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Sidetrack Conflicts On Policies

******* * by E. M. S. NAMBOODIBIPAD

The coming event of early 1962-the Third General Elections in the country has already started casting its shadow over the Congress.

CIGA YOONA

Behind the heated discussions that took place at the Poona Session of the AICC on the democratic election or nomination of the Working Committee, putting an end to bogus primary membership of the Congress, the relation between the parliamentary and organisational wings of the Congress, etc., lay the question as to who in the Centre and in the States will have control over the selection of Congress candidates for the 1962 General Elections.

called jockeying for position and power has been going on at all levels of the Congress. How to end this evil has been under discussion for quite under disc

It was, however, at the re-cent Poona session of the AICC that the most respected all-India leaders of the Con-gress were made the targets of criticism on these lines. Hanumanthyya, the for-mer Chief Minister of Mysore, former oner Minister of Mysore, went to the extent of accus-ing-Prime Minister Nehru of "perpetuating his own leader-ship and favouring his own persons." (Free Press Journal, June 5, 1960)

It was left to Prime Min-ister Nehru not only to re-cognise the strength of feel-ing expressed in the AICC (which he did by voting for the opposition resolution (which he did by voting for the opposition resolution that at least one-third of the Working Committee should be elected), but also to make it clear in a speech that the issue involved in the admitted "jockeying for

* SEE PAGE 4

I may been admitted for twatter the the that what is to the time that w RELEASE OR TRY TARA SINGH ****** **Communist Protest Against Punjab Repression**

AUG 5 - 1960

HE 75-member Punjab L State Council of the Communist Party of India has characterised the ar-rests of Master Tara Singh and other Akali leaders as unjustified and unwarran-ted and has demanded T ted and has demanded their release, the lifting of the bans under Section 144 and freedom to resume publication of the newss h papers whose presses have been sealed. The Council's

been sealed. The Council's resolution reads: The Communist Party, with a glorious record of struggle against commu-nalism, has consistently disapproved of all commu-nal movements in the Sta-te, over the question of language and linguistic State. For they divide the Punjabi masses on religijabi masses on religi-communal basis and Punjabi ma

disrupt the unity of Pundisrupt the unity or run-jabis for a national scien-tific solution of the ques-tion. Such movements im-pede the unity of the com-mon masses for a better mon masses for a better life and thereby indirectly strengthen the hands of the Congress Government.

the Congress Government. Nevertheless, the Punjab State Council of the Com-munist Party of India con-siders the action of the Punjab Government in ar-resting Master Tara Singh under the Preventive De-tention Act, rounding up a large number of Akali lea-ders, workers and others under Section 107|151 and imposition of Section 144 in many districts as unwarmany districts as unwar-ranted and unjustified.

Promulgation of Section 144 to ban all public meet-

processions and deings. monstrations in the entire districts of Bhatinda, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ambala and the towns of Patiala District, not only of a com-munal character but of all munal character but of all political parties and mass organisations, under cover of meeting the Akali move-ment, is a reprehensible attack against the demo-cratic movement. The State Council virocously con-Council vigorously con-demns this blanket ban on definits this branket beau on all political activity and normal functioning of mass organisations under cover of meeting the Akali move-

It further condemns restrictions imposed on Pratap and Hind Samachar and the virtual ban on publica-tion of Akali and Prabhat.

dailies and the arrest of their entire staff as a vicious attack on the freedom of the Press and the civil liberties of the people.

The State Council de-mands that: (1) Master Tara Singh be released or put on trial in a regular court of law; (2) Akali lea-ders, and other arrested workers be released; (3) the blanket ban on public meetings and processions under Section 144 be lifted forthwith; (4) the news-papers banned from publi-cation through sealing of their presses be allowed to resume publication and working journalists be re-leased forthwith and resleased forthwith and res-trictions imposed on Pra-tap and Hind Samachar be removed.

The Punjab Council of the Communist Party of India, in a resolution adopted at its session in Jullundur from June 3 to 6, 1960, has explained the Party's stand on the question of language and reorganisation of the Punjab State on linguistic basis. The text of the resolution reads:

HE States Reorganisation Commission had general-ly recommended formation of linguistic States elsewhere in India. It rejected the demand, India. It rejected the demand, supported by the Communist Party, for Greater Delhi or Hariana Prant and a Pun-jabi-speaking State in the North

Following it, the Government Following it, the Government of India could get away with summary rejection of the de-mand because of the absence of a united popular move-ment to back it. Therefore, with the merger of PEPSU (which in itself was a wel-come step), the Punjab was retained as a bilingual State, comprising of two distinct Punjabi and Hindi zones.

The Congress High Com-mand and the Government of India, however, struck a deal with the Akali leadership on the basis of the Regional Formula. The State was divi-ded into two regions, the Punjabi and Hindi regions, although Kangra, a Punjabi-speaking district, was arbi-trarily attached to the Hindi region with which it had no territorial contiguity either. The Congress High Comterritorial contiguity either.

The Akali leaders were only too willing to become a party to this arbitrary decision, because they were more con-cerned with communal per-centages and positions of adtheir Hindu vantage over counterparts than with the unity of the Punjabi people. with the

Under this formula, Pun-jabi was to be the language of administration in the Pun-

jabi region and Hindi in the Hindi region. Two Regional Committees of the Assembly were set up, one for each re-gion, to deal with legislative measures pertaining to sub-jects of development and gion, to deal with legislative measures pertaining to sub-jects of development and local self-Government, before the Assembly finally passed them in the light of recommendations made by them.

The Akali leaders, as a part The Akali leaders, as a part of this bargain, gave up their slogan of "Punjabi Suba", amended the constitution of the Shiromani Akali Dal to turn it into a non-political cultural-religious organisa-tion and joined the Congress together with their followers en masse. They were given 24 on masse. They were given 26 Congress tickets for election to Assembly and some for election to Parliament in the 1957 General Election and later on a seat in the Cabinet. and

The Regional Formula was a step forward, in the sense that it recognised two sepa-rate, linguistic regions of Punjab and if implemented sincerely, it could be helpful in advancing the cause of the Punjabi language and in uni-fying the people of Punjab as well. The Regional Formula was

But the Congress Govern-ment has failed to implement the Regional Formula. The Regional Committees have Regional been reduced to the status of mere select committees of the Assembly. The Government has failed to take steps to accord proper status to Pun-jabi as the regional language

* SEE BACK PAGE

ANTI-COMMUNISM LEADS U. P. P. S. P. INTO BLIND ALLEY

The revelations made at the Fifth State Conference of the U. P. Praja Socialist Party, held at Mau-nathbhanjan in Azamgarh District from May 20 to 22, have shocked even the most ardent supporters of the party. Hence the conference which had been convened for the obvious purpose of boosting up the drooping morale in preparation for the Third General Elections in 1962 ended up by spreading a sense of greater frustration and nessimi

it.

HE report presented by the General Secretary of U. P. party, Chandra the U. P. party, Chandra Shekhar, gave a dismal picture. Quoting some telling figures he said that at the conference, held in November 1958, membership quota for the State was fixed at 175,000, but only 63,170 members could be enrolled even though the party was not putting any standards for membership.

The party had decided to organise 4,500 primary units in villages, but not even 15 of them had been set up. The party had given a call for a Rs One Lakh Party Fund and spent nearly Rs. 1,500 in printing and sending donation coupons to the districts, but the money collected did not exceed Rs. 459!

The General Secretary said that "most of the units had not sent their membership quota of even those members o had been enrolled. No had they sent any lists of active members."

Speaking about the character of the Praja Socialist Party in the State he haid, "A let of opportunist ele-"A let of opportunist ele-ments have got into the party only for the purpose of getting seats in the elec-tions. Among these are a number of feudal elements. They care two hoots for discipline. They consider themselves above the party, much bigger than the party

Woesome

Tale

Continuing the woesome tale he said that things in the Ass mbly Party were worse. Many members of the party in the State Legislature "take pride in violating discipline.... Some of them do not even care to fill up the party form.... A legislator member of the party from Hardoi has resigned from membership of the party, two others are reported to have joined the Swatantra Party, but the party does not even know of these things..... Some party legislators cast votes against the party cans in the elections to the State Council and the Rajys Sabha.... But we are afrai to take any action against any of them lest our numbers should be reduced."....

He further said that "our work in the legislature was no

The party has no mass organisations left. The Hind Kisan Panchayat had died a long time ago. The PSP,

PAGE TWO

as an organisation. hardly ever existed among the students or youth of the State. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha is riven with dissensions—in their recent ses-sion there was an open split and some members and Dream their unions walked out of

Elucidating the perform ce of the party further, the General Secretary said that they had suffered defeats in all the by-elections to the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha. In the Corporation elections, the Jan Sangh had reduced them to the third position. They had lost a lot

B ANKING plays a pivo-tal role in a country's economy. Hence, it is only

logical that the state of its

health is closely watched by the authorities. Other-

develop tendencies inimical

to national interests. In

India this task of report-ing on the Trend and Pro-gress of Banking has been

ably performed by the Re-

serve Bank during the past few years, although its findings have not always

been acted upon by the Finance Ministry or even its own executives. Like previous years, this

year too, the Reserve Bank has come cut with its an-

nual report which throws light on many a facet of Indian banking which peo-

ple in general know little

about. It also indirectly indicts the Reserve Bank itself for not taking timely

measures to curb certain

undesirable trends in In-

dian banking, of which it had all through been well

Thus although the "in-

flationary pressures" which the Reserve Bank now sees

as obtaining in the econo

my had been there even last year, it continued to

rely mainly on "moral sua-sion and selective credit

controls" to arrest them.

aware.

purposes suffered.

se, left to itself, it might

by the

of ground in the eastern districts of the State which were regarded as their traditional mmunists.

The party gave a number of calls for observing such "days" as Anti-Kerala Ministry Day, Kerala Liberation Struggle Day, Tibet Day, Anti-Chinese Aggression Day. But the "days" had been dis-graceful failures. Most of the units did not bother about them at all.

Unfulfilled

They had done their worst to utilise the India-China border dispute to malign the Communist Party and to stage a hero's come back on the political scene of U. P., but even that had brought no salvation. Whatever the questionable dividends. they gathered by the Jan Sangh or the Congress.

The deposits of schedu-led banks during 1959 at-tained the peak figure of Rs. 1,816 crores, but the

credit-deposits ratio show

ed a fall of 4.6 per cent compared with the pre-

vious year. The share of

industrial advances in the

total also declined from 48 per cent in 1958 to 45 per

cent in the following year.

affluence there was a ten-dency to hold back funds,

or to lend them dispropor-

tionately to the advantage of non-industrial (largely

this when industry, espe-cially in the public sector.

culative) purposes. And

Thus, simultaneously

speculative) pu this when ind

The dream to emerge as a powerful second party in the State, a party which could offer itself as a convincing alternative to the Congress, had remained as distant as ever, if it had actually not receded into the background.

All this was reflected in the attendance at the conference. On the strength of the mem-bership, 1,200 delegates were entitled to attend the conference, they were even said to have been "duly" elected. But not more than 200 came to Maunathbhanjan! Out of the 52 members of the State Legislature and Parliament, belonging to the party, only 11 had cared to come to the conference.

Lamenting the fact that even these 200 delegates were "not genuine", the General Secretary pointed out that "a great many of them had filled up the party membership form and paid their subscrip-

What did they do at this conference, which the Presi-dent of the session, Udit Narain Sharma described as "the most important confer-

ence of the party before 1962," to remedy this bleak and hopeless situation? What slogans did they evolve? They passed a number resolutions on the "economic situation", "on labour," on

"party organisation," Nothing much need be said about these resolutions, be-cause essentially they have nothing new in them. They are the sort of resolutions that are passed by all the democratic opposition parties.

4-:332

tion at the conference site itself."

🚍 🔒 From RAMESH SINHA

Anti-Congress Resolution

The resolutions, however, had a clear anti-Congress edge. The resolution on lab-our, for instance, noted:

"During the last twelve years unemployment, eco-nomic disparity, and econo-mic uncertainty have grown in the State. On the one hand the burden of work on

* SEE FACING PAGE

NOTES

NO ALTERNATIVE TO INSIDE OUR NEWS & NATIONALISING BANKS ECONOMY

with

FICCI AND PRICES

THE Federation of the Indian Chambers of mmerce and Industry Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has seldom been free from partisanship in its approach to problems of national development. Lately, however, it has been much more unasha medly coming out as a narrow sectarian organisation, which has little or no sympathy for interests

was literally abegging for ght to prove that the present pricing policy of the Government was "far from progressive" and required to be "rationalised and modified"

Castigating the price fixing authorities for having in the forefront "the objective of reducing pri-ces somehow" the Commu-nique pontifically pointed out that "greater produc tion alone provides the key to reduction in prices." It, however, did not explain why in that case this key did not work last year when the index of indus-trial production (with 1951 as 100) went up to 151 from 139.7 in the previous year.

therefore, been indirectly linked with increase in industrial production. Ra-ther, the two have been in a direct relationship in June 7, 1960

munique laments The FICCI's concern for increasing production can very well be appreciated, but why should at least a

spite of the official pricing

policies which the Com-

loast 8 part of the benefit of the ed production not trickle down to the consumer? As it is, the Tariff Commission has already provided for a return of 12 per cent on block capital almost in all industries (it was ten per cent earlier). Why should the FICCI crave for more, especially when the expansion of existing capacities or float-ing of new schemes has not been arrested because of lack of funds? On the con en arrested because of trary, according to the latest Report on the Work-ing and Administration of the Companies Act, private sector companies Act, private sector companies increased their paid-up capital by Rs. 128 crores during 1956-

forth various arguments for buttressing its case. All these, however, having been repeated ad nauseam do not amount to much. Still, the FICCI cannot but reiterate them since it has o make a "case" how. Otherwise, as ever one of its leading lights, Bharat Ram, confessed in America, "even in industries where price regula-effect, tions wer growth went on as before."

- ESSEN

JUNE 12 1960

WHOSE **DACOITS ?**

V INOBAJI'S tour of the Chambal Valley might not have converted its notoous ravines into havens for the peaceful, but it has led to convulsions neverthele Newspaper reporters and

other ungodly sceptics were being quite a bit sacrast the prospects of the Bhoodan leader's mission.

Suddenly the debate jumped to another plane. I.G. of Police in M ladhya Pradesh, K. F. Rustamji, fired off a broadside not against the dacoits but against the Sarvodaya pada yatris. He complained that the polic were being demoralis that dacoits were being given the status of heroes.

It was a bold statement. no doubt. The Rashtrapat himself had congratulated Vinobaji and the Chief Minister and Governor had come to pay their respects. And yet an ordinary I.G. of Polic te gumption to lash out t the whole scheme of had the min itt-conversion

After all, it is against all rules for the I.G. of Police to come out with any kind of policy statements, in

ANY LESSON

such moves.

the pitch.

anti-Communist

* FROM FACING PAGE

the workers has increased and his standard of living has gone down, and on the other, concentration centralisation of w centralisation of wealth and property in the hands of the capitalist class have constantly grown. Today, in most of the industries, the workers do not have either the minimum wage or security of service...."

The resolution on the economic situation, after point-ing out that "the Congress Government has miserably Government has miserably failed" in "eradicating un employment, poverty, capitalist exploitation and tion....despite the heavy burdens of debts and taxes it has imposed upon the peo-ple," said: "It (the Congress Government) wants to dress up its capitalist policy in the of Socialism. This creates ideological confu so which is harmful for the progress of Socialism....

Administering a stern re-buke to those in the party who hobnob too much with the Congress, or even dream of some alliance with it, Udit Narain Sharma, the re-elec ed President of the State PSP said :

"In my opinion, instead of courting death by going close to the Congress, it would be much better and nobler for us to die propagating the new Social and economic values in which we believe...."

There has been no occasion for the PSP in Uttar Pradesh yet to think of rushing into the arms of the Congress, as in Kerala or West Bengal, first, because the party per haps still harbours hopes of developing into an alternative party and secondly, because

JUNE 12, 1980

ence. They took resort to all sorts of lies to achieve this inglorious end. For instance, Faridul Haq Ansari, a man

Prices in India have not,

These proving ineffective, a policy of "freezing" of additional resources was adopted. The result of this dilly-dallying was a big spurt in unproductive use of bank's resources, while advances for industrial nationalisation, there is little likelihood of this re-medy suggesting itself to the Government. But then, proportionately what else is the alterna-

NEW AGE

taking suitable measures in time to channelise sche duled banks' resources into useful lines. At the same time it spotlights the need for more drastic control on the working of the banks, which have been left too long without the leash. Morarji being allergic to nationalisation, there is

resources. The banks, however, reaped a rich harvest as a result of easy gains accru-ing from advances for non-industrial purposes. The net profit of the largest 25 among them (with depo-sits of Rs. five crores and above) increased by Rs. 0.3 crores in the course of one year. The Report thus clearly brings out the Reserve Bank's incompetence in

other than it represents. In keeping with its new In keeping with its new role it issued a Communi-que last week, which sou-

The FICCI has brought



the first place. In addition this criticism was made without any reference to his Ministerial superiors, who were all away at the Poona jamboree. Finally, not so many dacoits had surrendered as to pose any very serious law-and-order why the statement?

And how the courage? It is widely reported that some on the dacoits were some on the dacoits were coming out with quite a lot of uncomfortable stories They were pointing out, with an alarming wealth of detail, how the police in trying to track down one dacoit creat-ed ten more. Terrorisation of villagers, molestation of women, burning of homes destruction of agricultural implements—such were the ways of the police. Naturally this resulted in a big crop of desperadoes.

To rob these stories of their sting, Rustamji, it is said, decided to take the offensive. And he knew he

could. Congress politicians would find it very difficult to stand up against him since the police had plenty of information on how some of them had used the dacoits for their personal and party ends!

It is even said that the police have on record deals between dacoits and Congress leaders aimed against fellow Congressmen, let alone other opponents. So if Ministers rebuked the I.G. of Police he could reveal a thing or tuno.

And Rustamji knows his bosses. Katju and everybody else who matters in the Ma dhya Pradesh Congress let alone calling him to order, have either supported his statement or kept guiltily mum. But when an I.G. of Police rebukes our Rashtra pati it is time enough for even Congress Ministers to wake up. Or else they might some day, have to take to the ravines themselves.

entirely removed from the people and living mostly on his anti-Communism, said,

"The Communist Party ex-presses sympathy with China and not with India....Sri

Ansari named a well-known

leader of the Communist

Party and said that his son

stole an important paper of our country and went to Delhi to hand it over to the

Shibbanlal Saxena, who has

closest relationship with the Communist Party, I have visi-

ted the Soviet Union five

times and China four times

with the tactles of the Com-munists. They want only to deceive...." (Aj, May 23)

Of course, those who were

tell that all this sounded foolish and hollow. It looked like, as a returned 'delegate'

present at the conferen

told me, "a ghost-fight.

The result was the frustra

ted men felt more frustra-

Udit Narain Sharma, giv-

ing expression to this de-pressing mood, said, "It is

difficult for democratic So-cialism to succeed in a back-

ward country...." Hence there was no hope for them

Is there any wonder then that the deliberations should

end on gloomy forebodings of

"death"? Of course, they have said that they would prefer

to die preaching their values

and opposing the Congress, etc., but, actually, they are

anti-Communism. When will

NEW AGE

they see their mistake?

China.....'

Ambassador of (Aj, May 21)

M. R. A. MILLIONS

A FTER the full-page ad-vertisement the Morai Rearmament mobsters are preparing for a bigger plunge Indian politics.

Their leader and new saint Dr. Buchman's 82nd hirth. day did not go unnoticed. nnath Padmanabhan sent off an obsequious mes and many daily papers duly printed it.

It is as well that we know a bit about their activities in other countries. New States-man of June 4 carries a hard-hitting article by Tor Driberg which gives a lot of unsavoury but useful facts.

It seems Dr. Buchman's account of the origin names of his movement has varied from edition to edi-tion of the British Who's Who. But sticking to consistency in all the editions is one personal detail - Dr. Buch man writes that he studied at Cambridge from-1921-22.

Dribera uprites "Since Dr Buchman, as a professor of Absolute Honesty, would not wish to mislead the public it seems odd that this detail has not been corrected or ampli-fied." He then quotes a statement by Sir Alan Herbert of int: "He has no more right to say that he studied at Cambridge than anyone ho reads a book in a Cam bridge pie-shop," So the great MRA Saint has been caught telling a lie-despite years of public confeed this untruth has not been found out.

Then Driberg gives rather longer extract than usual of Buchman's infamous statement about Hitler. "I thank Heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism. ... Of course, I don't condone everything the Nazis do Anti-Se Bad naturally. I suppose Hitler sees a Karl Marx in every Jew:" What more can be said which would be a bigger indictment of this onstrous man.

About the change in emphasis of MRA-from a Christian missionary movement (it was first called the First entury Christian Fellowship) to an "ideological" antidote to Communism, Drierg writes:

"Some of these allies (in the anti-Communist crusade) would shun an evangelistic novement that may reco sably Christian and Protestant. Asia, and especially India, must have seemed to MRA and its American suporters a key sector in the obal struggle. MRA must, therefore, be so projected in India that it would not appear to the most devout Hindu or Muslism to be just another Christian mission."

So ends justify means-but dooming their party on the { that surely is one of the cen-tragically mistaken plank of { tral evil heresies which MRA

condemns as part of the Communist creed.

After this Driberg takes up an MRA pamphlet called Ideology and Coexistence "which is said to have gone, or to be going, into every home in Bri-tain and most of Western Europe, at a cost that cannot be much less than one mil-lion pounds." This pamphlet is "insistent that campaigns against nuclear arms, for East-West trade and for recognition of Peking are all part of the Communiste' world-drive"—also all a part of the Government of India's foreign policy, however,

Then Driberg asks a really leading question: "Whom does MRA really benefit most? Mr. Bernard Harris, in the Sunday Express has suggested that 'financial backers' of the booklet might possibly include the American State Department. Indeed it is difficult to raise a million pounds from the 'pennies of the people.'... official American backing for the booklet, is perhaps more likely to come from .he FBI or from Mr. Allen Lulles's agency...."

Here you have a Labour Party member and a writer in a very true-blue Conservative newspaper coming to the same conclusion. What are our Indian MRA fans ng to do about this?

IMPORTANT AMERICAN

T HERE was recently quite a lot of necessary row made about the activities of a Quiet American in New Delhi, who handles the Rockfeller Fund hand-outs and controls a not so cooperativ Union of Cooperatives. It was suggested, and backed with facts. that all this was a cover for something very espionage.

It was almost decided that his visa should not be renewed. But this gentleman had eu. But this gentleman had not been dispensing his fav-ours for nothing. He had given lucrative employment to many a madam and miss of top officials. He had arranged quite a few "study" tours for various grades of India officials to the United States. And now he simply wanted his visa extended. Not much to ask for.

But there are some patriots left among the officials and the Ministers and they pro-ved obstinate. So the heat was turned on. A regular barrage was opened that all objections should be dropped. The American Ambassad tried his charm. The Home Ministry officials obliged with good conduct certificates

A very VIP, shortly due for retirement and on the lock-out for something cushy, an old-school tie ICS officer also joined in New are being called up from all sectors.

And all for the visa of a Rockfeller official! Why is he so keen to stay, one wonders? Why is his work so vital for the American Embassy? And why should India's top offi-cialdom be in such a flutter? I hope somebody knows the

- ONLOOKER June 6. 1950

U.P. PSP REFUSES TO LEARN

it does not yet regard the Communist danger very big. It stands to gain by opposition to the Congress.

After this one might have After this one might have expected that, as the biggest Opposition party in the de-mocratic camp, it would work out slogans of united work to get the burning demands of the State's suffering people redressed, that it would work out slogang and platforms of out slogans and platforms of common struggles for the realisation of these dema nds. would gain the most from now taken refuge in the PSP, declared with great knowledge, "I have had the

But its blind anti-Communism would not permit it to take this course. Its and anti-Communism—and its splitting activities as a re-sult of this line—had so far led it more and more into a blind alley. It had landed it increasingly in the lap of opportunist and feudal clements and all but squeezed the life of its good, fighting cadre. Yet it was not pre-pared to, or able to learn the bitter lesson.

Professional anti-Communists and Red-Jaiters were there in full strength. Some of them, like Prem Bhasin an Brij Mohan Toofan had been brought from outside to queer

So they passed a resolution on the "treachery" of the Communists in relation to the border dispute between India order dispute between India and China. One of them, a young hot-head from the hills, even abused Nehru and called him a "traitor"—such was the fury they sought to work up during the confer-ence.

PAGE THREE



* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

M ORE details have now tal murder of the Praga Tools Factory worker, A. Doss, all of them pointing to a well-laid conspiracy to attack the majority union of the factory workers.

This belief has been streng-thened by the fact that im-mediately after the attack on the worker-leader, a jeep had picked up the goondas and

A couple of days earlier, another attack had been organised on the workers with lathis, soda water bot-tles, etc. and the goondas had been brought for this had been brought for this attack in a company van. The company management is reported to have admit-ted that company cars were used, but put up the plea that the cars had been given for some other pur-nese.

N. Satyanarayana Reddi, President of the Praga Tools Employees Union has charged in a public meeting that there was a meeting of some PSP leaders, including S. B. Giri, Andhra Pradesh PSP Presianonra Pradesn PSP Presi-dent, J. Venkatesan, Alexan-der and others, where a plan had been chalked out to at-tack important leaders of the

The background to the day-light murder on June 1 points all the more to such a cons-piracy.

The murdered worker, Doss, was employed in the smithy department of Pragas and was a member of the Working Committee of the Praga Tools' Employees' Union. As he came out of the factory after duty Employees' Union. As he came out of the factory after duty at 230 p.m. and was pro-ceeding home, he was way-isid. He was immediately rushed to the hospital but his Mfe could not be saved.

PSP Leaders Defeated

Last year, PSP leader S. B. Giri who was President of the then Praga Tool Workers' Union, was defeated in the union elections and thrown out. In his place N. Satyana-rayana Reddi was elected President.

Earlier in the elections to the Credit Society also, Giri's nominee got only four votes against his rival's 1,300 votes.

when the defeated leaders refused to hand over charge to the newly-elected officeto the newly-elected office-bearer, a new union was formed and the PSP leaders have ever since nursed a grievance against this union.

The company manage-ment, instead of dealing with the majority union, tried to exploit this rivalry. It bestowed favours on the

PAGE FOUR

non-existent PSP union, a dozen workers belonging to the union were being paid full wages though they the union were being part full wages though they never attended to their duty, workers belonging to that union were given three increments within a short increments within a short period of six months, grie-vances represented by that union were immediately looked into, and company transport, phones, premises were all freely available to the leaders of this union.

Discrimination and victimisation of the majority union inevitably followed this fav-ouritism to the minority ouritism to the minority union. Its Organising Secre-tary was suspended on filmsy grounds. An enquiry was con-ducted into the complaint against him, the charge was

position" was not mere group and factional rival-ries but also the question of

policies. "One thing is clear," he said, "that, often, the people we choose for election to Par-liament and the State Legislaiament and the State Legisla-tures have no relation with our aims and objectives. These people are very far from our objectives. This is an utterly wrong thing. I do concede that it is not possible to adopt an extremist attitude in this regard. But some checks have to be provided to ensure that those who oppose Congress objectives are not allowed to come in and weaken us from within. We must keep this in mind." (Hindu, June 5, 1960)

Expressing his opinion "the reason behind all this jockey-ing for these positions (posi-tion of Presidents and secre-taries of PCCs-EMSN) was perhaps that these Presidents and Secretaries had a big say in choosing candidates and giving the Congress tickets in the legislative elections," he added: "I think the time has come when this business of giving the ticket to Congress candidates should be kept separate altogether. We will make some new arrangement in this regard. I cannot say what this would be, but the Presidents and Secretaries of Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Com-mittees would not necessarily ie in it. It will be a very good thing if arrangement is made whereby the Congress ticket is given only to the right kind of people without taking into consideration group politics in the Congress."

Although not endorsing Nehru's views on the direct connection between organ-isational reforms and the policies of the Congress, the AICC as a whole admitted the existence of a section in the Congress who are in

found to be baseless, still he was not taken back.

Angry workers demonstrated against this victimisation and demanded that the Organising Secretary be reins-tated. Sensing the mood of the workers, the management agreed to take him back. This was in the afternoon of May 3. The next shift went on duty and everything was going on peacefully. But suddenly in the night, the management declared a lock-out.

But the management soon found out that the lock-out was legally wrong. So it was lifted on May 13. But the same evening, 28 workers were sus-pended on the charge that they had participated in the onstration and had as-



Body of A. Doss, worker of Praga Tools who was murdered on June

saulated company officials. This was in total violation of the standing orders. on the agreement, the at-tacks on the workers became more violent and the result

Negotations began between the majority union and the management and an agree-ment was arrived at on May 18. This settlement drove the last nail in the coffin of the minority union and its leaders began attacking workers of the majority union.

Some of the high officials of the company also came on the scene at this stage. The management went back

was pressed to voting at Poona and on which the Prime Min-

is the murder of Doss.

Thus, the cause of the pre-sent unrest is the attitude of the management towards lab-our problems and the majority union and the disruptive role of the minority PSP union.

The demonstration of ten thousand workers who ac-compained the dead body of their murdered comrade is notice to the management and the PSP leaders that their tactics are doomed

From Front Page

The decision of the AICC under the leadership of the Working Committee to maintain the status quo on all these issues, will not help in solving the real problem—to bring out into the open the conflicts of policies and to resolve these conflicts in favour of pro-gressive democratic policies. On the other hand, it will help many of those among under the leadership of the On the other hand, it will help many of those among the State and district leaders of the Congress who who are opposed to the pro-gressive democratic policies of the Congress, to pose before rank and file Congressmen as opponents of the High Command and champions of democracy within the organisation. Behind this cover of strugwithin the organisation, they can very well carry on their activity against the declared progressive demo-cratic policies of the Con-

On the other hand, the High Command can make it appear to the people that a full discussion on the evils prevailing in the organisation is taking place in a perfectly democratic way and that through this process of internal discussion, the evils that are undoubtedly prevalent in the organisation can be rooted out. Behind this appear-ance of democratic discussion such members of the High Command, who are in their heart of hearts opposed to the progressive democratic policy resolutions of the Congress, 'can also carry on their activities.

It is this obscuring of the reality of conflicts of policies behind the cover of conflicts over the organisational pro-posals, that forms the crux of the deliberations of the Poona session of the AICC.



CONQUERORS

Three Chinese mountaineers-Wang Fu-chou, Chu Yin-hua and Konbu (of Tibetan nationality)—reached the summit of Mount Chomo Lungma (Everest) the highest peak in the world, at 04.20 hours Peking time on May 25.

The conquest of the towering peak which rises 8882 metres (about 29,000 ft.) above sea level by the Chinese mountaineering expedition marked the first success in mankind's history of efforts to reach the summit from the northern slopes of the mountain in the Himalayas.

'Led by China's well-known Alpinist, master of sports in mountaineering Shih Chan-chun, the Chinese expedition started climbing on March 25 and exactly two months later reached this towering peak from the north slope which had been hitherto regarded as "unscalable" by western mountaineers.



JUNE 12, 1960

resolutions adopted on the inst day of the AICC "depre-cated the tendency in certain sections of Congressmen to criticise and tone down implementation of the accepted national policies of the Con-

their heart of hearts oppos-ed to the fundamental poli-cies of the Congress. One of the two non-official

national policies of the Con-gress with regard to planned progress towards a Socialist Weifare State and the policy of non-alignment in inter-national affairs."

national affairs." The existence of such a section of Congressmen who are opposed to, and in prac-tice sabotaging the implemen-tation of, the Nagpur Resolu-tion on agrarian reforms and other policy resolutions and declarations of the Congress has, of course, been recognis-ed by the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues for ed by the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues for some time. They, therefore, sometimes went to the extent of asking those who disagreed with Congress resolutions to leave the Congress. Now, however, the AICC itself officially takes cognisance of that fact. that fact.

No Effective Steps

But the AICC could not go beyond giving a pious expres-sion to its views on the exist-ence of such Congressmen as stand in the way of imple-menting the fundamental policies of the Congress. It could not decide on taking any effective steps against them, or in Nehru's words, "to ensure that those who "to ensure that those who oppose Congress objectives are not allowed to come in and weaken us from within."

As a matter of fact, the very way in which problems were posed and discussed at Poona helped to obscure the issues, and divert attention from conflicts of policies to from conflicts of policies to certain organisational problems. Take, for example, the most ontroversial question which

ister himself took a stand against the rest of the Work-ing Committee—the question of democratic election of at least a part of the Working Committee. This demand is, of course, the expression of of course, the expression of healthy dissatisfaction at the way in which the leadership steamrollers the rank and file It. however, does not that the division on this issue was a division as between the supporters and opponents of such progressive democratic resolutions as those on agrarian reform and cooperatives. As a matter of fact, there

are Congressmen who are, in their heart of hearts, opposed their heart of hearts, opposed to these progressive democra-tic policy resolutions of the Congress, but who are in sup-port of partial, if not full, election of the Working Com-mittee. There are, on the other hand, Congressmen who would not mind the entire Working Committee heirg nominated Committee being nominal provided there is the guaran-tee that the Working Com-mittee takes effective mea-sures for the implementation **Discured** of these progressive democratic policies.

Again, one of the sugges-tions made by a so-called rebel Congressman was that the relation between the parliamentary and organisational wings of the Congress should be so adjusted as to enable the former to have full domination over the organisation as a whole. This demand for greater and greater powers to the Ministers, MPs and MLAs the Ministers, MPs and wishes has come against the wishes of the Working Committee, which however, is accused of perpetuating its own domina-tion over the Congress.

As for the question of bogus membership, it is obvious that, while everybody speaks of the need to root the evil out, each makes his own criticism and suggestions in this regard with a view to strengthening his own group in the State or the all-India centre.



ABOVE: Chinese climbers move on into an area seamed with deep ice crevasses, regarded by western mountaineers as an extremely difficult obstacle. LEFT members of the team—Shih Chian-chu (upper left), leader Wang Fu-chan (upper right), Konbu (Tibetan nationality, down left) and Chu Yin-hua, (down right).

OF EVEREST



om-o scene from Mount Everest



ABOVE: A mountain eagle captured by Chinese moun-taincers—it can fly at a height of more than 8,000 metres (about 26,000 ft.). A wild goat captured by the expedition at the foot of Mount Everest.



PAGE FIVE



"PRIVATE ENTERPRISE-NOT A NECES-SARY EVIL, BUT AN AFFIRMATIVE GOOD", AMEN, BOOK OF PSALMS-EUGENE BLACK.

HESE are two cherubs . Let us enumerate:deserve the gratitude of the Indian people for putting in black and white, in very clear terms, the possible outcome of the goings-on of the angels of "Indian" Free Enterprise with the apostles of the World

Our gratitude is due to Mr. A. D. Shroff of the Tata House fo pamphlet, House for his forthright pamphlet, Our Economic Future, and to Mr. N. M. Lobo Prabhu once of the "Indian" Civil Service for his, called Democracy in India — both proudly displaying the shib-boleth we have quoted above. coming from the World-Bank President's own month.

Subverting The Constitution

These pamphlets indicate the politics and economics of the Forum and their foreign patrons—leaving ethics to be inferred, which we shall do.

There is, however, a differ-nce. The writer of the ence. The writer of the Economic Programme, the shrewd Shroff, knows how to garb his invectives and pro-posals and stops short of trespassing upon the clauses of the I.P.C., but the writer of the political programme goes wholehog to subvert the base of the Constitution of India, because for him there is the additional lure of Rs. 1,000 to be disbursed as the first prize to the wri-ter of the best essay on the Forum's possible political programme to be adjudged by such august a jury as Mr. M. Dandekar, I.C.S., Managing Director, Associa-Mr. M. ted Cements, and Mr. Frank the Editor, may

No wonder, therefore, that even the Forum of Free Enterprise has found it wise to declare at the end of the pamphlet by Mr. Prabhu that the views expressed therein "do necessarily represent the views of the Forum', con-tinuing, further on, to hope, however, with Mr. A. D. Shroff that "Free Enterprise was born with man and shall survive as In and shall survive as long as man survives." Fortunately for us we still have the liberty to express the view that Mr. A. D. Shroff and Mr. Prabhu "may not necessarily re-present" "man", the Son of God, notwithstanding apnarent, resemblances

Political

Programme

What is this political programme which even the Forum does not find it possible to own in the year of our Lord 1960, shelving it for still better days?

The "Constitution, there-fore, to the extent that it empowers our President, like the American President has erred, if at all, in the right direction," and hence; the only thing to be desired now "is for the President and Governors" "to assume some of their powers," to start with, "limiting the abuses in the combination of legis in the combination of legis-lative and executive powers." But, on second thoughts it appears that merely "limit-ing the abuses of the com-bination" would not be enough for the masters, hence we have the second hence we have the second point:

• "In deciding for adult franchise, it was not realised that the population of India fell into different corridors of time, varying from the first to twentieth century." So "a system of indirect elections" for throw-ing un "representatives coning up "representatives cap-able of making real contribuable of making real contribu-tions to the governance of the country", is the thing M.r Prabhu proposes, in mid-twentieth century, in ex-change of the reward he expects from the Forum. One cannot help raising one's eyebrows at the striking resemblance that this proposal bears with the kind of "indirect election" that General Ayub rammed the gullet of our neighbour-

ing country.

ing country. The resemblance be-comes that of a progeny to the progenitor when we find that "a third factor for polarisation of power is the party system", which induces the Congress to engage in a "process of outbidding the Communists" and hence Mr. Prabhu would very much like us to fall for "the Pre-sident to enjoy his statutory powers of being the sole executive of the State with outstanding personalities se-lected by him in charge of the powers now exercised by elected Ministers."

J. P.-Ayub Pattern

And there you have the Government-of - Talents -cum-Party-less Democracy of the J.P.-Ayub variety with which we are all fami-liar. And all this to put an end to the present situa-tion wherein "in actual practice all his (the President's) powers are exer-cised by the Prime Minister"—the grand strategy is to eliminate the post of the Prime Minister, as such, since one cannot yet public-ly voice the elimination of the person holding that post without running grave risks. And there you have

the ethics of the programme is too palpable to be

covered with the fig-leaf with which Mr. Prabhu prefaces his programme, namely that, "it is open to us to avoid" what has happened "in the neighbouring countries of Burma, Pakistan, Egypt," etc. of It is, therefore, only under-standable that the Forum has found it advisable to state that these views "do not secessarily represent the views of the Forum of Free Enterprise." The treacherous character of the grand stra-tegy is quite shamelessly transparent.

But looking deeper one finds that, on the other hand, there are substantively sound economic reasons which cannot but endear such a programme to the Forum-captains.

Mr. Prabhu, for example, locates the unique perversity of the Constitution of India in the Directive Principles re-flecting "the inchoate ideo-logies of the Congress to that the Second Five-Year which have been added ingre-dients of Socialism, which dients of Socialism, which appear innocuous but can be insidious of much harm"—all the more so, since in pursu-ance of these Directive Prin-ciples the "dangerous" Article 39 provides that "the natural resources of the community should be so distributed as to subserve the common good and second, that the opera-tion of the economic system does not result in concentration of wealth and means of production "

Socialism Attacked

The situation become intolerably portentious for Mr. Prabhu's patrons since. allegedly, such Directive Principles and statutory provisions when taken to-gether with the 1st., 3rd., and 4th Amendments the Constitution, are "the source of redistribution, estate duties, wealth tax, expenditure tax, capital gains tax," as also "State Trading, Cooperative Farm-ing and State enterprise". The 4th Amendment, Mr. Prabhu laments, has allow-ed the people "to taste blood."

We have now reached the zone of perfect congruence between Mr. Prabhu and Mr. A. D. Shroff on the less paipsubversive plane ably

Published in 1958. Mr. Shroff's "contribution" reads rather too innocuous and out-of-date so the very opening sentence refers to such for him, comparatively trivial irritants as the Samyukta Maharashtra movement and the language controversy of Hindi vs. English. Mr. Shroff. being a rather serious sort, would like his countrymen to exercise themselves more over such fundamental probmore lems as the food situ which on all counts is counts is in a me. Naturally, such a program- foreign exchange crisis, the ne is too palpable to be slackening of tempo of indus-

BOOK REVIEW

trial production in 1958 and and hand over the country to so on. the leonine greed of Free By way of a prelude to Enterprise and their henchso on. By way of a prelude to opening his real offensive all along the line on the econo-

mic policy of the Government he refers to the obviously undesirable practice of the Ministry of Commerce of indiscriminate issue of import licences. Mr. Shroff even avails himself of the opportunity to wax indignant over the profiteering in import quotas and other real com-modities, as if that is not "free enterprise" itself, and call, upon his friend the Finance Minister to put a curb on the Ministry of Com-merce and Industry so that import quotas and unscrupulous dealings of traders are restricted. And he is unmistakably wrathful over the import of

German silver-ware and Rosenthal Crockery, which he finds, may God bless him, of no use for economic development

Abandon Planning

One almost finds oneself at a loss to locate the points on which one may profitably differ, till suddenly one finds, Plan has been basically wron and although realism ha been recently dawning on our authorities in that the Plan has now been reduced to what is called 'the core of the Plan', and persistence for the sake of prestige will su ject the country to untold and unjustified hardship and misery.' Further on, we stumple

upon the operative part of this "untiring opposition" to the Plan, which is that, "in view, moreover, of our ex-perience of the inadequacy of the necessary tools and equip-ment for coordinated and comprehensive planning, what we should do in future is to draw up a programme of development which should not be attempted to be completed within a specified period."

Mr. Shroff hastens to add that he still remains "consistent and convinced believer in planned development", perhaps because it struck him that a planning programme without a speci-fied time-schedule is a definitional absurdity and bad people might interpret this kind of "development" as merely a name for "drif-ting", that the concern for the "fundamental probthe "fundamental prob-lems of the country" is a cloak under which is the dagger aimed at the very principle of planning.

Mr. Lobo Prabhu gives the game away when he demands that the State should retire from investment, in produc-tive capital formation and should only concentrate on overheads like "roads, reservoirs, buildings" and—how cannibalistically witty!—"new forests for them who cannot find private employment"

(emphasis mine). One only wonders whether it will be necessary for the State to set about creating new forests, because the whole economy of the land will come to be ruled by the law of the jun-gle of Free Enterprise once we decide to give up the very principle of democratic plan-ning under State-initiative

Coalition when the definition of "all citizens" will be narrowed down to a Government of Talents of the variety we have come across earlier to suit the requirements of a "favour-able climate for foreign investors.'

emergence of such political attempts at putting the clock back, the line of attack of the shrewd Mr. Shroff as well

That lesson is the nature of the strategy of the extreme Right spokesmen of Big Busi-ness, which is to utilise every failure of the Government in solving the problems of food, foreign exchange, corruption in administration, etc., to plough under the whole scheme of industrialisation under the aegis of the State, on the one hand, and ultimately to subvert the Constitution of India itself, on the other. These two pamphlets are omens of what may befall this country unless the democratic forces are able to unite and compel the Government to take the bull by the horns, to take the buil by the holds, instead of perpetually keep on yielding ground till the bull sees red and runs amok as in the famous painting on Spain

-PATANJALI RAI

man.

Mr. Shroff's line of attack, i.e., of utilising the disma failure of the Government re-flected in the food and foreign exchange crisis to plough under the very principle of planned industrial development itself, bears striking resemblance with the strategy adopted later by the Ford Foundation team in its report Itie on the food situation. not surprising, therefore, that according to Mr. Shroff, "our future", which is economic the title of his pamphlet, "can be assured by creating a cli-mate in this country which would make possible a regular flow of capital from foreign investors."

Mr. Shroff being a "consistent believer in planned deve-lopment," proceeds to lay down the two-fold means of achieving the objective of such a climate through (a) a radical overhaul of "this fantastic pattern of farstion" fantastic pattern of taxation" and (b) "pooling of ideas, experience and resources of all citizens of the country irres-pective of their political affi-liations", for, "amateurs of yesterday cannot be accepted by the country as authorities on planning and public finance", and because "the continuous addition of powers assumed by Government hap pens to turn this country into an authoritarian State," which the freely enterprising Mr. Shroff cannot stand.

Right Coalition .

We have now completed the full circle. Pooling of ideas, experience and resources of all citizens of the country can only mean a demand for a Right

While one cannot have nuch to learn anew from the as the less scantily garbed Mr. Lobo Prabhu, holds an important lesson for all patriotic and democratic forces in the country.

JUNE 12, 1960

ner.

T HIS dateline has inter-

esting associations in the theatre-movement in Calcutta. On June 10, 1959, the Little Theatre Group, a non-professional, poverty-stricken, struggling body of stricken, strugging bouy of actors all on a sudden took possession of a home, the old derelict Minerva Theatre, which they leased for

twentyone years. How people laughed! Enthusiasm is good, they said stirring their coffee, but this stirring their coffee, but this and the director and the is midsummer madness! The Minerva has a curse on it, it warts have failed there. Then, again, for a bunch of rude mechanicals to challenge the wealth and propaganda machine of the professional machine in Celusta This is a solly word live unarchiliton theatres in Calcutta. This is trying to beard the lion in his own den when you have not got a gun!

Mundredth Night

And now comes June 10, 1960, and the Little Treatre Group is still here. What is more it is no longer fightmore it is no longer fight-ing for survival. It is cele-brating the hundredth night of its current pro-duction, Angar. It is offer-ing the spectacle of entire houses sold out weeks in advance. It is in short, striking terror into the heart of the commercial hearts of the commercial theatres in the city.

The story of suffering and poverty and legal harassment and illegal blackmail that has gone into our final victory at Minerva will prob-ably never be told. It will be and illegal blackmail ugh to say . that at one time the members of the Group, on stage and off, went without food for days on end, walked miles from home to theatre and back, and work-ed and rehearsed all night to

ed and rehearsed all night to keep it going. It seemed the Minerva stood alone. It withstood an onslaught of the silliest pro-paganda, which went to the length of charging us with desecrating a picture of Ram-krishna Dev and the adjoin-ing temple of Mahavir. Fables ing temple of Mahavir. Fables neared in print describing in vivid detail of how the guardian ghost of the Thea-tre, infuriated by the atheism of the new occupants, had attacked Utpal Dutt in the dead of night and almost strangled him in his bed. Another journal openly incited the young men of the locality to violence against this band of irreligious "com-

mies". The commercial theatres, usually at one another's throat, suddenly began to work like a unified family. conferred repeatedly, planned, plotted, conspired. They thought up all kinds of They thought up all kinds of paitry legal suits, solicitors' letters, ruses to buy off valu-able members, to obliterate the Minerva posters and plas-ter them over with sheer number Scene

Why This Bally-Hoo ?

June 10, 1960, is a defeat of all this. What is the reason for all this bally-hoo? What temples have we descerated? What saints have we cruci-fied? What ghosts have we

we have defiled the tem-ple of private profit. The

JUNE 12, 1960

Angar bases itself on the life of a short-firer, Binu, who

dreams of a home in the hills with his mother and the girl he loves. But life underhe loves. But life under-ground is hard and the work-ers go on strike in protest against accumulated methane gas in the pit. The company tries force and violence and, as a result, the strike only spreads to the entire colliery. But months of strike bring starvation and disease in their wake, and Binu's dreams are shattered one by one. At this moment the company makes an offer; it offers an enormous bonus for a gang of miners who will descend into 42 Dip and blow up a wall to enable natural air to clear the gas. The workers are split-seven desperate men agree; the majority, incensed by the news of the arrest of the union leader, refuses.

The seven workers, among them Binu, are trapped by an explosion. The methane gas has taken its toll. Res-cue operations begin, while mothers, fathers, wives wait. The rescue team returns to report fire underground whereupon the company promptly seals the pit and floods it to put out the fire and save the property. Seven and save the property. Seven men are waiting below— but that cannot be consider-ed when property is at stake. Binu's mother thanks the officers — she thinks they are working to save her

CALCUTTA, June 10. Minerva is not a tycoon's means of enriching him-self. Its ideals are not tied to a pocket. It is the first cooperative enterprise in the theatre-world in Cal-cutta. It is a theatre, own-ed, controlled, managed by actors. It is a venture in which everyone from prima donna to scene-shifter and call-boy is an equal part-

> This of course is blasphemy. This of course is heresy against the religion of those who exploit the actor and the director and the

sentiment of the people and is really pedding superstition of the worst kind. Another is bogged in a mystery thriller. A third is engaged in the problem of whether the enlarged belly of the heroine signifies conception or tum-

Against this Angar speaks of the realities of the Bengal coalmines. It is based on the facts revealed during the Chinakuri enquiry (suppressed by the bourgeois Press).

The Story Of «Angar»

The Final

The final scene takes us to the 'Tunnel-36 Dip-where the six workers-one is dead by now-wait for death. ere is a strange assortment individuals, who cannot called conscious workers, but who are, through suffer-

ing, arriving at the truth of class struggle. Here are Arif and Ramzan who were

* SEE PAGE 10





Scenes from ANGAR -ABOVE: Trapped workers the pit. BELOW: Mothers, wives, sisters of the miners wait for news. LEFT: Heroes of Baradhemo, Zainul, Naksu Mia and others, watching the performance of Angar at Minerva Calcutta



***** PAGE SEVEN NEW AGE



Despite its seemingly regional character the Second All-African People's Conference, held in Tunis, January 25 to 31, evoked worldwide interest. Over 130 delegates, representing some sixty political parties, trade unions and other public organisations from thirty African countries, discussed fundamental political, economic and social problems, and adopted important resolutions aimed at strenghening the solidarity of the African peoples in their fight for independence, unity and progress.

Year Of Decision

T HERE were weighty reasons for the Conference declaring 1960 Africa Year. And indeed it does promise to be a year of striking poli-tical changes in Africa, the second largest continent. The current year will see five new Inglorious End independent countries on its map: Cameroon, Togoland, the Belgian Congo, Somalia and Nigeria. The Mali Federation, Madagascar, and probably some other autonomous republics, will become sove-reign States within the frame-work of the French Community. Within one year, therefore, the part of Africa freed from colonial dependfreed from colonial depend-ence will have doubled, forming two-thirds of the territory and population of the continent. And most of the remaining colonies (including Tanganvika, Kenya, Basutoland) will be granted self-Sovernment.

Press. Africa's growing im-portance in the world is evi-dent from the fact that from capitalist states men countries have visited the continent. Shortly after Eisenhower's visit to Tunisia and Morocco last December, British Prime Minister Mac-

millan made a five-week tour of African countries. And there is ground for expecting that the heads of other Powers will visit the continent before the year is out.

Of Empire

A chance visitor to the Stock Exchange building where the Conference was held might easily have thought he was in a law court. And in a way he would have been right, for in many respects the Second All-African People's Conference was sitting in judgment, and it was colonialism that was on trial.

on trial. To no continent has colo-nialism brought so much suffering as to Africa. Re-nowned in ancient times for Government. "Year of Decision for in the Middle Ages for the Africa", "A Continent in Fer-ment", "Storm Clouds over Africa"—these are the head-lines now seen in the world Continent which many sci-entists believe to be the cra-dire of the human race and continent which many sci-entists believe to be the cra-dire of the human race and continent which many sci-entists believe to be the cra-dire of the human race and the filter of the human race and the filt civilisation, has been reduced to incredible poverty and its social development re-tarded. (See Basil Davidson's Old Africa Rediscovered, Lon-

don, 1959, pp. 27, 79). No matter what standard of comparison we take— whether it be the national



income per capita of popu-lation, the degree of indus-tralisation, literacy, or health services—Africa has always been at the lowest rung of the ladder. The effects of the slave trade, as a result of which the continent lost 100 million in. habitants, of the forced labour introduced by the co-lonialists, of the eviction of the local tribes from the fertile lands, are such that Africa, which in the sixteenth century accounted for 20 per cent of the world's population, accounts for a mere eight per cent in our days.

The continent, assigned a special place in the postwar plans of the Western Powers, was intended to play the same role, in our days of Statemonopoly capitalism, as that played by the colonial empire in North America in the pe-riod of industrial capitalism.

Africa—Britain's Third Em-pire, a book published in Lon-don in 1949, laid bare the Western Powers' plans. By exploiting the labour force and the virtually untapped natu-ral resources of this fabulously rich continent, the mono-polies calculated to make up for the loss of the Chines market and their colonies i market and their colonies in Asia. And there was certainly much to whet their appetites. Africa has the biggest known

lence to four coun-

national-liberation African movement is developing has upset the colonialists' apple-cart and thrown them into onfusion. Things are moving fast, "far too fast for ideal progress" is the view of Belgian (and not only Belgian!) officials in the Congo quoted in an article by John B. Oakes sue of The Ne in a recent issue of Th York Times Magazine.

Lessons Of History

The colonialists are not wholly disregarding the les-sons of history—they have learnt much from their vain efforts to hold back the tide of the postwar liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, and are becoming increasingly conscious that the colonial system is doomed in Africa too. To cite the London Observer: "The era of Euro-pe's hegemony over Africa has, after 300 years, drawn to its close."

Today the colonial Powers are acting cautiously, prefer-

merely prove their inability to control events, to crush the national-liberation movement.

While the colonialist die. hards are clinging grimly to the outlived form of colonial rule in Algeria, Kenya and Rhodesia, for example the more far-sighted West-ern leaders, expressing the interests of monopoly capi-tal, realise the need for change, and prefer, by mak-ing timely concessions, to retain the most importan thing—their domination over the so-called under-developed countries. Both, however, have one and the same object. As the ideologues of Neo-Colonialism put able solutions in order to stay". (The Idea of Colo-nialism, Ed. by R. Strauz-Hupe and H. W. Hazard. N.X. 1958; pp. 42-43.)

And the greater the sweep of the African people's libera-tion struggle, the more this "far-sighted" tendency predominates in Western policy. are acting cautiously, prefer-ring as a rule to avoid the danger of armed uprising from which they would risk losing both their political in-fluence and their economic interests. The instructive ex-ample of Holland, which for-feited her economic positions in Ladonesia because of a in Indonesia because of a the one hand, any delay in

ence, for democracy, or politi-cal responsibility. This simply means that the colonialists means that the colonianss have not yet trained their successors in the particular colony, or protectorate, i.e., have not yet nurtured the political forces into whose "reliable hands" they intend to transfer power. This ex-plains the paradoxical fact that in the view of the British Government, Britain's more economically developed nossessions in East Africa are "less fit" for independence than Ghana, Nigeria, and others. (It is significant that in 1959 the electric power generated per capita was 7.5 kwh. in Nigeria, 9.1 in the Cameroons, 42 is Kenya, and

They Want

The question of granting independence to Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika is being complicated by the so-called European minority problem in these countries. These difficulties, however, These difficulties, however, arise not so much from con-cern for the fate of the European settlers, as the colonial Powers would like people to believe, as from the fact that this minority (in Kenya about one per cent of the population) fills

bourgeoisie, provided, of course, it is prepared to col-laborate with the West.

ver. January 3, 1960), Colonial

cans capable of taking charge

The representatives of the

lonialism. "The colonialists again." (Combat, January are not unarmed," stressed 23-24, 1960. are not unarmed," stressed Abdoulaye Diallo, Secretary-General of the Conference. "They want to hang on at all costs, multiplying the repres-sions and manoeuvring... They want to get away with a whole skin, to strip independence of its revolutionary con-tent."

The call to the peoples of Africa to redouble their vigi-lance and determination sounded in the speech by Felix Roland Moumie (Came. ix Roland Moumie (Came-roon): "Being unable directly to oppose the popular demand for independence and unity, the imperialists are leaving no stone unturned to deceive the people by carrying out petty reforms and even proclaiming a phoney indepe ence. That is the way Neo-Colonialism now menaces the whole of Africa."

The granting of political independence to the African colonies does not in itself signify that the grim era of colonialism has ended on this continent. Neo-Colonialism the iron hand in the velvet glove, is designed to replace the primitive, brutal colonial-ism. Its slogan is "Keep Africa for the West!" Politicians of the Roy Welensky type say: "In this East-West struggle it is probably now true to say that Africa holds the balance

Contineent In Rerment, "he so a frica to rely on their own strength and resources."

deposits in the capitalist world of gold, diamonds, ura-nium, chromium, antimony liberation movement there, was fresh enough in the minds of the Belgian rulers to and phosphorites, and over 70 per cent of the manganese. 48 force them to make conces-sions to the leaders of the per cent of the copper, 47 per cent of the bauxites, 40 per cent of the water-power re-Congolese nationalist parties, and, with the threat of a national uprising hanging over their head, to promise the country indepe dence this

Macmillan's Admission

"The wind of change is blowing through the conti-nent," Macmillan had perforce to admit this during his African tour. He exhorted the European settlers in South Africa, in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to choicesia and typesatane, to be sensible, to establish good-elations with the local population before it was too and not to cling hopelessly to their privileges and outlived racial prejudices. Otherwise they, and with them the posi-tions of the capitalist West, would be swept away by the irresistible wave of African nationalism.

Monopoly capitalism would not be what it is if it did not while the colonial Powers ooze colonialism from every would retain their economic pore-the urge to the econo-mic enslavement of other the more conservative nationcountries and peoples, and to domination OVER political them. Concessions, which the colonial Powers make only when they are forced to do so, do not mean that they are suddenly seeing things as they are, or that conscience is ism, the Union of South suddenly seeing things as they arguments of the colonalists Africa. are, or that conscience is is that some of the territories The rapidity with which the pricking them. Concessions are "not ready" for independ-

reckless attempt to crush the doing this can only lead to the opposite result, to the "extremist elements"—as the colonialists call the more principled and consistent freedom fighters—taking over the leadership of the struggle; and, on the other hand, any political leader or party in Africa prepared to waive demands for independence for the sake of reaching, agree-ment with the colonialists, an agreement which would be advantageous to narrow secadvantageous to narrow sec-tions of the local bourgeoisie, feudal lords and the tribal chiefs, is bound to become discredited in the eyes of the people and be swept away by the march of events.

Neo-Colonialist Manoeuvre

In this situation, being un-able to halt the national-liberation movement, the Western Powers, as the bour-geois Press reports, are plac-ing their hopes of preserving their positions and influence in methods "docedy with the This is appreciated by both the colonial Powers and the African nationalists. As a rule, therefore, the former are not now so much concerned about in working "closely with the preserving the colonial admi-nistration intact as about wondering which of the more few outstanding African lead-ers who appear to command most support." (The Obseror less "reliable" leaders of the national movement could. officials on the spot are more cynical. It is true, they say, that there are not many Afriand without delay, be entrust-ed to run the Government, cans capable of taking charge of public affairs, but if one even can be found to be made Prime Minister—"in these countries if there's one, that's already not too bad."(The New York Times Magazine, January 3, 1960, p. 13) alists are often prepared to make substantial concessions to the colonial Powers in order to achieve independence.

One of the stock-in-trade African peoples at the Tunis Conference, naturally, did not ignore the danger of Neo-Co-

the place of the stratum of national bourgeoisie and intellectuals with whom, when they emerge, the colonial Powers hope to come to terms in the intelions of dollars is being pour-ed in, in an endeavour to sta-bilise the continent and to rerests of State-monopoly capital. The moment this stratum emerges—and vigo-rous steps are being taken tain its adherence to West." (New York Herald Tri-bune, Economic Review, Paris, March 1960) in this direction (thousands

in this direction (thousands of African students are be-ing hastily trained in Wes-tern Europe and the United States)—the privileges of the European colonialists, as Macmillan's latest state-ment foreshadows, will be sacrificed to an alliance with the local national bourgeoiste provided of Different meanings are attached to this slogan, depending on the country to which it is directed. To the peoples of Africa and the world public it is advertised as an expression of Western concern for the economic development of backward countries, the desire to spread Western civi-lisation there, to implant democratic institutions, etc. For monopoly capital this slogan means mäintaining economic and political domination on the rich continent, preserving it as an agricultural appendage, a source of cheap raw materials and a market for industrial goods manufactur-ed in Western Europe and the United States, retaining their military bases there, etc. Be-hind the monopoly capitalists' efforts to retain their foot-hold in Africa is also the de-sire to use its natural resour-**Exploitatio** ces, man-power and territory in the fight for world domi-nion. The bourgeois Press is quite explicit on this: "Whoever has Africa on its side can dominate the world. Keen rivalry for this is under way. The West must not fail



The neo-colonialists are pushing through this programme not only by means of agreements imposed on the Governments of the former colonies at the time of granting them indep ence (the agreement be-tween France and Morocco, Tunisia and Cameroon, Britain and Nigeria), but by the "Balkanisation" of the continent, as many delega-tes noted at the Conference, i.e., by parcelling it into as many (up to 40) countries as possible, divided by the artificial boundaries of the colonial period, countries not independent economically and always at logger-

Bedrawing Of Boundaries

Preparing the ground for their next moves, the impe-rialists are trying to weaken the bigger countries like Ni-geria and the Belgian Congo by imposing the principle of federation upon them, and to merge "doubtful" territories with "reliable" ones, for ex-ample, Nyasaland with Rhodesia, and to make Somalia quarrel with Ethiopia over Ogaden, Nigeria with Came-roon over the British Came-

bank on acting in a united front against the disunited African countries, and on pre-venting their industrial deve-lopment. Unless the African countries are industrialised. the loans and other forms of financial aid granted prima-rily for the development of extraction industry and the extension of plantations will. in the long run, simply sharp-en the rivalry between these countries, and result in lower prices on the world market for farm produce ' and ' raw ' progressive pa materials, thus' enabling the ' and the state Western Powers' to recom-pense themselves a hundred - lonies ended. fold for whatever aid they have dispensed.

This far-reaching pro-gramme of perpetuating the Development economic exploitation of the African countries could, unquestionably, count on success, were it not for the existence of the Socialist world. Mutually advantageous trade with the Socialist countries, their disinterested aid to the economically backward coun-tries, and their experience in carrying out the indus-trial and cultural revolution, open up to the peoples of Africa the perspective of throwing off the shackles of slavery imposed by mo-nopoly capital. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that anti-Communism is always anti-Communism is always the concomitant of Neo-

ernment of the Algerian Republic and to make contributions from their, budgets in its favour. They approved the idea of forming an African volunteer corps to fight on the side of the Algerian patriots. The Conference

unanimously adopted a resolution to boycott South African goods in protest against apar-theid, called for the release of the freedom fighters, and demanded that the ban on progressive parties be lifted and the state of emergency obtaining in a number of co-

Need For

The political independence of the countries of the entire continent, as the African people's representatives justly affirmed, cannot be complete or lasting unless it is accompanied by economic independ-ence and unity. The Confer-ence pointed to the "absolute need for economic changes" -for rapid industrialisation. agrarian reform, modernisa-tion of agriculture, coopera-tive development, etc., in order "to make Africa inde-pendent economically" and "to safeguard the interests of the people, ensure social jus-tice and raise the standard of living". Warning against showing

too much eagerness to obtain foreign aid and loans, the Africa cease to be mere apeconomies....", said J. B. T. Kakonge (Uganda). "Our progress involves lifting ourselves up by our own boot straps. What is needed is not so much external aid as the utmost sacrifice on the part of the African communities That is the only sure safe-guard against the dangers of Neo-Colonialism."

The Conference was an important step towards the eco-nomic, cultural and, eventu-ally, political unity of the continent. Delegations of political parties, trade unions and other organisations ad-opted resolutions to coordi-nate plans for the economic development of their countries to extend and liberalise trade with one another; to form all-Africa transport form companies; to set up an Africa Investment Bank and an Africa Research Institute to investigate the continent's economic resources and to train experts: to extend cultural contacts and jointly study the African cultural le gacy.

Bole Of The Working Class

The united African Trade Union Centre which is about to be established will end the division in the working-class and promote the growth of its influence on Africa's political and economic life. The Conference noted the important role the working class will be called upon to play in the struggle for

* SEE PAGE 12

Political independence is roons, the Belgian Congo with being granted to country Tan anyika over Ruanda-after country and aid in mil- Urundi, the U.A.R. with the Sudan over the Nile waters. and so on. The spokesmen of Neo-Colonialism say that "the withdrawal of the imperial rules is likely to result in a considerable redrawing of boundaries, with inevitable conflicts between the new African States themselves." (The Observer, January 3,

> Playing on the contradictions they have created, the neo-colonialists want to do in Africa what the United States did in Latin America after the fall of the Spanish empire in the New World. They hope to bind the African countries to the former metropolitan countries through the geographical division of labour established under capitalism. With this object in view the neo-colonialists are propagating the "inter-dependence" theory, according to which the economically backward the countries will be fully dependent on the United States and West European countries for west manufactured goods; in return the latter countries will "depend" on them for agricultural produce and raw materials.

Exploitation

"Inter-dependence" of this kind (for instance, the draft Eurafrica plan, attempts to extend the Common Market

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TUNIS CONFERENCE IS THAT IT PUT PAID TO THE COLONIALIST HOPES OF SPLITTING THE NA-TIONAL-LIBERATION MO-VEMENT. AS A COUNTER-WEIGHT TO THE OLD IM-PERIALIST SLOGAN OF "DI-PERIALIST SLUGAN OF "DI-VIDE AND RULE" THE CON-FERENCE, VOICING THE WILL OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES, CALLED FOR "IN-DEPENDENCE AND UNITY

Solidarity Of Peoples

Time and again the delegates from the new countries of Africa underlined that their peoples would not give up the struggle for independence un-til the entire continent was liberated. The solidarity of the peoples was strikingly de-monstrated during the discussion on Algeria. It is signifi-cant that whereas the strug-gle waged by the people of Kenya in the early 'fiftles evoked no great response in other colonies, the Algerian war of liberation is now re-garded by all the African peoules as their own vital concern.

As the Liberian delegate said, "... should the cause of freedom be lost in Algeria the process of re-colonisation of North Africa will set in. and will spread East and South and, eventually, throughout the continent". The Confer-Agreement to the African ence resolutions recommend-countries) certainly suits the ed all the African countries to capitalist monopolies, who recognise the Provisional Govrecognise the Provisional Gov-

the

T HE Presidential Com-mittee of the World Council of Peace met at Stockholm on May 28 and 29 in an emergency session presided over by Professor J. D. Bernal.

Among the members of the Presidential Committee who attended were: Alexander Koreneichuk and Ilya Ehrenburg (Soviet Union); Isabelle Blume (Belgium), Eugenie Cotton brie Laurent Casanova (France); Vello Spano (Italy); Pandit Sunderlal (India); Rev. James Endi-cott (Canada); Settladi (Indonesia); Hirano (Japan).

Others participating m the meeting included Chen. Shen-yu (China); Ostap Dluski (Poland); Holland Roberts (USA); Rev. A. M. Dickie (Australia): Heinz Willmann (German Demo-cratic Republic); Moutranu (Lebanon) · Romesh Chan-



dra (India); Jacquien (France); and Victor Tchikhikhivadze (Soviet Union).

The following important declaration was adopted by the Committee:

Supporters of peace in every land had striven long for the convening of a Summit Conference. The

Little Theatre Group

* FROM PAGE 7

at daggers drawn over a woman, and now they hack their way together. Here is Binu who thinks of his mother. There is Mahavir Singh, Subahdar, the company's strong-arn a specialist in beating up workers, now a sad ruin of a man weeping and pray-ing for life. Here is Sana-tan Mandal who has already died once before, becau he was trapped for two weeks in another colliery, and as the pit is flooded and the water-level rises, Sanatan throws his last challenge to man's con ence: "Profit-motive m makes man a monster and these monsters drown us withou You who are under the great sky must see to it that men are not butchered We charge murder in the first degree.

Profiteers Disturbed

This is the story of Angar. Naturally it disturbs the pro-fiteers of the commercial theatre. It disturbs the very hasis of their existence. calls their bluff, their inso-lent claim that audiences want light stuff or melodrama. Naturally Angar is blasphemy. If they could, they would burn it at the stake

Our third and foulest heresy -Angar is popular. The peo-ple have risen in its support. They queue up at the counter hours before the show every day. They come from distant coalmines and the dockyard and factories of Metiabruz and Kidderpore. They come from complacent middle-class homes. They come from universities and colleges. So far the people have paid nearly Rs. 150,000 to see Angar and thus June 10 is a triumph for Calcutta's theaers. They have declared Angar is true."

PAGE TEN

their appreciation of serious realistic drama.

Much has been said of Angar in the Press and out. Much praise has been showered on it and some abuse. Make no mistake-our heads are not turned. Nobody is more aware than we of the defects of Angar. We know that its construction nlot-building are faulty to the point of infantilism. We know that the elaborate real-ism in execution tends to constrict the message, tends to diffuse the attention. of the audience over minutiae instead of concentrating it on the principal point.

Justified Claim

But this much we can claim: we have been able to solve—or at least attain the first step to the solution of —the problem of creating a balance between idealism and popularity. Bold experimental drama-such as we have been used to in the non-professional theatre-takes no account of the audience's level of consciousness and merely becomes empty jugglery in form and content. On the other hand, the quest for popularity — such as we have seen among the professionals—ends in tailism and hashing out reaction-ary stuff to the people. Angar has succeeded in remaining progressive and has yet become popular. It has yet become popular. It is weaning away audiences from the sinister influence of the commercial theatre.

of the commercial theatre. Today, on June 10, while we celebrate the hundredth night of Angar we thank the heroes of Baradhemo, who spent twentyone trapped days in the pit of the mines, because their tribute on see-ing Angar is a bigger reward ing Angar is.a bigger reward to us than a thousand intellectual back-pats. Said Naksu Mia, their spokesman: "Let the world know every word of

calls on all supporters of peace to act yet more deter minedly to prevent revival of the evil and dangerous practices of the cold war; it is convinced that Summit negotiations must quickly be resumed, they must act to bring about the circumstances that will make it The common struggle to ensure that the Geneva

peoples had eagerly follow-ed the meetings of the Heads of Government. They

had placed great hopes in

the meeting of the Big Four. The collapse of the

meeting has deeply dis-appointed them and they

this situation

World Council of Peace

the

re gravely anxious.

In

DECLARATION OF PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL-

PREVENT

Conference on banning weapons tests nuclear achieves results as soon as possible, to ensure also that the U.N. Comp ission of Ten arrives at first agreements on controlled dis-armament, must be intensified. Current events have thrust into the foreground the simple principle, always maintained by the World Council of Peace: no dis-armament without control, no control without disarmament.

Reasons For Failure

But to achieve this they must appreciate the cir-cumstances that led up to the failure of the Paris

The declarations by leading U.S. Government per-sonalities, repudiating a policy of mutual concession and reaffirming positions of strength;

agreement with The Adenauer cancelling the progress achieved, at the Foreign Ministers' Conference, on Berlin and on re-presentation of the two German States:

The decision to include Japan as well as Western Germany in the network of U.S. military bases;

The meeting of members of the SEATO and NATO pacts a few days before the Conference, to decide on new rearmament mea-

sures: The announcement, just before the Summit, of the U.S. intention to resume

nuclear weapons testing; Most significant, the incursion of the U.S. military reconnaissance aircraft into

NEW AGE

Soviet air space-a violation of national sovereignty and international laws; and

REVIVAL

Oh the day of the Con-ference itself, the alert ordered by the U.S. com-mand in every country where U.S. military airfields are situated.

The responsibility of the U.S. Government and General Staff for this aggre sive policy has been d nounced in the United States itself by many pro-minent political personal-ities. It was the refusal of the U.S. Government to condemn the incursion of its reconn its reconnaissance aircraft into Soviet air space and consequent violations its of international law that. in the end, made impos-sible the holding of the Conference. Thus responsibility for the failure of the Summit rests squarely u on the U.S. Government.

> U.S. Govt.'s Claim

Public opinion in all countries, including the USA, has been deeply dis-quieted by the claim of the U.S. Government to a right to fly aircraft that violated the sovereignty of other the sovereignty of other States. The peoples realise the dangers involved in such practices, totally des-tructive of the mutual confidence that is a necessary condition for fruitful nego-tlations. They must act to force their Governments to stop them.

For, far from renouncing such violation of the sove-reignty of nations, the U.S. Government is attempting to advance its "open skies proposal as a protective measure against surprise attack. This proposal, which is not linked to disarmament is aimed at licensing espionage. These recent happenings have once again brought home to all that military bases on fore-ign soil endanger the secu-rity and independence of nations and world peace itself.

People's Will

The World Council of Peace has fought, ever since its foundation, for peaceful coexistence betall countries, for a permanent ban on nuclear weapons tests, for universal disarmament, and for solution by negotiation of the disputes that divide the world. It has condem ned every act of force against a

people's right to national sovereignty and independ-ence, and it has recognised that imperialism, colonialism and racialism involve grave dangers to peace.

OF

We reaffirm the validity and truth of these principles.

It is for the peoples decisively to influence Govern-ments. The will of the peoples will be stronger than the obstruction of those who seek to maintain international tension. The efforts of the peoples to achieve real national independence and the elimina-tion of military bases, their opposition to the arms race, to the rearmament of Western Germany and the new military pact between the USA and Japan, the worldwide growing action against nuclear weapons, are contributions to peace are contributions to peace that must receive the full cooperation of all devoted

United Efforts

Faithful to our principles, we call on all those of goodwill throughout the world, we ask them to world, we ask them to unite their efforts to prevent resumption of the cold war, establish peaceful coexistence, achieve dis-armament and create conditions that will favour a meeting of the Great

We are convinced these aims can be achieved

STOCKHOLM. May 29, 1960



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JUNE 12, 1960



WHEN, a few days ago, the 1½ ton cabin of Sputnik IV was successfully parted from its parent space-ship, a great stride toward man's first flight into space was taken.

Most neonle now believe the first man in space will be a Soviet cltizen, despite the crash programme embarked on by the United

The American project Mercury, which includes a 100-mile-high preliminary. shot carrying a man, is for orbiting a -ton capsule by the end of 1961.

GREAT STRIDES

The earliest prediction by a Soviet scientist is for a man to orbit the earth by the end of this year. Maybe it will be later, but probal 1961. obably not later

It was less than three years ago that the trium-phant bleep of Sputnik I told the world that the practical conquest of space was on.

Hardly ten years ago automation started to be applied on a large scale. In twenty years the applica-tion of electronics has transformed many indus tries.

Only half a century separates us from Mar-coni's first transatlantic electric spark and the Wright brothers' hop into the air from the sand dunes of Kitty Hawk.

What will happen in the next ten, 20, 30 or 40 years? What dreams will become reality?

Last year 29 Soviet scientists, each an autho-rity in his field tried to predict the advances the vear 2007 would see, based on their present researches.

Their bold vision has now been published as Life in the Twenty-First Cenev and S. Gouschev, liev and S. Souvenir Press, 21sh).

A fantastic world is foreseen, but reality may even outpace what is described

LRARN TO DREAM

President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, A. N. Nesmeyanov, one of the world's greatest organic chemists, backed the prolect.

"Without dreams, prospects do not exist: without dreams man, scientist included, is inevitably halted in his progress One must cultivate this capacity in oneself-one must learn to dream and so coordinate the work of today with the problems of tomorrow", he writes.

What will happen?

forecast.

endorsed the token strike endorsed the token strike call for June 27, 1960 given by the Suti Mills Mazdoor Sabha. The meeting which was held under the pre-sidentship of S. S. Yusuf was organised by the SMMS in pursuance of its General Council's decision taken last Sunday for a token

strike. The General Council had deplored the attitude of the Kanpur textile bosses who, even after the implementa-tion of the Wage Board recommendations at Bombay, Ahmadabad, Madhya Pra-desh, Rajasthan and Delhi,

The General Council heard the report of its delegate to the Bombay All-India Textile Workers' istry. Recently when Ram Balak and Raj Narain Arya, SMMS Conference, and after a five-hour discussion came to the conclusion that there leaders.

JUNE 12, 1980

to peace.

The conquest of space will go on. Return flights to the moon will become commonplace by the end of the century. The moon will become the seventh continent and its natural wealth used for mon wealth used for man.

Since existing rocket accuracy puts an unaccuracy puts an un-manned trip to Mars on the schedule between, 1965 and 1971, the exploration of the solar system will be The moon will be helpful

well under way.

retransmitting radio

be? Why not farm fish under controlled conditions with divers to harvest the fish and useful undersea plants?

By the 21st century underground mining will have disappeared. Under-ground gasification and tapping of natural gas will be the rule. Flowers will be some on senet coefficient blossom on spent coaltips. The mining of oil will

in the future as plant breeding and biology be-come exact sciences with the control of heredity.

THE MOON

Great advances will be made in medicine, and cancer will be remembered as smallnox and rables at in Western countries day.

Surgeons will use a superknife for ope



signals, For example, longdistance weather forecasting for supersonic aircraft --London to Moscow in one hour—will be helped in this way.

Man's eyes will not only be on a flight to the stars but great advances in exploring under the sea are

Why rely on hunting fish just where they happen to

be more efficient and vast new reserves will be ex-ploited. This will be essen-tial not only for fuel but for the plastics industry.

The earth will bloom with plenty for all as new agricultural methods are used—anyone who argues that the earth cannot feed all its people will be con-sidered crazy.

There will be advances

"gluing" incisions together afterwards.

Automation, electronics will lighten toil and the four-hour working day will be universal.

The making of steel will be turned into a continuous process, instead of, as now, making pig-iron first.

Direct transformation of the chemical energy of coal into electric power and transformation of atomic energy into electric power without boilers, turbines and generators in between will have been accomp eđ.

All these ideas, and more, are foreseen by the 29 scientists, who include I. P. Bardin, who helped to build up the Soviet metallurgical industry, D. I. Shcherbakov, the explorer and geographer, and A. V. Winter, who advised Lenin on the draw-ing up of the electrification plan a few days after the October Revolution.

Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country, said Lenin. H. G. Wells, who had laid claim to the role of a predictor of scientific ad-vance, dismissed the foun-der of the Soviet State as "the dreamer in the Krem Olin "

But it was Lenin's dreams, not Well's ideas, that were soundly based-and so are those of the 29 today.

Their very boldness and scope stem from the scien-tists' confidence in their system of society, which is Socialism today-and Com--and Communism on the horizon.

KANPUR TEXTILE WORKERS TO STRIKE ON JUNE 27

KANPUR, June 1. A FIVE THOUSAND -A strong textile mill workers' rally held at Parade Ground on May 29

were refusing to accept and implement them.

was no other alternative but to strike as the Government was failing to per-suade the employers to accept the wage-increase reco mendations and the employers, on the other hand, had begun to put forward counter - demands of wage-freeze for two years, Sunday working, etc.

The General Council fur-ther decided to hold a State Textile Workers' Conference on June 12, 1960, so that a Statewide action for the im-plementation of the Wage Board's recommendations can be launched.

The rally held after the General Council session, adopted a resolution condemning gooda terror tac-tics now being employed by the management in a local mill which is notorious for its anti-worker outlook and has special protection of some people in the U.P. Minhandbills at the gate of a local textile mill they were attacked by goondas. But for the intervention of the workers, the situation would have become serious. The same evening when a meeting was later being held at the gate of Kailash Mills, these very people armed with lathis and knives organised disturbances but were repulsed.

Having been thus re-buffed, they sought to make stray assaults on the mili-tants of the SMMS. Om Prakash Gupta, a worker of this mill who was going on a bicycle at about the same time, was attacked by some goondas near the J. K. Jute Mills crossing and received serious head injuries.

The rally was addressed among others by S. M. Baner-ji, M.P., Ravi Sinha and Ram Asrey.

S. M. Banerji in his address described in detail the efforts that had been made inside the Lok Sabha to force the Gov-ernment to accept the Wage were distributing Board recommendations. He

further assured his full co-operation in the struggle of the textile workers to get the recommendations impl

The meeting later turned into a militant procession which marched through the main streets of the city. Earlier in the morning a cycle procession was taken out from the office of the SMMS.

Meanwhile, the U.P. Government which should have felt_concerned over the deteriorating situation, is leisurely planning tripartite meetings to be held at Rani-khet. They are scheduled to begin from June 27 and may continue up to July 3, 1960.

The strike decision has created a stir in workers' bustees and they are once again on the move. A round of gate meetings at almost all mill gates were held in the last week and were addressed by S. S. Yusuf, Sri Ram, Ravi Singh, Ram Balak, Harbans Singh, and others.

> -RAM ASREY PAGE ELEVEN

⁻JOHN MOSS

Africa's Year Of Decision

FROM CENTRE PAGES

unity of the continent, for ocracy and social progress.

There was a long discussion on the lines along which the national-liberation movement is likely to develop. Most de-in such circumstances would legates thought that peaceful means of struggle should not exclude non-peaceful means, for to do so would be to create a "pseudo-dilemma" which, as F. R. Moumie put it, "the imperialists would take advantage of in order to render the liberation struggle ineffective". (Le Patriote Ka merunais, No. 11-12, p. 5.) As President Bourguiba of Tunisia and the delegates from Algeria, Kenya, the Belgian Congo, Sierra-Leone and other countries pointed out, any people would prefer to achieve freedom with as few casualities as possible. On the

complete independence and other hand there was no sacrifice they were not prepared to make in order to win inlependence. So that when all other, peaceful, means struggle had proved fu of futile to uprising. To renounce force in such circumstances would be tantamount to betraying the national interests. "Any path to freedom is valid and justified!" declared Bour-guibe guiba.

Issue Can't Be Put Off

Round-table conference colonial powers' favourite method of evading the issue-should not become like the Hatter's and the March Hare's mad tea-party in Alice in Wonderland, at which Alice discovered the Hatter's

"YOU MADE ME A COMMUNIST" IN HINDI

T HE publication of UTTHAN epoch-making Malayalam play epoch-making Malay Communistaki Ningal Annay Communistaki ("You Made Me a Communist") by Laxman Shastri is a laudable effort on the part of Ashok Prakashan Grah who have set before them-selves the task of "acquainting the people of our land with the life, customs, thoughts and arts and literature of the people inhabiting the various regions of India, a' necessary pre-requisite for the development of Indian culture and particularly that Indian literature." And than is their first contribuof Indian literature." tion to this process of giveand-take.

It may be recalled that this play, originally written about eight years ago, had been staged more than 600 times within six years, and unnerv-ed by its initial popularity, the Congress Government the Congress Govern had promptly banned it.

This led to a powerful agitation for the removal of the ban and an adjournment motion "to discuss the serious and urgent situation arising as a result of the ban on the play" was allowed in Assembly—a rare event the the working of our demo-cratic parliamentary system.

Finally, on a writ moved in the High Court by the Kerala People's Art Club against this ban, the High Court declared the Dramatic Performance Act ultra vires and the ban was lifted.

It is doubtful if the play can ever become such a success on

PAGE TWELVE

the Hindustani stage, if it is T (Price: Rs. 2.50), Hindi translation of Thoppil Bhasi's ed form the Hindi readers will find an exotic charm in

> Even ordinarily a play does not easily lend itself to translation in all its beauty but a play like the present one, being such an intimate pic-In ture of the life of people a particular region, and being so deeply saturated in local colour, renders the task of the translator doubly difficult.

The difficulty of the tran-The anifestity of the thre-slator's job is manifestity re-flected in the fact that the Malayalam songs which con-tribute in no small measure ess of the play. to the could not be included in Hindi version. It is hoped that this shortcoming will be over come in the next edition.

Laxman Shastri has rendered the translation fairly well but it still leaves much to be desired, particularly in view of the fact that the play was originally intended to be staged. The language of the staged. The language of the translation lacks in that smooth flow of the naturally spoken dialogue, so vital for making a play pleasant read-ing. It is hoped that the Hindi readers will be able to enjoy through this translation quite a lot of its original charm. a lot of its original charm.

The publishers deserve to be congratulated for fulfilling a long-standing need through their programme of publications of novels, stories, plays, etc., from South Indian languages.

-ANABHIGYA

watch "doesn't tell what o'clock it is", and "that it was "always six o'clock now... al-ways tea-time". The issue of granting national independ-ence cannot be put off for ever.

majority of the people.

der to win public support in

their countries. The nation

alist slogan "Africa for the Africans" is, since there is no big imperialist Power in Africa which could use it

for its narrow ends, a pro-gressive slogan, a slogan spearheaded against impe-

rialism and colonialism

That is its fundamental

difference from the Monroe

the Western hemisphere, and the slogan "Asia for the Asians!" sounded by the

which

capital in

Doctrine of "America

U.S. monopoly

the

Americans!"

Japanese militarists be the Second World War.

Or Chauvinists

The Africans, explain the

Africans, we are no racialists

or chauvinists" declared Kojo

Botsio, head of the Ghana delegation. "We welcome into

our midst peoples of other races, other nations, other communities who desire to live among us in peace and

equality. But they must res-

pect us and our rights: our

loaked the expansion

The Conference re-affirmed The Conference re-attirmed that the result of the neo-colonialist attempts to cling to Africa, on the pretext of "defending" it from "world Communism", was growing suspicion of the West We are often to defended Mainer Change often told, said Mainza Chona (Northern .Rhodesia), that the system we hate 'is necessary in order to fight against Russia. But are we going to suffer exploitation simply because of a quarrel between two tribes? We have our own problems—poverty, freedon and justice—and it is fo other tribes to solve theirs" freedom for

The African peoples see for themselves that the So-cialist countries, who are not seeking spheres of in-fluence or war bases in fluence or war bases in other countries, and are al-ways prepared to give eco-nomic aid to the backward Not Racialists ountries in their efforts to achieve national independ-ence and social progress, The Africans, explain the leaders of the national move-ment in Africa, include all peoples on the continent, irrespective of race, colour, religious belief or origin, and also the settlers from Europe and Asia. "While we believe that Africa belongs to the Africans wa are no religilist are nursuing a cor are pursuing a consistent policy of peace. The Social-ist countries' stand during the Suez crisis, their econo-mic aid to Guinea and Ethiopia, the building of the Aswan Dam, the openin Moscow of the ndship of Peoples Uni-Frie versity, etc., are striking proof of this.

That is why demands for the abolition of the Western military bases, and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from, the continent, were unanimously approved by the delegations, who proclaimed that the only policy consis-tent with the tasks of the liberation movement was the policy of neutrality and steer-ing clear of military alliances. On the day the Conference opened there was a big de-monstration against using the Sahara as a proving ground for the French A-bombs. delegations, who proc

Concept Of Democracy

The Conference spurned the colonialist attempts to teach the Africans democracy. Delegates from British colonies in East Africa denounestablish a ced the plans to establish a so-called "multi-racial society" in these countries, and to introduce an electoral system under which the will of a few tens of thousands of European settlers would outropean settlers would outbalance that of millions of natives. True democracy, the resentatives of Kenya, anda, Tanganyika, Nyasarepresentatives of land and Rhodesia said, does not consist in perpetuat-ing indirect colonial rule mile ing indirect colonial rule under the hypocritical pretext of "safeguarding the rights of the European and Asian minorities", but in consistent application of the basic deapplication of the mocratic principle of "one

NEW AGE

man one vote", and in the right, as the majority, to forming of a Government rule." which would express the inte-

While Roy Welensky, Prime rests of the overwhelming Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was threatening Africans refusing Democracy for us, said to recognize the supremacy of the Europeans with the fate that befell the North Ameri-Oskar Kambona (Tanganyika) means "freedom from hunger, disease and ignor-ance. It must mean freedom can Indians, Rhodesia's re-presentative at the Confer-ence said: "I wish to repeat oppression by fellow citizens or by any Government of free Africa." what we have always said, we welcome all good Europeans to Africa and are ready to give them a share of our wealth....This point is sup-ported by the fact that there The national-liberation movement in Africa is not directed against Europeans or Western civilisation, as the colonialists aver in orare more Europeans in Ghana now than before independ-

ence."

Part Of World Struggle

The leaders of the liberation movement have no inten-tion of driving out the Euro-pean population, or of isolat-ing the continent from the vorld, "A free and independent Africa, free to mobilise its human and material re-sources, free to build its culture and civilisation, has much to offer the world. The cultural treasures dormant in our nations, whose development was arrested by colonialism, hold out the greatest promise to humanity. What is more, the world economy will be enriched when the African countries working freely, and at liberty to cooperate with the whole world. utilise their oil resources in the Sahara, the sources in the Sahara, the copper and uranium in the Rhodesias and the Congo, and the coffee and cotton of Kenya and Uganda." (Uganda Beaissance, January 1960, pp.

The African peoples look upon their struggle for independence, freedom and unity as an integral part of the as an integral part of the struggle being waged by pro-gressive humanity for peace, democracy and social justice. And for this reason they have the sympathy and support of the world public.

NEW AGE

Political Monthly of the Communist Party of India

EDITOR: B. T. RANADIVE

June issue contains	
Red Flag (Peking) :	Long Live Leninism
B. T. Ranadive :	Foreign Capital and India
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JUNE 12, 1960

The Summit follow-up in Asia sees an accentuated struggle between the two lines of international policy which had exploded so dramatically in Paris. The specific form it is taking in our continent is increasing pressure to discrease from entingling US military allignees on the disengage from entangling U.S. military alliances on the part of the peoples and a frantic U.S.-led attempt to clamp down on Asia its military control-backed up with a vici-ous anti-China campaign. Crucal days lie ahead.

HERE is a high-tide of the hensive of the dangers to which opular movement in Japan as its people speed ahead with their Seventeenth Wave of Struggle, which opened on May

The core and centre of this stage of the struggle was the tremendous general strike of lapan's militant working n June 4. The entire industrial sector, transport and even big restaurants completely stopped their acti-vities. It was one of the big-gest strike actions in Asia's history and that, too, on a history and that, too, on a directly political issue. It was a testimony to the political maturity of Japan's working class and to its decisive role in the present struggle.

This magnificent general strike was the follow-up of a stained movement of the past two months in which it has estimated that (up to May 31) 20 nillion signatures have been collected on a petition urging the scrapping of the revised "Semirity" Treaty.

Four Demands

In the present phase the dein the present phase the de-mands are four: ONE, the Diet should be dissolved; TWO, the Kishi Cabinet should resign; Treaty THREE, the Security should be scrapped; and FOUR, Eisenhower should not come to Japan. The Communist Party of Japan, while being in efront of the mover to win these demands, addition-ally wants that a Provisional mment should be formed to corduct the elections in which all parties should be represented, except for the Kishi

A significant feature of the snovement is the maturing split inside the ruling Liberal Demostratic Party. Many of its top leaders demand that Kishi should resign. In this connec-tion, the Peking People's Daily that there are two forces at work. In the first place, there are some farsighted politiwho are genuinely appre-



JUNE 12, 1960

PROMISE AND MENACE IN ASIA by momit sen

Kishi's policies are exposing Japan, especially in view of the warning given by the Soviet Union to those countries which are foolish enough to allow American bases on their soil.

But there is another group of politicians in the ruling party, the *People's Daily* points out, who are anxious to throw off Kishi as a sop to the mass movement and then disrupt it. They want to sacrifice Kishi in order to save Kishi's policies from reversal. It is this tactic that needs watching as reports indicate that the U.S. imperialists themselves are veering

round towards it.

into Asian

Hopefal

nifestation in the

Sian

It should be noted that the Japanese people have an ard-uous and long struggle ahead of them. Japan's monopoly capitalists have been more interlocked with their American counterparts than perhaps any other country's mo-nopolists. They also hope to make a spectacular re-entry markets under American protection.

The American ruling circles also place very great hopes on Japan. To them it is no ordi-nary base. It is their main. ing off ground against the jumping or ground against the Soviet Union and China. It is central to the U.S. plans for spreading the tentacles of SEATO. It is to be the hub and centre of the new Northeast Asia alliance which they are anxious to knock together. It will not be casy for them to re-treat. They will fight to the bit-

The hopeful sign in the situation is the steady amalgamation and consolidation of a democra-tic and patriotic united front in Janan which places before itself the dual task of overthrowing the Kishi clique and dealing a big blow to American imperialism. This finds concrete ma of action drawn up by Japan's central trade union organis

future is bright.

An illuminating aspect of the Japanese scene is the attitude to parliamentary democracy. The shameful manner in which Kishi hustled through the Treaty in the Lower House, the complete ignoring of the Op-position and manhandling of of the Socialist Party M.P.s by the police, shows the lengths to which reaction will go against the parliamentary institutions these become obstacles to ambitions their nefarious ent demand Hence, the promin for fresh elections which would result in a Diet, more adequate -ly representative of the people. And, needless to say, rea resists this demand with all its strength.

> Never before has American imperialist prestige been so low as it is today. Their sabotage of the Summit and its exposure, the downfall of Rhee and Menderes who were their faithful servitors and the terrific sweep of the mass actions in Japan have shot down their political position and arrogance as surely as the Soviet rocket brought brought down the U-2 spy plane.

The Seato Meet

They are desperate and they have shown it in the recent SEATO conference which conded its deliberations in Washington on June 4.

Hindu Correspondent Balaraman put the matter thus: "America's most urgent task at present is to hold the SEATO alliance together and she is utilising the present SEATO Ministers' meeting to reass her allies in the East...." It would be more correct to say that the American ruling circles planning a desperate are now j ffensive in Asia th TO in the hope that in this way they can prop up their tottering structure.

It should be noted that the SEATO Minister's Conference was preceded by a meeting of their military advisers. These militarist desperadoes have decided to despatch complete U.S. air strike force reassure" Asian on

Right in the conference the U.S. found itself at loggerheads with all its "allies". Britain and France were nervous of where the U.S. offensive might lead them and counselled restraint. Thailand wanted that SEATO should pay more attention to economic problems. Pakistan vanted more American backing in her quarrel with Afghani-stan and Manzur Qadir, the Pakistan representative, felt that the Indian sub-continent needed more "careful watching."

There was quite a crisis when Premier Nash of New Zealand raised the issue of China's seat in the United Nations. Reports ndicate that Herter hit out hard against what he called any "softening" of approach. Earlier Nixon made a highly provocative speech in which he welcomed the failure of the Paris Summit in that this had discredited the entire idea of Summit diplomacy." He called for greater preparedness and railed at length against China,

It was clear from the com munique that the U.S. ists had won the day in SEATO, with all the menace to Asian peace and freedom that this nortends.

Against China

The communique, in the FIRST place, indicates that U.S.-led SEATO activities against China are going to be stepped up. There is every possbiility of dangerously provoca tive activities against the Chinese Peoples Republic and its sovereignty.

SECONDLY, the U.S. impeto try some kind of a probe in the Indo-China region. Thai-

lands' Pote Sarasin stated after the meeting that the reference in the communique to so-called subversive" activities pointed to Laos and South Vietnam. It is likely, judging from the trend of the reported discussions, that attempting some incursions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the centre of SEATO activities in this region would be aimed, in the first place, against neutralist Cam-

THIRDLY. it needs stressing that SEATO is devoting increa-sing attention to what it calls the danger of Communism as an "immediate and direct threat o the cultures and way of life of Asian countries. The Communique as well as the statemer of SEATO spokesmen after it was issued laid particular emphasis on this aspect.

Stepping Up Espionage

In the name of "combating Communism" as a "cultural" danger it seems that the SEATO Powers will step up their espionage activities in all the free countries of Asia. Moreover, they will increas-ingly turn to the tactic of attempting to divide Asia on a Communist and anti-Communist basis, split Asian solida-rity and then push ahead with their aggressive drives.

The Asian air rings with challenge and promise. Just as the U.S. attempts its counter-offensive, the people's upsurge for peace and freedom forward in our continent. Given vigilance, unity and a still higher level of struggle Asia can thrust out the U.S. impe-rialists and force on it a still more ignonimious retreat.

This is a profound

PAGE THIRTEEN

June 7, 1960.

THE

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ADCRAFTS

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GRAND PEACE OFFENSIVE SOVIET DISARMAMENT PLAN

by cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, June 6.

To save the international situation from further deterioration, the Soviet Union has launched a new and powerful peace offensive. It is a grand two-pronged drive. On one side it exposes the dangerous manoeuvres and the latest conspiracies of the imperialists and the enemies of peace and drives them to pillory and on the other brings forward fresh concrete and detailed proposals for general and complete disarra-ament and points the way out of the jungle. This is a great constructive step and an invitation to all Go-vernments of the world to stop the drift to war.

In a message to the heads ideas put forward by the of Governments of all the French Government. countries, Nikita Khrusnchov Conditions for strict interwarns again that the arms race is "pulling the world to-wards an unprecedented dis-aster" and that "daring and far-reaching actions are ne-cessary to find a solution to e disarmament problem." Putting forward the new

Draft Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in three stages, the Soviet Union from her side makes this daring proposal: "Being an ardent champion of the ear-l' deliverance of mankind from the threat of rocket and

nuclear war, the Soviet Government proposes that ag-reement be reached to begin the process of general and complete disarmament by prohibition and destruction der international control at the first stage of all means of carrying nuclear weapons to the target with the simultaneous elimination of military bases on foreign territo-

This means that the Soviet Union is ready to destroy along with bombers and all other means of delivering bombs its own rockets and intercontinental ballistic missiles at the very beginning of disarmament, notwithstanding its generally recognised supe-riority in this field. The proposals go a long way to meet the desires of the Western Governments on some points and especially incorporate the

national control over dis-armament at every stage, worked out by the plan, are detailed and fool-proof and leave no aspect out of the picture. They would not allow

anyone to evade the obser-

vance of the agreement on general and complete disrmament. The Soviet Union as a matter of fact demands that the problem be brought out of the sphere of discussions and general declarations and the process of disarmament be set in motion immediately. The proposals also show

The proposals also show that the Soviet Union had not gone to the Summit "with an empty suitcase" as Khrush-chov put it. And after the chov put it. And after the U.S. sabotage of the Paris meeting, the deterioration in the world situation and the crazy demands in the West more arms, it becomes all the more necessary to call a halt. The Soviet Premier's message to the heads of all Governments declares:

"Latest developments have not reduced but on the contrary increased the determination of the Soviet Govern-ment to seek a radical solu-tion of the disarmament problem, the liquidation of the armaments race which is dangerous and useless for the peoples. The Soviet Govern-

* SEE FACING PAGE

Khrushchov Explains The New In Soviet Proposal

What is new in the latest oviet proposals on dis-rmament? Answering this question Soviet Prime Min-ister N. S. Khrushchov told Pressmen at a conference in the Kremlin on June 3: The Soviet Government

carefully examined the arguments presented by some Powers, particularly France, to the effect that the practical implementation of the disarmament programme should begin with the destruction of the means for delivering nuclear wean

For the sake of attaining the great aim—the deli-very of mankind from wars very armaments_the So viet Union, continuing to stand on the positions of general and complete disarmament, agrees to effect, even before the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons the destruction of all means of delivering these weapons to the target, al-ready in the first stage of the disarmament programme

The Soviet Union submits this proposal although it now has a generally recognised superiority in the most up-to-date and effec-tive means of delivery, including inter-continental ballistic missiles. We pro-pose that the implementa-tion of the programme of general and complete dis-armament should begin with the problidion and with the prohibition and destruction under inter national control of military rockets, war planes, sur-face naval vessels and submarines, artillery capable of firing nuclear shells and other means of delivering to the target weapons of mass destruction and also with the liquidation of all military bases on foreign territories.

We believe that the prohibition and destruction of some separate types of carriers of nuclear weapons, for instance, inter-continental missiles or military aircraft or surface and submarines

alone would place States in an unequal position. In conditions of the existence of nuclear weapons, this, of course, would not eliminate the possibility of an outbreak of atomic war. The security of the States can be properly safeguard-

ed only in case all means of delivering atomic and hydrogen weapons without exception are eliminated from national armaments and liquidated. This is pre-cisely what is envisaged by our propos

our proposals. It goes without saying, that it is necessary simul-taneously to liquidate all military bases on foreign territories and to remove the foreign troops from those territories since the retention of such bases and troops might be used for attack on nearby States. States. GUARANTEE

Of late there has been much talk in the United States on the prevention of surprise attack. How-ever, in order to solve this problem radically and to safeguard an enduring peace, it is imperative to effect general and com-plete disarmament, and this is what the Soviet this is what the Soviet Union proposes. At the same time the abolition of all types of carriers of nuclear weapone nuclear weapons already in the first stage of such disarmament would create firm guarantees against surprise attack. Indeed, how can one launch a sur-prise attack without rocket weapons or warplanes, without naval vessels or submarines, and other means of delivering nu-

clear weapons? When disarmament measures are implemented there hardly will be any objections to flying over territories of countries with the object of photo-graphing any points from any altitude. For then no could use the data obtained to the detriment of the security of any State. Then President Eisenhower with all of his company—Herter, Dillon and Dulles—Nixon, too, should remember this—can fly any direction they want. We shall be waving at them from the ground and greeting them, for such flights will not threaten anybody any longer.

Our proposals of September 18 last year, put for-ward for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly, besides setting forth a programme for general and complete for ent, give an outline of the question of control. Now we have specified our pr mulating for-the detail in detail which will measures be taken in each stage of the disarmament programme, and drafted in detail control provisions.

Let us take the first stage as an instance. Already by the beginning of this stage an international control organisation is to be set up within the framework of the United Nations. This control organisation shall establish on-the-spot control over the destruction of rocket weapons. military aircraft and other which could be mean could be used as carriers of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The des-truction of missile launching sites shall be carried out under its supervision.

At the same time international inspection teams shall supervise the elimi-nation of military bases on nation of military bases on foreign territories and the withdrawal of foreign troops from these territo-tories to within their own national frontiers. The control organisation shall have all facilities to ins-pect all objectives where the means of delivering nuclear weapons were manufactured in order to prevent their clandes production.

In the subsequent stages the functions of the control organisation shall be expanded. The prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the abolition of armies, etc., shall be placed under strict control.

After our proposals were submitted in September question last year, the raised how to the maintaining of international law and order in conditions of general and complete disarmament. The Western Powers advanced arguments on the necessity of setting up some kind of international armed forces.

We carefully studied these considerations and drew the conclusion that the only realistic possibility in present conditions would be, in accordance with the United Nations Charter to place, when necessary, police (militia) detachments at the disposal of the Security Coun-cil to ensure keeping the peace. Such police tia) detachments (miliwould in at the disposal of rem States after the implementation of general and com-plete disarmament. This is also envisaged in our latest proposals.

Naturally, such police (militia) deta c h m e n t s should be used exclusively (militia) for the maintenance of peace among nations and not for the suppression of peoples who are struggling for their independence and social progress, not for intervention in the internal affairs of States.

These are the main considerations I should like to emphas in connection with our latest proposals on general and disarmament. complete

JUNE 12, 1960

PARTY NEWS. WEST BENGAL STATE

THE West Bengal State Council of the Commu-nist Party, which met from June 1 to 5, discussed a numnist Party, which met from June 1 to 5, discussed a num-ber of important issues.

It decided to launch a mass -drive for stepping up the cir-culation of the Swadhinata, the Party's Bengali daily which has become an eight-pager since Marc), 28 last. Quotas were fix-e/ for different districts and September 15 was fixed as tarset date for their realisation.

The Council also decided to intensify the campaign for the collection of the Rupees Two-Lakh Party Fund, for which a call had been given some

Food Situation

Discussions in the meeting revealed that the food situa-tion in this State had already become grave as a result of the high prices of tice, stor page of the supply of modified rations in rural areas, absolu-tely inadequate provisions for pratuitous and test relief and other factors. Distress was particularly acute and wide-spread in the countryside. 1003

The Council, therefore, drev up a programme to meet this alarming situation. It also decided to observe August 31 to September 6 as "Martyrs Week" in memory of the 80 persons killed in course of last year's historic food movement, and to rect a permanent Martyrs' Column in place of the improvised one put up in the Subodh Mallick Square, Calcutta.

The resolution of the Council on the Summit Conference expressed its deep resentment at the way the U.S.-imperialists the holding of the torpedoed

Emphasising the tremendous role played by the Socialist world headed by the Soviet Union for the preservation of peace and for creating the con-ditions for the Summit Confer-ence, the resolution pointed out that world peace could not be safeguarded without delivering sharp blows at imperialist maons at every step.

It further said that in the present international situation India had a special role to play. Today, the danger of war had spread to the whole of Asia as a result of U.S. espionage activities from military bases in different Asian countries. It was, therefore, necessary for all Asian countries to oppose unitedly and firmly the imperialist policy of the U.S. Government in I'.S. Government in order to overt the danger of

that the Government of India Mikir Hills in Assam. **JUNE 12, 1960**

In response to this appeal, the Calcutta, Burdwan, Mid-. napore and Cooch Behar District Councils of the Party made token contributions of Rs. 100, Rs. 51, Rs. 51 and Rs. 25 respectively on the spot. They promised to raise more. Representatives of other District Councils also said that ey would give all possible financial help.

Other resolutions passed at the State Council meeting were those on the victimisation of West Bengal Government employees, struggle of the people of Manipur, struggle of the East Pakistan refugees in Tripura But it was a matter of regret and influx of refugees from the



Khrushchov's Press Conference at Gorki Park where the remnants of the U.S. spy plane, are exhibited.

NEW AGR

way they like and in CONTROL



Soviet Governments responsible for the collapse of the Summit

The resolution demanded that, in keeping with the hopes and aspirations of the free loving peoples of India and other Asian countries, the Prime Minister of India should take the initiative in building up the solidarity of Afro-Asian coun-tries against the U.S. imperialists' policy of war.

It called upon all members and units of the Communist Party to throw their full weight into the campaign for mobilis-ing the masses of our people behind this demand.

By another resolution the State Council expressed its grave concern over the organ-ised and savage repression let loose against the kisan move-ment in Babirbpur in Malda District. It was of the opinion that the slander campaign launched aainst the Commu-nist Party and the kisan movement was part of a deep-laid conspiracy of the vested

The Council greeted the kisans of Malda for the firmness with which they were carrying on their united movement and appealed to them to continue it peacefully despite provocation

and intimidation.

ways.

It pointed out that the brutal repression in Malda was not an isolated event. It had been re-sorted to in all those areas where the kisan movement for surplus land, which had vested in the State, had started. It was in Malda that repressive measures had assumed barbarous proportions. It was a portent of the repression that would be launched to safeguard the interests of jotedars and erstwhile big landlords.

The Council called upon all units of the Party and the de-mocratic forces to stand behind the kisans of Malda and to render them help in all possible

HO CHI MINH'S REPLY TO CPI GREETINGS

Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who celebrated his Seventieth Birthday on May 19 last, says in a cable in reply to the message of greetings from the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India:

"I SINCERELY THANK YOU ALL FOR YOUR CORDIAL GREET. INGS ON THE OCCASION OF MY BIRTHDAY. I WISH YOU GREATER SUCCESSES IN YOUR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT HAPPINESS TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE, TO MAINTAIN PEACE IN ASIA AND THE WORLD. MAY FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES BE FUR-THER STRENGTHENED AND DEVELOPED. BEST OF HEALTH TO ALL COMRADES."

KHRUSHCHOV'S PRESS CONFERENCE

* FROM FACING PAGE

ment being guided by invariable policy of peaceful coexistence among the States intends, as it has before, to do everything necessary for the invigoration of the inter-national situation and the improvement of relations among States." Khrushchov's message goes On to say. "The implementa-

on to say, "The implementa-tion of these measures at the very beginning of the disrmament programme would remove the danger of a surprise nuclear war being unprise nuclear war being un-leashed and would change radically the international situation". He again proposes that part of the funds released by arms-cut should be used to render economic assistance to the underdeveloped contents. the underdeveloped countrie

On Friday (June 3), Khru-shchov addressed a big Press Conference in the Sverdlov Hall of the Kremlin, lasting for full two hours, which was attended by more than four hundred eager and excited journalists. It was a great Press Conference. The Soviet leader was calm and confident and optimistic but at the Some time frame and but same time frank and hard-hitting at the imperialists, exposing their dark deeds and discomfiture with merciless ridicule and sarcasm

Warning To Aggressors

Making his opening statement to the journalists, Khrushchov declared that after disarmament had become a reality there would be no objection to flying over or no objection to nying over a photographing the country as then it would not be espio-nage. "Then President Elsennage. "Then President Eisen-hower could fly with all his company-Herter, Dillon and Dulles and not forgetting Nixon—this way and that and in all directions as he wished and we would wave to them and greet them from the ground for then such flights would not be a threat to anyone.

He gave this grave warning to the aggressors: "Planes in-truding into our air space will be shot down and crushing blows by rocket forces will be. struck at the baseş from

which they take off. This order will be strictly carried out and should be understood literally." He said this should give food for thought to lea-ders of those countries which surrounded the Soviet Union and where there are American bases. Here he also refer-red to the fate of Menderes nd his Government in Turkey.

Further on he made it clear that "each country has the full possibility of avoiding such retaliation. This calls for very little: not to allow the American aggressors to use their land for military bases against the Soviet Union. But best of all it would be to liquidate these bases and then the question mould and then the question would no longer exist. The Soviet Union threatens no one. We only warn that we will de-fend ourselves against ag-gression by all available gression means."

He called Eisenhower a "weak-kneed President of the United States" and said, "we could not help wondering who is running that State and whither we are going after all? For such a President can take God knows what kind of decision and his is a vast, great and powerful nation. One shuddered at the thought of what a great force was in such hands."

Your Correspondent asked Your Correspondent asked the following question: "Do you believe that war is inevi-, table as long as imperialism exists, and has this conclusion been confirmed by the events of the last month?"

Peace Will Triumph

Khrushchov replied, "A fairly clear statement on this subject was made by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We still hold this view. Noth-ing has changed to make us change our view that war is not inevitable. On the contrary, experience confirms this conclusion." He came back to this sub-

ject later and said, "I am sure that if the peoples of all nations take the cause of

peace into their own hands and if they check the aggressors who run amuck and who those unwise leaders allow conditions likely to produce an armed conflict to be created. I am sure the cause of peace will triumph. On our part, we shall do everything in this direction. I think that this policy is adhered to by all peoples and by the absolute majority of the world's population." Referring to Soviet-Ameri-

can relations, Khrushchow said, "we believe that how-soever our relations with the United States may have been impaired, they will, I think, improve as time goes on." The Soviet Union wants that trade and cultural relations between the two countries should continue to develop but it was a bilateral pro-cess. "We stand for this and we shall stand for this."

More About Spy Plane

Remnants of the black U. S. plane are still on exhibition in Moscow's Gorky Park and continue to draw big crowds. Big sections of the plane and hundreds of instruments are on show. The spy plane was painted black and had no

markings. A question frequently asked is how it is that when the rocket hit the plane and exploded, the pilot remained alive and so much of the plane's equipment could be salvaged. The guide explained to me that the rocket did not hit the plane but exploded about five metres away from it. The spy plane was hit by innumerable bits of exploding rocket and was ridded with holes in many places and thus. put out of action. Another thing which emer-

ges after the examination of the remnants is that no air-field under the sun could have mistaken it for any other thing than what it was -a spy plane. As I said ear-lier it was painted black to hide it from radar location and had no markings at all. People at the Peshaw field knew very well what it was all about.

LINGUISTIC DIVISION OF PUNJAB

S FROM FRONT PAGE

in the Punjabi region _maindue to the pressure of ndu communalists. The ly due Hindu Hindu communication. latter, instead of making constructive suggestions for an interim arrangement to facilitate the smooth transi-tion to the use of Punjabi, have invented the atrocious and danngerous theory that Punjabi is not the mother-tongue of the Hindus of the Punjabi region. instead of making tive suggestions for

They make out that the two religious communities, Hindus and Sikhs are two linguistic groups. They we inguistic groups. They mislead large sections of the Hindu masses by raising the bogy that once the Hindus of the Punjabi region second the Punjabi region accept Punjabi as their mother-tongue, the Punjabi Suba of the Akali Party's conception would come into being.

The Congress Government has never taken a principled stand with regard to the issue of language and formation of linguistic provinces and has always, compromised, on the basis of communal conces-sions, with one or the other group of communalists on this issue

But the issue of language and formation of a linguistic But use and formation of a linguage State cannot be shelved by making unprincipled compro-mise with one communal group against the other. For building a lasting unity of the Punjabi people and ad-vancing the democratic move-ment, the same principles regarding language and for-mation of linguistic States have to be followed in this region which have been folhave to be followed in this region which have been fol-lowed in the rest of the coun-try; formation of Harlana Prant and a Punjabi-speaking State are as much a democra-tic demand of the people here and be the state of the people here elsewhere in India

In this connection, it has to In this connection, it has to be noted that large sections of Punjabi-speaking masses, not necessarily under the communal influence of the Akali Party, are dissatisfied with the policy of the Con-gress Government. So far as Harlana Prant is concerned, although the movement is still weak, there is unity on this demand: The bifurcation of Mabarashtra, and Gularat of Maharashtra, and Gujarat on May 1, 1960, has rekindled the demand in favour of lin-guistic State in Punjab and the Hariana regions.



the disunity of However. - However, the disunity of the Punjabi-speaking people on the lines of Hindus and Sikhs and the misleading propaganda of Hindu commu-nalists among Hindu masses against the mother-tongue itself, further strengthen the disruptive policy of the Con-gress Government, which is already against the demand for formation of linguistic States

On the other hand, commu On the other hand, commu-nal mobilisation by the Akali Party of the Sikhs alone in support of the Punjabi lan-guage and the Punjabi State, further complicates the mat-ter and strengthens the hands of Hindu communalists and the Government.

In this situation, the Com-gunist Party faces a very

difficult and complex task in the Punjab. But it is clear that in the interest of unity of the Punjabi people and ad-vancement of the democratio movement, the Communist movement, the Communist Party cannot evade or bypass the issue of language and lin-guistic States. The Party has to intervene actively in this situation with correct slogans for building unity on the issue of language and formation of a scientific linguistic State a scientific linguistic State and wrest the initiative from the hands of the communal elements

ON THE ISSUE OF LANGUAGE

On the language question, the Communist Party puts forward and Will campaign for the following solution:

In Hariana Region, re-move compulsion on the teaching of Punjabi, while making adequate provision for its teaching to those who wish to learn it.

2 In the Punjabi region, in-troduce Punjabi in Gur-mukhi script as the medium of instruction.

3 Hindi, as Rashtra Bha-sha, be introduced from fourth primary class. By mutual consultations, how-ever, some other compromise

formula may be introduced. **4** Punjabi be introduced. **5** forthwith as language of administration below the State level in the Punjabi re-gion and Hindi in the Hindi region. Bandug bifurcation of the

region. Pending bifurcation of the State into unilingual States, both Hindi and Punjabi be introduced at the State level.

While mobilising the masses in support of the above solution. the Party has to expose the disruptionist tactics of the communalists, especially the Hindu communalists, who deny the very fact that Pun-jabi is the mother-tongue of the Hindu masses in the Punjabi region.

ON THE ISSUE OF LINGUISTIC STATES

The Communist Party puts The Communist Party puts forward and campaigns for a scientific linguistic, i.e. a cor-rect national solution of the problem.

We demand Harlana Prant or Greater Delhi comprising the Hindi-speak-ing areas of Punjab, Delhi and the contiguous area of U. P. and Rajasthan.

We demand the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State comprising of the Pun-State comprising of the Pun-jabi-speaking area of existing Punjab including Kangra District, the boundary to be demarcated on the basis of contiguity with village as the unit through a Boundary Commission, But the Commu-nist Party rejects the propo-sal to include certain areas in the Punjabi State such as the Punjabi State such as Ganganagar District and some parts of Hissar, Karnal and Ambala Districts, where the majority of the popula-tion is admittedly non-Pun-jabi-speaking.

jabi-speaking. However the district of Kangra is a Punjabi-speaking area and it should be includ-ed as part of the Punjabi region and not the Hindi re-gion, and in view of the back-wardness fothis district, the Communist Party will de-mand special attention for its economic development. The Pahari language of the

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majority of the Himachal people is a dialect of the Punjabi language. But the people of the region have suffered from the segme democratic states of a result of a segme democratical backwardness. For some Years the people of Himachal have enjoyed the status of a separate Class "C" State and are now demanding the seme democratic states and are now demanding the seme democratic states and set of the semi democratic the same democratic set-up as in other States. The Con as in other States. The Com-munist Party supports this demand and also demands from the Central Government more effective steps to do away with its backwardness. On the borders of Punjab and

On the borders of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh there are some enclaves that should be adjusted in line with the wishes of the people. Such a Punjabi-speaking State will be based on the common national conscious-ness of the Punjabi people and will be achieved as a re-sult of a strong united movesult of a strong united move-ment. In the concrete pecu-liar situation of our State

liar situation of our State such a movement can grow only in sharp struggle against the forces of communalism and under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Communist Party will differentiate its slogans and approach from the communal objective and movement of the Akall Party which scare away the Hindu masses into the arms of the Hindu com-munalists, who are diehard opponents of the Punjabi language and a genuine Pun-jabi State, too. The Party will jabi State, too. The Party will conduct an intensive ideolo-gical-political campaign against the slogans of the Akali

Party among the Sikh masses-in particular and oppose its -threat of a morcha. But on the question of lan-guage and linguistic State, the main task of the Com-munist Party is to campaign. for winning over the Hindu masses from the misleading propaganda and influence of the Hindu communalists who oppose the very principle of a Punjabi-speaking State and disown Punjabi as the mother-tongue of the Hindus of the Punjabi region. The Central and State Go-

vernments have so far not-taken a principled stand on the question of language. Norhave they accepted the prin-ciple of formation of linguistic States but have, on the contrary, always opposed this-principle. This undemocratio attitude of the Government has further worsened the has further worsened the situation. Hence the Commu-nist Party will mobilise the-people on the basis of the principle of linguistic States, against this undemocratic attitude of the Congress Go-

vernment. The situation that faces us is highly complex. There is no-short-cut to the solution of the problem of language and linguistic States, A hard painlinguistic States. A hard pain-staking effort is needed to-build the unity of the masses-for its solution. Only the Party of the proletariat through sustained work and protracted struggle against the forces of communalism and the reactionary policies. of the Congress can unify the masses and lead them for the achievement of linguistic States.

Insurance Employees Observe Successful Demands Day

A T the call of the All-India Insurance Em-ployees' Association, insu-rance employees of both the wings-nationalised life insurance and general in-surance, mainly in the private sector-observed Demands Day on June 1, 1960.

Great enthusiasm prevailed and the attendance in meetings and demonstrations was almost hundred per cent almost hundred per cent everywhere from snow-capped Srinagar in the north to Trivandrum in the South, from Ahmedabad in the West to Gauhati in the East. The decision for observing

the Demands Day was taken by the General Council of the AIIEA at its meeting held in AllEA at its meeting held in Bombay in early April this year. That meeting of the General Council had also finalised the Charter of De-mands for the LIC employees, which was submitted to the Chairman of the LIC on April 14 April 14.

The Chairman called the representatives of the AIIEA for preliminary talks on May 11 where he expressed his in-ability to fulfil the Charter in yiew of the short time which

had elapsed since the fixing of the present pay structure in May 1957 and in view of the pay structure in the analogous companies and the necessity of keeping the ex-pense ratio within the limits prescribed by the Insurance Act

But he agreed with the representativés of the AIIEA that the May 1957 settlement, was interim in nature, meant primarily for standardisation primarily for standardisation and not for overall upward revision of pay structure, that the cost of living had risen steeply during the inter-vening period causing a fall in real wages; that the LIC had made rapid progress during the period and the future of the LIC was very bright. bright.

The Chairman while asking the AILEA to ponder over the matter expressed his desire to continue the negotiations. A subsequent meeting was ar-ranged from June 2 onwards.

The Bombay session of the General Council of the AIIEA also considered the situation in the general insurance industry and expressed its re gret at the unreasonable stand of the Government on

the guestion tion of the industry. Pointing out the malpractices preva-lent in the industry and the consequent closure of establi-shments and the large-scale retrenchment of staff, while there was overall growth of the industry both inside and outside India, the General Council had demanded that a thorough enquiry be held with the participation of the employees to go into the working

ployees to go into the working of the industry. The General Council had also demanded setting up of a wage fixing machinery for bringing about standardisa-tion of wages and benefits in the industry. The Council had directed all insurance em-ployees to observe a General Insurance Demands Week Insurance Demands Week from May 25 to June 1 on the above demands.

In pursuance of this directive meetings and demons-trations were held all over India.

In BOMBAY, a packed Sunderbai Hall meeting presided over by Rajni Patel, President of the AIIEA, was preceded by a mammoth demonstration. Prabhat Kar, M. P., General Secretary of the All-India

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and Sushil Kavlekar address-ed the meeting. In CALCUTTA, over six thousand employees partici-pated in the demonstration and the meeting held in the University Institute Hall was addressed by Sunil Moitra, Aloy Das Gupta, Pratulla Chakravarty and Jatin Bha-ttacharya of the Dalhousie Coordination Committee.

The MADRAS rally was addressed by E. M. S. Nam-boodiripad, Acting General Secretary of the Communist. Party of India, who exhorted the employees to build a broad united front of all wage-earners to fight for wage in-crease. crease.

The AIIEA central office at-Calcutta has already received reports from more than 50 centres, including Delhi, Kan-pur, Ahmadabad, Hyderabad, Trivandrum, Masulipatam Trivandrum, Masulipatam Gauhati, Jammu, etc., on the successful observance of the day. From all the meetings, resolutions were passed urg-ing the LIC authorities to immediately fulfil the de-mands and demanding na-tionalisation of general in-strance.

Bank Employees' Association and Sushil Kavlekar addressof nationalisa-