workers.

the Government would be receiving both by enhancement of working hours and curtailment of existing facilities," points out the resolution.

The Convention has formulated the following demands: Payment of dearness allow-

ance on the basis of the First Pay Commission's recommendations.

G The grant of a national minimum wage for Central Government employees in the light of the principles enunciat-ed by the 15th Labour Conference, and the determination of differentials between Class IV. III, II and I as well as between the unskilled, semi-skilled skilled and highly skilled categories on a rational and equita-ble basis.

• The appointment of a Standing Board consisting of equal representatives of organised labour and the con-cerned Ministries, with a neutral Chairman, to settle disputes relating to scales of pay, and other service conditions con urate with the diversity of occupation, responsibilities, risks and hazards, connected with the duties of various categories in different departments and Ministries.

No curtailment of any existing amenities, rights and

and widespread struggle, the

determination of the repre-sentative character of a union through referendum held bi-annually.

Withdrawal of Rule Withdrawal of Rule 143 and proviso to Rule 1708 of State Railway Establishment Code, Vol. 1 and Rules 4(a) and 4(b) of C.C.S. Conduct Rules and a judicial enquiry into all cases of arbitrary re-moval from service under the above rules above rules.

Convention has decided that Central Goevrnment ployees would do everythi nent emarrive at a negotiated settleint of these grievances. ment of these grievances. But failing this up to May 15, 1960, they would give the call for a strike ballot and organise a strike commencing from the midnight of June 19, 1960.

The Convention has set up a Joint Council of Action of Central Government employees with V. G. Dalvi as Chairman and Peter Alvares as Secretary.

CONDITIONS IN **IISCO MINES**

ung amenutes, rights and privileges. Reference to arbitration of disputes referred by either parties and the recognition of one union in one industry by discussional discussion of the second discussion dis

dustrial Relations Machinery seems to be unable to help

LABOUR NOTES

Even while the case of workmen under a particular con-tractor is before a tribunal, workers are being discharged without providing them with

without providing them with any alternative employment. There were 3606 workmen on February 20, 1960. But on March 19, 1960 there were only 3442, the decline within a month being 164. Five hundred workmen under

intractor at Manoharpur are deprived of provident fund.

Payment of provident fund accumulations is long delay-ed. Workers who have rered or are otherwise ensigned or titled to Te ceine their provident fund have to wait for months together, and repeatedly come to the company from miles away, or from places in Orissa only to get an answer that they better

take another chance. Burnpur workers get Rs. ten Burnpu as dearness allowance. Bu Gua workers are denied this. Incidence of tuberculosi workers is growing allowance. But the tuberculosis

discharge from work. Pump drivers are not provid-ed with even a helper. They cannot leave the pump even for a minute during their shift of

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.

SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

eight hours. Overtime in neighbouring mines is paid at double the nor-mal rates. But in Gua Iron Ore Mines it is the same old tale of ne-and-a-half times the

A worker deposited his ration card after drawing his ration as per official procedure. His card is missing, ration is deed to him now, and he and his family are starving. Workers are abused and

insulted A morker unds abus ed by an officer, When the worker protested against this, he was suspended for five days. On March 30, 1960, the union received a very serious complaint from a woman worker that a welfare officer tried to molest her.

Such are the working condi-tions under Sri Biren Mukher-jee's Martin Burns in these Gua Mines, The United Mines Worker's Union is conducting a campaign against all these n

DELHI VARSITY Vs EMPLOYEES

DR. V. K. R. V. Rao, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi D Chancellor of the Delhi. University has earned fame in the country as an economist. He wants to earn notoriety now as the executive head of the

University. The University and College Karamchari Union of Delhi had submitted its memorandum of demands and grievances consisting of such modest items as eight-hours duty, medical and recreation facilities, confirma-tion, seniority, lunch hour, leave facilities, recognition of union, etc. as early as October 1958

After a lot of agitation a compromise was arrived at in April 1959 and a Personnel Committee was appointed to enquire into the grievances of the amplement the employees.

Nothing came out of this and the agitation was renewed. The University authorities asked the union in August 1959 to give the demands in writing to the Personnel Committee and that they were consulting other Universities and the Central Education Ministry whether such unions existed elsewhere and what the procedure was to

recognise them. Central Education Minister Srimali told the union deputa-tion in May 1959 itself that recognition of the union was en tirely the concern of the Uni-

nothing However, when moved, the union decided to bring out a torch-light proces-sion on February 20, 1960. The University authorities were

uly informed. And now, all the office-bearers of the union have been charge-sheeted, the Ge-neral Secretary has been dis-charged and every empolyee is fined Rs. five for every meeting of the union he has attended attended. The union has now served a

* SEE FACING PAGE

APRIL 17, 1980

WEST BENGAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOTTRA

All eyes are now turned on the crucial by-election the Lok Sabha from the Southwest Calcutta Parliamentary Constituency, polling for which takes place on May 1. The seat fell vacant about one-anda-half years ago when the election of Biren Roy, an Independent, was declared null and void by an Election Tribunal.

HE Communist Party is have the seal of popular apa contesting the seat. Its provall candidate is Indrajit Gupta, In the working class and Party lea- given for der. Opposing him are Asoke Krish na Dutta (Congress) and Adhir Banerjee (PSP).

Indrajit Gupta is a mem-ber of the National Council of the CPI and of the West Bengal Secretariat of the Party. He is the General Se-cretary of the State Trade Union Congress, one of the Secretaries of the AITUC and member of the Permanent Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions Calcutta is justly proud of ts glorious tradition of democratic struggles. It repeat-edly rebuffed the Congress ers in the past. In the last General Elections, it decisi-vely rejected the Congress in 18 out of 26 seats for the State Assembly and three out of four seats for the Sabha. The Congress lost one more Assembly seat to the Opposition in a by-election in 1918t 1958

The New

Experiment

The Congress is naturally

making a desperate bid now to stage a come-back and to recover some of the ground it has lost in this city since 1957

and is adopting all sorts of underhand means to win the

by-election, and then parade to the world that its policies

not yet been photographed. Moreover, about 125,000 per-sons, who have been photographed, have not received their identity cards. Abdul haim, Communist leader and a member of the State Legislative Council who is a voter, got himself photo-graphed about nine months

the polling booth.

six weeks' time.

**** WOMEN'S FESTIVAL *****

A four-day festival is being held at the Ranji Indoor Stadium in Calcutta from April 9 to 12 on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Inter-

national Women's Day. The celebrations have been sponsored by the West Bengal Committee, International Women's Jubilee Festival. It is a very broad-based commi which has been specially set up for the purpose

To mark the inauguration of the festival, a fairly big procession of women was procession of women was taken out on April 9. Saris of variegated hues and flags of different colours lent peculiar charm and grace to the procession.

It was in the fitness of things that Kalpana Dutt of the Chittagong Armoury Raid fame marched at the head of the procession carrying a flaming torch which had been lit earlier at the foot of the marble statue of Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidvasagar in College Square. Pandit Ish-warchandra was one of the ploneers of women's education and social reforms in-Bengal in the 19th century. Shortly after the proces-sion reached the yenue of the Shortly after the process and society." On reached the venue of the The four-day programme elebrations, 50 lamps were of the festival has been drawn lit from the burning torch to APRIL 17, 1960

Day. Sita Devi presided over the day's function and N. K. Siddhanta, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, inaugurated it. Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of Yugantar, was the chief guest. The Mayor of Calcutta conveyed his greetings to the large gathering of women present The Secretary's repor placed by Bhakti Sen. Messages of greetings were received from the Vice-President and the

Prime Minister, the International Preparatory Com-mittee of the Golden Jubilee Festival, Indira Chowdhurani, Ali. Durgabai Deshm Rukmini Devi and the Women's Commission of the Women's Commission of the Society of Soviet-India cul-

tural Commis The idea behind organising this festival in West is to review the progress made by Indian women during the past 50 years and to help them "to organise them-selves better to win equal equal rights and to discharge their duties to the country

up in such a way as to're-

Bhakra during the last three-and a-half months, the indus-tries of Punjab in most cases have been working only for four to five days a week and for six hours a day. While this, has resulted in hurge loss in would be given only to those workers on whose behalf the employers gave a guarantee of repayment. But it has now been forced to accept the work-ers' demand that loans should be given to any worker on his be given w any work of the se-personal security or on the se-curity of any two persons, or of a Municipal Comm The electricity supply has also been restored to over sixty per cent of normal consumption. The Working Committee of

Punjab Workers' Struggle Against

Electricity Cut Wins Concessions

the State TUC met on April and reviewed the position. It came to the conclusion that though significant concessions had been won, much yet remains to be done.

aon were not available to them. The workers, under the leadership of the Punjab State Committee of the AI-TUC, have been fighting a Statewide struggle to miligate their headshifts A contect mains to be done. As a long-term question, it is essential that a standby ther-mal plant be installed to gua-rantee against future mishaps. Immediately a census should be taken of all installed and idle thermal capacity in the State and a plan chalked out for its fficient and proper utilisation

at any time. The loan of Rs. ten lakhs, garh in which over 400 workhe had come by trains. though welcome, is insignifican buses or cycles from all parts in the context of the requirements. On a rough estimate, the workers have already lost about A feature of this struggle was unions. ffected or not by the Rs. three crores. Already applications for loans in Amritsan

★ From SATISH LOOMBA in the campaign, hunger-strikes total over 13,000, in Ludhiana and demonstration at Chandi-in the campaign, hunger-strikes total over 13,000, in Jullundur over and demonstration at Chandi-1,500 and so on. This means garh. As a result of this sustained and widespread struggle, the Punjab Government has now been forced to announce the grant of Rs. ten lakhs as intethe allocated amount should be at least doubled as a first step

The workers have contracted huge debts to live during these months. Apart from those totally unemployed, even those who have been lucky enough to keep their jobs have suffered steep falls in wages—e.g. a weaver in small-scale textiles could small-scale textiles could hardly earn Rs. 30 to 35 per month instead of the usual Rs. 150 to 160. The State TUC has demanded that grants aid be sanctioned to the affected workers.

The authorities have blamed the failure of normal rainfall for the cut in electricity. The TUC agrees, assuming the correctness of this position, that the problem should be tackled along the lines of relief for flood, drought or other natural calamities and relief in the shape of grants be given.

Another aspect of the problem relates to lay-off provisions in the Industrial Disputes Act. in the industrial Disputes Act. As is well-known, this Act pro-vides for payment of half average wages for lay-off to workmen in all factories employing more than 50 workers and up to a maximum payment equivalent to 45 days' wages in

Punjab are small-scale and fall outside the proviso of this Act. Hence the workers have had to endure lay-off for the last three months without a single nava

Even in those factories where they are entitled to such com-pensation, the maximum period pensation, the maximum period of 45 days in a year is over. Now all further lay-off will be unpaid and this means that for the remaining nine months of this year they will be deprived of the benefits of the legislation which was enacted keeping in view "normal" lay-off due shortage of materials, breakdown of power or machinery, etc., and not such an abnormal situation as has existed throughout the State during the last three-and-a-half months.

fore, demanded that at least for the calendar year 1960-61, the State Government should extend the provisions of lay-off compensation in the Act to all factories irrespective of the number of workers employed therein, and should extend the limit from 45 days to 90 days.

State TUC met the Governor and the State Labour Minister and the State Labour Minister and will shortly meet the Union Labour Minister to present their viewpoint. If however the de-mands are not conceded before May Day, the State TUC will have to launch a *dharna* for four days at Chandigarh. Workers all over the State will obany calendar year. Serve a protest day simultane-Most of the factories in the ously wearing black badges.

NEW AGE

Paisa as compensation.

The State TUC has there-

A deputation on behalf of the

versity.

culy informed.

notice of strike.

CALCUTTA, April 11

In the first place, the time given for the by-election is unusually short, perhaps, the shortest in the history of elec-tions to the Lok Sabha. The interval between the announand the date of polling is hardly one month as against the practice of giving at least

Secondly, 100,000 voters or 30 per cent of the total num-ber are sought to be depriv-ed of their franchise. There are 360,000 registered voters in this constituency, which is made up of seven State As-sembly constituencies. For the first time in the country the Election Commission ha introduced the system of pho-tographing voters in this constituency. It is obligatory, and no voter will be permitted to record his vote unless he pro-duces his identity photo at

April 17 has been fixed as the last date for the pho-tographing of voters. But over a lash of voters have ago. But he has been just informed that his photo is missing. If this happens in

DESPERATE CONGRESS BID TO WIN CRUCIAL CALCUTTA BY-ELECTION

the case of a leading citi-

of ordinary voters can be very well imagined. Jyoti Basu, Secretary of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party, had drawn the attention of the Election Commission to the inequity and absurdity of the system in the conditions ob-taining in our country. Women who observe purdah

will never allow themselves to be photographed. Men in many families do not like the photos of their womenfolk to become public property. A large number of women also resent the very idea of their photos being thandled by

Moreover, the method of taking photos is repulsive in the extreme. A sash with the



symbolise the golden jubilee of the International Women's

Dev Aruna Asai nkh

Benga

flect the progress made by Indian women during these years and the problems they have still to overcome.

The programme includes a conference to discuss the problems of women's eduand the contribution of ution of women to Bengali literature since the end of the last century. Eminent lady doc-tors, educationists and women belonging to other professions are taking part in these discus

The programme also in-cludes sports and cultural items, the most interesting features of which are a sports meet in which elderly women will participate, and a cultural performance by old

and young women artistes. The festival has aroused considerable interest among the womenfolk in Calcutta a well as in the districts festival committee had fixe the target for enrolment of Reception Committee men bers at 1,500, the membership fee being Rs. two. But, actu-ally 2,500 members were enrolled. Secondly, many local festivals were held and over festivals were held and over 15,000 women from all sec-tions and professions participated in them.

NEW AGE

voter's number inscribed on zen, the experience of lakhs it is tied round the chest of of ordinary voters can be the voter when the photothe voter when the photo-graph is taken. Scores of cases have happened in which even educated and enlightened women have indignantly refused to be photographed in this manner.

Many among the men also who have to stay out of the city for several days in the month for professional reasons, have not yet been pho-tographed, because they could not find time to wait for their turn at the photographing centres

The issue of photo-cards to those who have been already photographed bids fair to become another racket. To cite an instance, the manager of a big mill in this constituency is reliably understood to have got hold of about 2,000 photo-cards of worker-voters of the mill, which which employs about 8.000 hands. The owner of the mill, one of the top Indian monopo-lists, is a well-known sup-porter of the Congress.

for the There is therefore apprehension that the above an active part in the by-eleclegitimate photo-cards will be distributed only to those workers whose loyalty to the gress is unquestioned. The photo business has

thus become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Con gress. The more restricted the franchise, the better for it. But the manoeuvre is too crude to deceive the citizen of Calcutta, much less the voters of the constituency. The Putiari Branch Com-

n:ittee of the Communist Party and Robin Mukherjee, Communist MLA, have sent telegrams to the Chief Elecinist MLA, tion Commissioner demanding that arrangements, be made immediately for taking the photos of 30 per cent of the voters of Behala, who have

not yet been photographed. Bankim Mukherjee, Deputy Leader of the Communist Bloc in the State Assembly, drew the attention of the Sneaker to this serious matter and wanted to know if the Chief Minister would make a statement. He said that the Chief Election Commissioner be informed in case the West Bengal Government was unable to do anything in the matter. He further demanded that the "experiment" garding identity photogra should be given up in of the situation that had

Election Campaign

Full-scale election cam-paign has not yet begun, but preparations are underway.

The Congress is now en-gaged in hiring its election vorkers in different areas. A big amount of money is un-derstood to have been set apart for this purpose. -The Congress nominee is from one of the wealthiest families of West Bengal, and it would not west the set of big amount of money is un-

be at all surprising if money flows like water in the election contest. The PSP has not done

much till now except putting up posters in some parts of the constituency constituency.

The election campaign of the Communist Party with a launched on Anril 5 mass rally in Behala, which was addresses Lahiri, MLA, Communes leader, and the candidate, Indrajit Gupta. Two days the Party's election connect later, the Party's election office at Alipore was opened by Muzaffar Ahmad in the presence of a select gathering of Hindu and Muslim citizens of the area. Somnath Lahiri, Muzaffar Ahmed and Indrajit Gupta addressed the gath-

ring. Baithak meetings, postering and other forms of mass campaigning have just start-ed. The West Bengal State ed. The West Bengal State Council of the Party has apprealed to all members, sup-porters and sympathisers of the Party in Calcutta to throw their full wight into the election battle, emphasising that their main nolitical tion. Party units outside Calcutta have been asked to launch immediately a mass election fund drive and ren-der help in various other types of jobs.

MADRAS MILL **BEOPENS**

***FROM FACING PAGE**

HE Buckingham and Carnatic Mills reopened in the morning of April 5, 1960, folg a settlement with the According to this settlelowing a ment the management has res-cinded the order of dismissal passed on the union represen-tatives and has modified the punishment to one of suspension for seven days and a transfer from the carding departaent to the workmen's stores. The workers of the carding

department will lose wages for having stopped work and the loss of two days' production due to the lock-out on April 3 and 4 will be made good by the workmen working on two weekly holidays some time du-

ring the year. But this strike in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills is only one of the many troubles arising out of lack of recognition of legitimate trade union activity by the employers. According to one yers. According to one source, out of 237 strikes that had out of 251 strikes that naa taken place in Madras State during 1959 as many as 207 were due to "deterioration of standards of mutual courtesies."

Employers do not recognise mions. Even where unions are recognised, as the B & C Mills there is no grievances machi-nery to settle grievances spe-cially at departmental levels.

PAGE FIFTEEN



Indrajit Gupta

BEHIND THE MASK OF ANTI-COLONIALISM **REGD. NO. D597** TIBET CONVENTION WAS A **COLD WAR SHOW** 🗮 🛧 by ZIAUL HAQ

despicable The rabid anti-Communists and the stooges of imperialism that had gathered in the lavishstooges of imperialism that had gathered in the lavisi-ly put up show of the Tibet Convention in the Indian Capital's Vigyan Bhavan last week were shown up in their true colours in the last minutes of their last day's session.

FACED with the gang's arrogant and ham-han-ded conduct and its refusal to take a clear and straightto take a clear and straight-forward stand against impe-rialist oppression in Africa-more particularly against their refusal to name French imperialism as the aggressor responsible for carrying on the bloody war against Alge-ria-the Kenya delegation ria the Kenya delegation was forced to announce its withdrawal and dissociation from the convention. from the convention.

This two-member This two-member delega-tion was the only one at the convention that had come from a movement actually engaged in active anti-coloengaged in active anti-colo-nialist struggle. Jafetha Mbaja Oyangi, its leader is the Organising Secretary and Elijah Mukaya, the other member, is an Assistant Se-cretary of the People's Con-vention Party of Kenya whose President is Tom Mboya. The mask of anti-colo-nialism and solidarity with

resident is Tom MDOYS. The mask of anti-colo-nialism and solidarity with the African peoples with which the organisers were trying so hard to cover up their anti-Communist, cold

war show was torn apart war show was torn apart when before leaving the conference hall, Oyangl charged them with water-ing down the stand on Af-rica and taking a soft and compromising attitude to-wards French imperialism over Algeria.

over Algeria. Repeatedly he pleaded with the convention's chairman Jaya Prakash Narayan that with such resolutions as the convention was being asked to adopt on Algeria and on colonialism he would not be colonialism he would not be able to show his face in his country and in Africa. He appealed to the chairman and to the convention not to press those "shameful" reso-lutions.

Gagged And Heckled

Both Oyangi and Mukaya also pleaded that the inclu-sion in the anti-colonial reso-lution of the demand for safeguards for minorities in African territories like Kenya was a misleading demand

which cast aspersion on their national movement, hamper-ed the evolution of a unified ed the evolution of a miner nation and weakened the freedom struggle. They ex-plained that in Kenya they had agreed upon a bill of rights for all citizens and this had been accepted by mino-rities of Asian origin and even by people of European origin.

As they tried to explain their position they were sought to be gagged and hecktheir sought to be gagged and neur-led by the stooges from Hong-Kong and Malaya which coupled with the peevish, superior and authoritarian attitude of the chairman (Jaya Prakash Narayan) sur-rounded them with an atmosphere of hostility. Minoo Masani got up to regale them with a long and insulting lecture on how "every civili-zed country" had provided zed country" had provided safeguards for minorities and it was there in the Indian Constitution and he as Chair-man of U. N. Commission on Minority Rights knew all about it.

Oyangi was supposed to be the chairman of the Anti-Colonial Committee and it

transpired that in dratting the resolution on colonialism he was overruled and changes made behind his back. He had been superseded and the drafting had been taken over by the gentlemen of the Con-gress for Cultural Freedom by the gentlemen of the Con-gress for Cultural Freedom. They considered many of the burning problems of Africa as of little significance, not deserving of even a mention in the resolution.

Shameful Stand

mderolayed They mess of the situation seriousness of the situation in Africa and, as Oyangi suggested, the obvious aim seemed to be to tone down the struggles of the African errion people and push them into paths of compromise paths of compromise and surrender. (The draft, for instance, appealed "parti-cularly to those Western Powers that have already Powers that have already recognized the march of events of our times and have won goodwill and often, friendship of the dependent people who have had their freedom restored,

WERE CALLED

BE USED AS

not to cling to their colonial possessions. Such a persistence is bound to destroy that goodwill.")

The Kenya delegation was also disturbed and repelled by the attempt to push into the resolution on colonialism extraneous irrelevant and and resolution on colonialism extraneous irrelevant and such obvious cold war issues as the alleged "denial of the right of self-determination to-the people of Eastern Turkes-tan by the Chinese Commu-nist Government and to the people of the Soviet Muslim Republics by the USSR." If made them very suspicious-and doubtful about the con-vention and its organisers and whether they wanted any fight at all against coloany fight at all against colonialism.

Finally on the issue of Al-geria they saw through the game in all its naked shame-lessness. Jaya Prakash Narahad already announced that no agreement had been reached on the issue in the closed plenary morning secsion.

He asked the man from Jordan-described as an ad-* SEE PAGE 13

TO

- Interviewed After ----WE Their Walk-Out From Convention COLD WAR WEAPONS Kenya Delegates Say

T HE morning after the bubble of the Tibet Convention was burst by them, I along with the representatives of an-other Delhi weekly called on the Kenya delegates Jafetha Mbaja Oyangi and Elijah Mukaya at an M. P.'s residence in the Electric Lane where they were putting up. Both of us Pressmen were

Both of us Pressmen were eager to meet these two courageous fighters from Africa who had rendered what we considered a great service to the cause of the apticolonial struggle by anti-colonial struggle by turning their back on the Tibetan Convention which as an afterthought claimed that it was against colonialism also.

Immediately after their walk-out the previous even-ing we had to restrain our urge to follow the two young African leaders and to talk over the incident, because we had noticed that another Pressman, from quite a respectable news-agency, who had tried to accompany them in the Immediately after their to accompany them in the lift was physically pulled out from there by an Inlift

dian employee of the USIS. Later the two Kenyans were collared in the lounge by that leading ideologue of the Congress for Cultural Freedom Prabhakar Padhye. After a long argu-ment when they disentangled themselves from Padhye, the Kenyans were heard to say: "Ours are two dif-ferent paths. We can never agree.

agree." Next morning when we called on Oyangi, he told us that they had come to the conclusion that this convention was an anti-Communist affair; it had nothing to do with the fight against-colonialism. "We found that we Africans were called here to be used for carrying on the cold for carrying on the cold war in Asia."

Oyangi was indignant and said that they had been called all the way from their country on faise pretences. Some sort of de-ception and fraud had been played. "We were told that the convention would consider the questions of strug-gle against colonialism in Asia and Africa.

Asia and Africa. "They appointed m chairman of the Anti-Colo me nial Committee but I found that most of them were that most of them were concerned only with China and Russia and the alleged colonisation of Tibet and Turkestan and the Muslim Republics of the USSR. They were not concerned with the doings of French with the doings of French and British and Portuguese and Spanish colonialists in Africa.

"It appeared to ma # Oyangi went on to explain, "that for them bringing in of Africa was just by the way, something which they thought would draw us to join them in their main business of opposing Commnnism.

and in "We in Kenya and in many other parts of Afri-ca," he said in all earnest-ness and solemnity "are net enemies of anybody in the world. We are friends of everybody and we want to work with everybody who is prepared to work with us. We want to take bein from "We in Kenva We want to take help from every quarter, provided there are no strings at-tached." tached."

tached." " He then went on to tell us how strongly all Africa felt about Algeria and how determined they were to bring about the defeat of colonialism there. "We have dealed to give our fullesh colonialism there. "We have decided to give our fullest support to our bothers in Algeria to gain their inde-pendence. If France doesn't pendence. If France doesu t listen to world opinion we have decided we will send. volunteers from all over Africa to, fight against France in Algeria."

Further, he explained how strongly they felt about the struggle against racial oppression in South Africa and against colonial

Arrica and against continua rule in other parts. "That being the case we were shocked to find that the delegates to this con-vention would not appre-ciate our position and

our would not support our stand on African questions On the contrary they wantquestions. on the contrary they want-ed and kept on trying all the time that we should change and water down our stand."

This came to a head sharply on Algeria, he said, but it was so on other is-sues, too, like Kenya and Central Africa.

Oyangi said that he had attended other international conferences before but never a conference so "onenever a conference so "one-sided". He was referring to the anti-Communist cha-racter of the convention. With great conviction and sincerity he said, "Without the existence of the East-ern bloc (he meant the Soviet Union and the So-cialist countries) there muld here here no. Queescialist would have been no ques-tion of freedom for Africa." That is why, he said, they were opposed to those issues of Central Asian Republics and Turkestan being raised.

In the closed session, he revealed that the delegates sion, he from Hong-kong had called for "liberation of mainland China" and for Chiang Kai-shek's rule being im-posed there. "Nobody repu-diated them-not even the Chairman, Jaya Prakash Narayan," said Mr. Oyangi adding, "We felt this con-vention could serve no good purpose."

Explaining further their stand on China he said, "We recognise the fact that China is represented by Communist (People's) Chi-na and Chiang Kai-shek is a dictate without env sup-

na and Chiang Kai-shek is a dictator without any sup-port in the people." Oyangi said that at one stage in the closed sessions he could not help remark-ing on the attitude of cer-tain delegates that they looked like American or French stooges. Jaya Pra-kash Narayan was shocked at this remark and his "mood changed comple-tely."

After further elaborating his stand in the question of minorities and how the bill of citizen's rights served the purpose without harming the independence struggle, Oyangi again summed up his impressions of the conhis impressions of the con-vention saying: We have little hope of any good coming from this conven-tion. We have dissociated ourselves from all its activi-ties and we shall not take part in the organisation it has set up. Both Ovangi and Mukawa

Both Oyangi and Mukaya said they would do every-thing to remove any possi-ble misunderstanding that might have been caused by their attending the convention.