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NEW AGE

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Put INDIAN PUBLIC SECTOR on SALE

By OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

It is bad news, so bad that it is hard to believe. I did not believe it myself and have spent the last two weeks checking up its authenticity from various sources. It is true.

It is the latest unwritten demand from the World Bank, that it will undertake to guarantee the foreign exchange needs of the Third Plan provided the Government of India agrees to float shares for the projected public sector enterprises for subscription, both in India and in the capital markets abroad.

THE Indian Government will retain "control" of these enterprises and the big bankers of India and the Western capitalist countries can be "induced" to supply the needed resources. And the Government of India will not get further loaded with the burden of huge foreign loans which it is in no position to repay and not even service. So runs the argument of the World Bank experts. For the planned economic

assistance needs of the Third Plan. This very proposal as the way out of our recurring foreign exchange crisis and to meet the growing foreign assistance needs was also whispered around when another, the Hoffman Mission came from the World Bank to make its annual review of the Indian Plan. This was also talked about in duly restricted but other-

It has already gone on record demanding—

- No further expansion of steel in the public sector;
 - Foreign monopolist firms to be allowed in for oil and gas exploration and exploitation;
 - Difference between the public and private sectors in coal to go.
 - The attempts at profit-control by the Tariff Board to disappear.
 - Existing official "control" and "regulation" of the private manufacturing firms to end. And so on.
- It does not need much intelligence to conclude that the next logical step is for the World Bank to demand that its patrons and clients, the financiers and industrialists of the West must own India's industries if they are to "aid" their birth. This is just what they have now informally and silen-

Latest DEMAND From THE WORLD BANK

development of India "control" by the Indian Government should be enough but actual "ownership" is not necessary. This is their thesis.

If the new big industrial, power and mining projects of the Third Plan become the PROPERTY of the bankers and the industrialists of the monopolist West, then CONTROL by the Indian Government does not mean a damn, except the traditional fig-leaf.

End Of Indian Control

They themselves do not believe Indians to be such suckers as to easily swallow this, their latest. That is why they have not put it down in black and white but only in solemn whispers to those on the Indian side who they think will respond and do the rest.

This advice and demand was very tactfully tried out on a few persons who matter on the Indian side by the "Three Wise Men" whom the World Bank had sent to assess the foreign

wise fairly wide official circles of New Delhi when the two Commissioners-General, B. K. Nehru and Swaminathan, came here from Washington and London to report what to expect, how and when in terms of foreign aid which it was their job to explore abroad and help to mobilise.

Warning To Us

It is from this stage that the new World Bank slogan is boldly plugged and actively canvassed in New Delhi's select official coterie. Its champions are yet at the stage of trying to convince the Ministerial and Secretariat elements who are soft towards the West before the new proposal is seriously raised at the official Planning Commission or Cabinet level.

The recommendations of the Hoffman Mission are enough to forewarn all Indians who seriously think about the present and the future of the country.

tly put out to their confidantes on the Indian side. This is where the matter at present rests.

Can we confidently say; let the World Bank demand what it likes, India will never agree to such a sell-out. This will be a healthy expression of good patriotic sentiment but it will also be living in a world of illusions and fond hopes.

Let us note that Morarji Desai has not thought it fit to publish the Hoffman Mission Report and thus take the nation into confidence and give a chance to the Indian Press and public opinion to express itself.

His predecessor T. T. Krishnamachari was compelled by Indian opinion to publish the notorious letter of the World Bank Chief, embodying the Bank's advice and demands, on the eve of the Second Plan and it was widely and roundly denounced. The World Bank drew in its horns for the time.

The Bank bull has again entered the arena on the eve of

U. N. SESSION BEGINS FIASCO OF U.S. CONSPIRACY

by cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN MOSCOW, Sept. 20

However dark the night, the dawn will break—this sentence from Khrushchov's statement on his arrival in New York yesterday forms a three-column headline in this morning's Pravda. The papers here note with satisfaction the fiasco of the American conspiracy to prevent the prominent leaders of Asia and Africa from attending the General Assembly of the United Nations.

MORE than twenty heads of Government have already announced their decision to attend this session of the U.N. General Assembly in person and even Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, is waiting for an opportune moment to announce his departure. Whatever they do, the plans of the West to sidetrack the grave issue of world disarmament have miserably failed in the initial round, observers point out here.

Another big headline in the Pravda declares, "Stable peace on earth can be established only when armaments are thrown away" and further the paper declares in bold type, "The main thing is to guarantee peaceful co-existence."

FRESH BREEZE

An article in Pravda entitled "Fresh Breeze and Old Prejudices" declares that the great significance of the journey of Khrushchov and the heads of Government lies in the fact that it visibly demonstrates the growing capabilities of the forces of peace and progress. They can compel those to retreat who oppose relaxation of international tension and demand the continuation of the cold war and intensification of the arms race.

Earlier Herter had called the Soviet proposal for the heads of Government attending this session of the General Assembly quite absurd, but he himself probably had to convince Eisenhower later to travel to New York and address the Assembly. The article poses the question: why is it that now the ruling circles of the USA are compelled to manoeuvre with such feverish haste and why their policy of toughness and cold war suffers defeat after defeat.

"The main reason is the important and undeniable fact that the general line of international development today is not determined in the quietness of White House or State Department offices or inside the walls of the Pentagon and, of course, not in the lobbies of the U.S. delegation to the U.N.

"It is not the imperialists now who decisively influence world events of today, but the mighty Socialist camp which appears on the international arena in alliance with all other peace and anti-imperialist forces.

Fourteen new African States are to take part for the first time in the work of the United Nations, the arti-

cle points out, but the main thing is not the quantitative change. It is the position taken by a majority of the Afro-Asian countries and their leaders on the basic and acute problems of today. Everyone knows the fact that their attitude towards the questions of disarmament, their evaluation of the situation in Congo, Algeria and South Africa or the admission of People's China to the United Nations and the other vital questions are not the same as that of the West, the article declares.

When yesterday on the ship Baltika, Khrushchov was asked by a Correspondent to comment on the unfriendly attitude of the U.S. officials towards the Soviet delegation, he declared with an ironic smile, "This is not due to their strength but out of weakness and due to the feeling of uncertainty and instability of their position."

The British conservative paper, Daily Sketch wrote that American diplomacy was in a state of hysteria and the Daily Express explained that Eisenhower had promised concrete proposals but he had to find them first. The last ten days have shaken the world of Western diplomacy to the roots and they are in for many more shocks before the week is out.

LET REASON TRIUMPH

The people of the Soviet Union look with admiration and confidence at the bold initiative and untiring quest for peace and settlement shown by their Prime Minister.

Everyday early in the morning long queues form in front of newspaper kiosks before the papers arrive and every line is read and lively comments follow.

Moscow's main telegraph worked day and night to transmit hundreds of messages that flooded the lines addressed to Nikita Khrushchov on board Soviet liner Baltika bound for New York on his noble peace mission.

And hundreds of letters, some of them from remote corners of the land have appeared in the papers in the last ten days wishing the Soviet leader success. "We want the earth to blossom and not burn in flames of nuclear war," "Let reason triumph and peace prevail," declared Soviet people in one voice as reports that the historic session of the United Nations had opened in New York reached Moscow.

GOOD WATER TO GOOD EARTH And Better Relations Between Brothers

THE Canal Waters Agreement between India and Pakistan, finalised after long and tortuous negotiation finally settles an old dispute that began almost with our birth as independent nations and which has been bedeviling the development of good neighbourly relations.

It is no use looking at the agreement in a narrow legalist manner and picking holes here and there. The big thing and what really matters is that the two sides have come to a final settlement which will help good and plentiful water from the mighty Indus and its tributaries to flow unhindered to the good but parched lands on both sides of our border, and enable the Indian and Pakistani farmers to raise rich crops, free from tensions and uncertainties.

This canal water dispute has been one of the major issues that came in the way of the restoration of good relations between the two closest neighbours who were once one and whose destiny rested on their capacity to live together in peace and cooperation. The settlement of this dispute clears the ground for tackling the remaining disputes, in a better atmosphere.

Healthy Sign

It is a healthy sign of the new atmosphere created that after signing the agreement, India's Prime Minister stated, "it will also forge psychological and emotional unity between the peoples of the two countries." And Pakistan's President reciprocated with, "there is no reason why the spirit of cooperation and goodwill between India and Pakistan should not grow stronger."

The livelihood of 50 million people, in the two countries, depends on their peaceful and unhindered use of these canal waters. On the fruits of their labour depends the prosperity of the two Punjab and these very water-hungry farmlands constitute the granaries of India and Pakistan both.

The importance of these waters can be visualised from the simple fact that the flow of water in the Indus Basin is twice that of the Nile and three times of the Tigris and Euphrates combined. The existing irrigation system in the Indus Basin is the largest in the world.

The new development projects and replacement works that will be built following this agreement will make the new projects the largest of their kind ever undertaken anywhere. Pakistan will build two large dams, one each on the Jhelum and the Indus; five barrages and seven new link canals. It will also build the Mangla Dam, in occupied Kashmir. India will build a new big dam on the Beas.

The total cost of the whole programme will be Rs. 535 crores—Rs. 435 crores to be spent in Pakistan and Rs. 100 crores in India. This gigantic project will consume two million tons of cement, 250,000 tons of steel and one thousand

million bricks and tiles for the execution of these works.

The above should enable one to visualise what the present settlement helps us to share in amity and what more to build for the future.

Pakistan, unilaterally, repudiated the 1948 agreement about the canal waters and since the World Bank stepped in, in 1952, it has been making impossible demands and pursuing dilatory tactics. Indian patience and generosity has made the present agreement possible.

The Prime Minister has rightly stressed in his civic reception address at Karachi, "those who have open heart and an open mind can solve the most intractable of problems, but those who have closed minds and bitterness in their hearts cannot solve even the easiest of the problems" and that he had gone to Pakistan to bring to an end "the sorry past of dissension and quarrels."

The Concessions

There is no doubt that India has made really big concessions to Pakistan to achieve the present settlement. First, the 80-20 division of the waters is at the cost of ignoring some of India's own requirements in Himachal, Kashmir and Punjab.

Secondly, India's contribution of Rs. 83 crores is acceptance of a new financial burden when the needs of our own development are immense and our own resources meagre. It can be recalled that the World Bank representatives had earlier whispered about Rs. 60 crores being India's fair share and the Indian officials had considered it excessive.

Thirdly, our legal obligation to supply water to Pakistan from our canals has already expired on March 31, 1960. The World Bank had earlier envisaged a transition period of only five years. In the new agreement India has accepted a longer transition period of ten years. The Rajasthan canal will have to go without the long-awaited supply of water for another ten to 13 years, while it has reached an advanced stage of construction.

These are undoubtedly important concessions to Pakistan but we should not grumble about them for it is India's duty and responsibility as the bigger and more mature country to make all the concessions that are necessary to restore normal and amicable relations between our two countries.

The unresolved canal water dispute was a handy weapon in the hands of reaction within Pakistan to give a mass base to their anti-Indian "Jehad" with the argument that India was denying water to their fair fields to starve them into submission. India's fraternal generosity will certainly help to disarm Pak reaction of one of its major weapons.

Rightist Theme

However, this is not how the Indian Right will assess the agreement. The Jan Sanghis

NOTES OF THE WEEK

will trumpet against these concessions as sell-out of Indian interests by a weak pro-Muslim Prime Minister. And it is not the Hindu communalists alone who are out to exploit the agreement to serve their evil propaganda needs.

The HINDUSTAN TIMES editorial, September 20, lays thick its main theme, "we have got the worst of the bargain" and this is its way of launching an attack from the flank on the Prime Minister. It does express its "hope that the concessions we have made will bring dividends in the form of improved relations between Pakistan and ourselves." This is the thin end of the wedge the Indian Right seeks to seize, to weaken and compromise India's foreign policy.

Above all, the HINDUSTAN TIMES expresses "last, but not the least, gratitude for the World Bank for its tireless efforts to bring off a settlement." Thus the upshot driven home is that the Prime Minister of the country is a weakling and the World Bank the wise benefactor!

CARE AGAINST INTERVENTION

It needs no great memory to recall that whatever concessions India has made are under the pressure of the World Bank and they also come out of our own great desire, to restore good neighbourly relations with Pakistan, even at some cost to our own interest. Whatever the concessions India has made would not have mattered at all if India and Pakistan were left alone to carry on their own.

This is, however, not so. The World Bank remains very much on the scene as the financier, architect and the aider-builder of the gigantic projects to be built and the arbiter of whatever dispute may arise between the two countries in the interpretation and implementation of this new treaty.

The World Bank together with the USA, U.K., Canada, West Germany, Australia and New Zealand will finance the building of development and replacement works in Pakistan to the extent of Rs. 330 crores, while India will contribute Rs. 83.3 crores and Pakistan Rs. 64 crores. The World Bank will lend India \$174 millions to make its contribution possible.

The World Bank has set up an Indus Basin Advisory Board with the representatives of big American and British engineering firms, and a few Pakistani engineers thrown in, to build the giant projects and on their time-table and integrity will depend the fate of our share of our own waters.

The U.S. has agreed to lend India Rs. 15.7 crores and the World Bank another Rs. 11 crores to meet the foreign exchange costs of the new dam on the Beas which will help us to make up for the waters we so badly need under the new set-up that is coming into being.

It is thus seen that the financing and the building of

the new projects which will make the new agreement really work depends on the bounty and integrity of the World Bank and the agencies set up by it. We know from the bitter experiences of the past that the World Bank's aim is not to aid but to weaken our economy and make it still more dependent upon their 'advice' and further 'aid.'

The new agreement is to be implemented by the representatives of the two countries, aided by a "neutral expert" who will be the final authority to decide upon differences of a technical nature. It is easy enough to see that all the differences that are likely to arise will be of a technical nature.

A court of arbitration has been provided for to deal with the major disputes on the interpretation of the Treaty.

The World Bank and its nominees thus remain very much in the picture, both directly and indirectly.

Bringing U. N. In

Again, it is very necessary to doubt the wisdom of depositing the Canal Waters Treaty in the U.N., give it the status of an international treaty and thus bring in case of a serious dispute in the U.N. to take a hand in the settlement of our mutual differences. And this after our long and bitter experience of the Kashmir dispute in the U.N.

Thus, the positive possibilities opened up by the new agreement will not automatically follow. That will be nursing infantile illusions and negating all our past experience.

There is real great need for firm and consistent vigilance against the manoeuvres and known aims of the World Bank and all imperialist agencies of their Western political patrons, who have their own policies for and designs on our sub-continent, who are very much alive and kicking, who have assured themselves strategic positions inside the framework of the Canal Waters Treaty itself—through the various agencies which are to implement it and thus in shaping and influencing future Indo-Pak relations.

Our desires can never become facts unless we realise who in the past stood and who again in the future is likely to stand in our way and how to escape the booby traps of the Western imperialists, their banks, monopoly firms and political agencies.

Our Vigilance

This much-needed vigilance cannot obviously come from Pakistan. It must come from India. It will be in the interest of us both. If Indian patriotic opinion can prevail on the Indian Government to make this anti-imperialist contribution in the coming days then no concessions that India has made to Pakistan need matter. The World Bank aim to get a stranglehold over the economies of the two countries can be successfully overcome and the peoples of India and Pakistan get the chance to build a prosper-

ous future for themselves in fraternal cooperation.

The national duty to exercise wide and eternal vigilance against imperialist aims and plans does not cut down but only further underlines India's responsibility, especially where Pakistan is concerned, to take the boldest moves and make the utmost sacrifices to restore the spirit of brotherhood, ensure good-neighbourly relations in terms of strengthening the security and sovereignty of the two countries, as well as to prevent the utilisation of national and neighbourly sentiments by the pro-imperialist elements and agencies in our respective countries.

The peace-loving and patriotic people of India will echo and re-echo the words of the Prime Minister uttered in Karachi that

"There is not only a desire to forget the past but also to establish a new relationship on both sides of the frontier."

"Two brothers may quarrel and quarrel bitterly but their brotherly love for each other cannot be removed."

Above all, the plain historic truth is that there were many bonds between India and Pakistan "and momentary and temporary events cannot keep us apart."

India's Prime Minister will spend five days in Pakistan, meet and talk to its people, part of our own flesh and blood, and also with its leaders. The Press in India and the world over is full of speculations as to what will happen and what not at Murree, in what is being called the Indo-Pak Summit.

A Plan Misfires

The Western imperialist plan to link the Indo-Pak Canal Waters dispute with Kashmir and all imperialist agencies of their Western political patrons, who have their own policies for and designs on our sub-continent, who are very much alive and kicking, who have assured themselves strategic positions inside the framework of the Canal Waters Treaty itself—through the various agencies which are to implement it and thus in shaping and influencing future Indo-Pak relations.

It is not easy to deflect the architect of India's independent foreign policy along a different course of action.

Whatever new offers come from the Pak leadership that help and strengthen good-neighbourliness are sure to be heartily welcomed by India's Prime Minister, irrespective of the political nature of the regime in Pakistan and its different foreign policy alignment.

We earnestly hope the visit will yield new triumphs for the policy of coexistence and good-neighbourliness.

We have no doubt that every improvement in Indo-Pak relations will help the patriotic and democratic forces of Pakistan to come into their own.

With the rest of our countrymen we look forward to Pandit Nehru's visit to our neighbour yielding new fruitful results.

— P. C. JOSHI

(September 20)

SEPTEMBER 25, 1960

Sunderlal-Nehru Correspondence

The stand of the All-India Peace Council and the World Peace Movement on the India-China border dispute was clarified by Pandit Sunderlal in two recent letters to Prime Minister Nehru. The Prime Minister it will be recalled, made some remarks in Parliament on the subject, particularly in the context of a speech alleged to have been made by Sunderlal in Calcutta on August 5.

SUNDERLAL who is Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the All-India Peace Council and a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, has been closely associated with Jawaharlal Nehru in Congress work ever since the early 'twenties. He naturally felt deeply hurt over Nehru's remarks in Parliament.

In his first letter, of August 18, he wrote:

"My Dear Jawaharlal, you know me well. I cannot help on this occasion mentioning my own views and sentiments with regard to yourself and your foreign policy."

"I have hardly addressed a meeting on this subject during the last several years in which I did not say in unequivocal terms that I cannot think of any man in this country in whose hands our country and our foreign policy is as safe as in yours. Very often I have even gone so far as to say, in my public speeches, that if I could transfer the remaining few years of my life to your credit account, I would gladly do so."

"You know I am not in the habit of flattering anybody, least of all flattering you. But such are my honest views and sentiments, and I have never hesitated from giving expression to the same."

On the Peace Movement's stand on the border dispute, Sunderlal writes in the same letter:

"As far as the World Council of Peace is concerned... that world organisation has, from the beginning up till now, scrupulously avoided saying anything or passing any resolution on this delicate question in any of its meetings during this period."

World Peace Council Stand

The World Council of Peace, without ever putting it in so many words, has always been of the opinion that this unfortunate dispute between India and China is a matter purely between these two great countries, in which no third Power or outside organisation may dabble.

Sole Objective

"In all such things, while the language or the approach may not always have been to the liking of all, the sole objective of the All-India Peace Council has been to give its full-blooded support to your laudable policy of peace and non-alignment and of friendship with all nations. The All-India Peace Council works for this objective because it is convinced that this policy of peace and non-alignment of the Government of India is a real and valuable contribution to world peace...."

"It talks of 'the validity of the traditional frontiers of our country', of the 'prelous Indian lives... lost in La-

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"The All-India Peace Council as such has absolutely no particular relationship with any political party inside the country or outside it and itself is no political party in the generally accepted sense of the term...."

Referring to the Prime Minister's charge against the Peace Council of "defaming our country's policies", Sunderlal said: "I do not quite understand it. One may disagree with any particular policy of the country's Government in matters internal or external. This should not be called defamation."

Nehru, replying to the letter, quoted, without disclosing his source, the report of the speech alleged to have been made by Sunderlal in Calcutta on August 5, saying that the "Chinese threat to India had been manufactured" and also that Nehru and "backed out" of certain lines of settlement of the border dispute he had earlier indicated in a personal talk with Vinoba Bhave.

Faith In Peace Policy

Sunderlal further added: "True to its policy of peace, the All-India Peace Council

Sunderlal in his reply disputed the veracity of the 'report'. Nevertheless, he said:

PEACE COUNCIL AND THE BORDER DISPUTE

has all along been warning the country against the efforts of those who, in season and out of season, have always been rattling swords, some time back against Pakistan and now against the People's Republic of China.

"Many of such friends... prominent in the political life of the country... make no secret of their opposition to India's policy of non-alignment and go even so far as to advocate India's military alliance with countries of a particular bloc. The All-India Peace Council regards this as a real danger to the security and the independence of this country as well as to world peace."

Sole Objective

"In these speeches, along with other things, I reiterated my fervent faith in your policies and my clear criticism of the attitude of our Chinese friends, along the lines of our Ahmedabad resolution. I also expressed my fear that certain forces in the country desired or tended to confuse, complicate and prolong the dispute because of internal political conflicts and conditions. In doing so, I may have spoken with some heat, leading to some misunderstanding. If so, I sincerely regret it."

NEW AGE

Communist Party Welcomes Canal Waters Treaty

THE Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on September 20, 1960, on the Indo-Pak Canal Waters Treaty:

The Communist Party of India welcomes the signing of the Indus Waters Treaty between India and Pakistan and wishes it all success in promoting the well-being of the peoples of our two countries.

Our Party has always stood for settlement of the outstanding problems between the two countries through peaceful negotiations and for their friendship. The present agreement which represents a triumph of this policy, it is hoped, contribute towards similar amicable solution of other controversies and problems that come in the way of complete normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan.

The settlement of this long-standing canal waters

issue which at times seemed almost insoluble and caused no little anxiety is a convincing proof that there is no dispute, however big or complicated, that is incapable of solution through negotiations.

It is not merely the great river waters that flow across our two countries. Deeper streams of history, of shared traditions and culture and, above all, of intimate human relations flow across our two lands. Every step in accord with these cherished relations and in the true interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan is a matter of joy for us all.

The Communist Party of India hopes that this Indus Waters Treaty and Prime Minister Nehru's current visit to Pakistan will bring about a refreshing change in the climate of Indo-Pak relations and help remove the unfortunate impediments which benefit none except the imperialists and other enemies of both the countries.

standing. If so, I sincerely regret it."

Responsibility Of Organisation

Stating that the Peace Council could not be held responsible for everything he said in his speeches, Sunderlal further wrote:

"I submit that the organisation as such should be held responsible only for the resolutions passed at its meetings or for acts done in implementation of those resolutions...."

"During the Calcutta meeting immediately after I had spoken, the General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council made a speech in which he reiterated, and all agreed to it, that the Council stands wholeheartedly by the Ahmedabad resolution on India-China relations and the support that resolution gives to Prime Minister Nehru's policies on this question."

Personal Credo

Restating his personal credo, Sunderlal told the Prime Minister: "Let me submit that all through the last 54 years of my life, since the day I threw myself heart and



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CONGO AND INDIA

Editorial

We Indians know — in our own flesh and blood — what the imperialists do when the nations held enslaved by them fight for their freedom.

After the achievement of our own independence, we saw what they did in the rest of Asia and we promptly spoke up for the Asian nations that struggled to break the chains of slavery. We saw how the imperialists intervened with their arms and even armies against Arab independence and we spoke up for our Arab brothers.

We have expressed our admiration of and solidarity with the African nations now fighting for the same freedom. The whole battle of African liberation is being fought around the Congo issue.

The imperialist tactic is clear enough and visible even to the naked eye, from all the corners of the Afro-Asian world, the imperialists are out to enact another Korea in Congo. Once again they seek to use the U.N. flag to cover up their dirty deeds.

The colonialists are being streamlined and led by the U.S. State Department. The moment they discovered that their neo-colonialist moves are being unmasked by the USSR and the African nations are becoming restive and hostile they decided to change horses.

An Indian was summoned to become the military adviser of the U.N. Command in Congo, the American Bunche was replaced by the Indian Rajeshwar Dayal to act as the civilian representative of the U.N. Secretary-General. This gave them India as a cover but the plot to dismember and bring Congo to heel did not stop but was pursued with redoubled vigour.

Treachorous separatist leaders were encouraged and aided to set up separate States.

The duly-elected Prime Minister of Congo was denied access to the Congolese radio and aerodromes.

The authority of Congo's Prime Minister was neither accepted nor respected even after the 41 to 2, virtually unanimous, confidence vote of both the Houses of the Congolese Parliament.

Disruptive reactionary elements were aided and abetted to challenge the existence and rights of the lawful Government of Congo, headed by Lumumba.

The fair name of India is in the mud not only inside Congo but all over Africa because the names of the two Indian U.N. representatives are inevitably associated with the above criminal deeds of the colonialists who are doing all they can to reimpose a new brand of neo-colonialism over Congo and thus break the irresistible tide of African resurgence.

Indian shame in Congo is so degrading that the External Affairs Ministry had to discreetly announce that Rajeshwar Dayal though an Indian national did not represent the Indian Government but the U.N. Secretary-General. This may save Indian face in diplomatic circles but is poor comfort to the Congolese.

For India, too, Congo is Korea all over again. In Korea also, Pandit Nehru was hustled into taking a wrong position first, which placed India on the wrong side. He, however, corrected with experience, the Indian official stand. Even after India took up the right stand and with the right side, there was a Thimayya, as the Indian representative, to cause unending trouble and dishonour India's name.

Once again India's Prime Minister is called upon to assert his authority and set aright India's course in Congo, in terms of his own declared policy statements.

As soon as he reaches the U.N. he will find himself in the midst of heated and anxious debates over Congo. We have no doubt that he will, in cooperation with the Afro-Asian group and the Socialist countries headed by the USSR, do all he can to restore and guarantee Congolese integrity and independence and administer due rebuff to the colonialists.

India's Prime Minister, more than any other statesman present in the U.N., can help tilt the world balance against the colonialist enslavers and in favour of Congolese and African liberation. Let him raise high the banner of anti-colonialism and enhance India's contribution to the cause of world peace. The tension-ridden world will acclaim him and India.

(September 21)

SCRAP-BOOK

BOOST FOR DAYAL

WE all felt happy when an Indian diplomat was chosen to be the U.N. Secretary-General's Personal Representative in Congo. But I am having my doubts now seeing the way Congo events are developing and the Western Press eulogies for Rajeshwar Dayal.

Even to the ordinary newspaper reader, it was becoming obvious that the U.N. Command in Congo was playing a strange role. U.N. forces had been sent to Congo to help Lumumba to normalise the situation, but the U.N. Secretary-General was helping everybody else to make it impossible for the Lumumba Government to function.

The earlier Personal Representative of Alexander Haig, Ralph Bunche With Bunche in Command, the U.N. flag was not much of a cover for the imperialist intervention. The Baltimore Sun made no bones about it: "Dr. Bunche is after all an American, a fact that can be mischievously distorted and lead to misunderstanding among the Congolese, other Africans, and the impressionable everywhere."

So exit Bunche, enter Dayal. The New York Times featured Dayal in its "Man in the News" column. And the Baltimore Sun certified: "There can be no question of Mr. Dayal's competence," and "He is also a reminder for Asians of the unique value of the United Nations as a disinterested agent in situations where the presence of a disinterested agent is the only hope of peace."

Disinterested, indeed! When Lumumba is prevented from reinforcing his side, but Katanga rebels are allowed to import foreign legionnaires who are financed by U.S. and Belgian banks! When Lumumba is threatened with a revolver when he goes to the radio station while another rebel is given all broadcast facilities! No wonder the Congolese want this "disinterested agent" out.

In this tangle, Dayal can make or mar India's name with the new African States. Western Press compliments and call for caution. Let us hope the Government of India has given strict guiding lines to its man in Congo that India is not to be used as the screen for imperialist conspiracies.

LEAGUE'S TURN TO LAUGH

WHEN the Congress with PSP and League support defeated the Communists in the Kerala elections, Congress leaders laughed. The laugh turned into a guffaw when they neatly doublecrossed the League and kept it out of the Government.

But now the laugh is on the Congress. From an outcaste in Indian politics, the Congress made the League respectable, thanks to the Kerala alliance—"Congressmen in Kerala and outside had learnt through history and experience of the patriotism, integrity and unselfishness of the members of the Muslim League," said Kerala

CATHOLIC CHURCH AT IT AGAIN

PASTORAL letters are flying around and liberation struggles are in the offing—this time in Ceylon where the Roman Catholic Church is baring its fangs.

The problem is not very much different from that of Kerala—the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike has decided to establish a unified and national system of education. The first Circular Letter went from the Archbishop of Colombo and that has now been followed by a Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Chilaw which calls on the faithful: "Now it is for you to act."

The Catholic priesthood in Ceylon is not likely to suffer for want of expert knowledge in operation over-thrown.

Recently a Jesuit priest from Kerala who played a prominent part in the liberation struggle paid a visit to Ceylon and now that country is going to have the presence of Cardinal Agagianian himself, a specialist in fighting Communism (read: progressive movements) in the Southeast Asia region.

While Ceylon democratic opinion can be left to look after its unwelcome visitor, the question that remains is why a Catholic Cardinal should specialise in Southeast Asia affairs when the teachings of Christ are for all humanity.

PATTOM'S TRAVAILS

PATTOM Thanu Pillai has always had an unkind fate dogging his footsteps. It takes him months and years of manoeuvring, cajoling and threatening before he finds himself in the Chief Minister's good graces. And he is beginning to enjoy the situation he is unconsciously thrown out.

The first time when he was Congress Chief Minister, factions in his own party elbowed him out. The second time when he had won a few seats for the PSP with Communist support and had formed the Government with Congress backing, defections of some people from his party and withdrawal of Congress support made him quit.

Now the third time again he is facing rough weather. A few months ago, a no-confidence motion was almost passed against Pattom by his own party.

The crisis was averted then, but burst out again this week. To all the earlier problems, the vexed problem of injustice to Malabar has been added.

Another issue which has annoyed his partymen is the salary-increase granted to highly paid officials. Unkind people! Why do they forget that when Ministers increase their own salaries, they can't stand in the way of their kinsmen in the bureaucracy getting a rise. A rise for the lower grades, too? No, that is not possible, the State's finances don't permit it.

Pattom is as usual losing temper and threatening to resign. And then do what? He can't go back to the Congress and retain the Chief Ministership as some powerful Congress circles are themselves said to have engineered the revolt in the PSP to get rid of Pattom. Poor Pattom! Will he have to start all over again?

TWO BANKS, TWO ATTITUDES

A PRESS report from Akola, dated September 19, says:

"Mr. Gopaldas Mohata, Chairman of the Laxmi Bank now under liquidation, and two others who were arrested on September 9 last in connection with the Laxmi Bank affairs, were further remanded to jail custody for 15 days. The two other arrested persons are Mr. Surajmal Singh and Mr. Bhikuwal Agarwal, Secretary of the Bank."

Are the Chairman and the Directors of the Palai Bank still outside, free to organise a crusade against the Reserve Bank, only because they ARE the Congress in central Travancore?

TAILPIECE

DGAR J. Hoover, U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation Director, has just released the 1959 crime report of the United States. And what an advertisement it is for the American way of life.

There was one murder every hour, one rape every 35 minutes, one robbery every seven minutes, one aggravated assault every four minutes, one burglary, larceny or auto theft every 23 seconds.

1959 set up a new record with one-and-a-half million serious crimes.

And the FBI report admitted that "crime has been rising four times as fast as population increases" most alarming was a major increase in juvenile offences, and that "immediate prospects for a change in the trend are dim."

—GUEST DIARIST

FRANKENSTEIN RISES AGAIN

W. German General Staff enters political arena

As leaders of the major countries of the world assemble in U.N. headquarters to tackle one of the most pressing international problems demanding solution, the problem of disarmament, world opinion stands shocked by the open return of German armed forces to active politics.

ON August 19, 1960, the West German General Staff published a memorandum outlining their military and political ideas. It should be remembered that this General Staff consist exclusively of men who served in responsible positions in Nazi forces.

The publication of the memorandum constitutes the first post-war public intervention of this group in the political arena. It is worth remembering that the tragedy of Germany in the past and the catastrophe of two World Wars rose largely from such open intervention by the German armed forces in active politics.

NO GERMAN ARMY BY 1964

—NEW G. D. R. PROPOSAL

ON the eve of the disarmament debate at the 15th Session of the U.N. General Assembly and in the background of the West German General Staff's memorandum calling for total militarisation of West Germany, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has called for effecting total disarmament of both German States by 1964.

The proposal was made in a memorandum addressed to the U.N. asking for inclusion in the General Assembly's decision on universal disarmament Special Stipulations on Disarmament for Germany.

The GDR Government has requested the Secretary-General to enable its representatives to place before the General Assembly in course of the disarmament debate its proposals for the complete disarmament of Germany.

The GDR memorandum proposes three stages for disarming and neutralising Germany.

1960-61: Both German States to declare they will not use force against each other or any other State, renounce nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and put a standstill to all armaments.

The two German States and the anti-Hitler coalition Powers to sign a peace treaty. West Berlin to become a demilitarised free city.

1962: Both German States to agree to reduce armed forces and conscription. They and the Potsdam Powers to agree on withdrawing foreign troops and removing bases.

1963-64: Both States to dissolve all military forces, destroy all weapons and withdraw from NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

It also demands total conscription of all able-bodied men. Even today the West German army is a conscript army with two years of military service compulsory.

Here are a few extracts from this notorious document: "The German people through their appointed representatives have given the Bundeswehr the task of defending their rights and their liberty.... The Bundeswehr cannot do this without conscription, membership in NATO and atomic armament.

"Unilateral renunciation of atomic arms would mean that the Federal Republic could not be defended.... Our sense of responsibility for the soldiers entrusted to us forces us to demand atomic arms which are indispensable.

"The Bundeswehr must have the same effective arms as the allied shielding forces.... "The military part of our task is general conscription. The tasks of civil defence and the growing strength of the Bundeswehr will make necessary the military training of all citizens capable of bearing arms."

A week after its publication the memorandum was publicly endorsed by West Germany's Chancellor Dr. Adenauer. After holding talks with Defence Minister Strauss, Adenauer declared he "agrees fully" with the memorandum.

Liberal Opinion

Leading liberal newspaper of West Germany, Frankfurter Rundschau, commenting on the memorandum wrote on August 21:

"In the past the German army has played a disastrous role in German politics.... This week-end, the revived German General Staff has taken the first step towards calling down nemesis once again on the German people.... "Heusinger, Ruge, Kamhuber and Zerbel who all held responsible posts in Adolf Hitler's Wehrmacht, have thus led the Federal Army along a path which disregards the lessons taught by two total catastrophes in the political and military fields.

"This memorandum, its content and the way in which it was published, are a continuation of the worst traditions of the German General Staff.... Never before have the opponents of German rearmament in the West, the East, and here at home, had such sound grounds for their criticisms and their rejection....

"The spirit which runs through this document is a mixture of militarist vanity and National Socialist (Nazi) propaganda. It is the same spirit we saw recently in the testimony given by General Von Hobe, Heusinger's General Staff chief in the trial of S.S. General Simon, in which Von Hobe stated: 'Citizens take a second place, first of all come the troops....' This is the same evil spirit which we started to overcome after 1945, but which dominates West Germany again today.

SPOTLIGHT

MASTERS' VOICE

THE Jan Sangh now swears by non-alignment. I was, therefore, intrigued to know what it says on Khrushchov's latest peace initiative.

The West, we know, feel dismayed. So what does the Jan Sangh do? Sure enough we find it standing on hind legs any yelping at the move. Says its weekly mouthpiece:

"At the time of writing the reactions of other Western Powers to the Khrushchov move have not yet fully crystallised. But the lead given by de Gaulle is a countermove of such delicate finesse that we shall not be surprised if it is followed by America and Britain herself. That is to say, there would be no sheepish decision to follow K into the Assembly Hall either by Eisenhower or Macmillan. Khrushchov may be left the entire length, breadth and depth of the rostrum to froth himself up to the limits of lungs and breath."

And then on the crucial issue of disarmament, it goes on to add:

"The issue of disarmament has no relevance either in a narrow or broad context in prevailing conditions since the means and ends of the more powerful States are basically incompatible." Even he, who runs can read its meaning. It pleads that while the East may have other "means and ends" at its disposal, the West has nothing but to rely on armament and its concomitant war.

It is a typical case of telepathy. What the Jan Sangh's spiritual masters of the West think but cannot afford to speak out, the disciple has unburdened himself of. So, to the "Bharatiya" (read utterly un-Bharatiya) Jan Sangh, too, the peace initiatives are "peace offensives".

No wonder it has declared with rib-ticking solemnity: "It was a piece of immaturity on the part of Pandit Nehru to announce that he, too, would go to UNO."

IN CONTRAST RAJAJI

IN refreshing contrast is the stand taken by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Tyres who talk of "maturity" may probably read the following in the Swarajya:

"The able and untiring

"One does not need to be a prophet to see where this leads. At one time people said optimistically that Bonn was not Weimar. Now it appears that Bonn is slowly becoming worse than Weimar, since in the Weimar Republic the Generals intervened in politics in opposition to the Government, while today they are doing it with the approval and support of the Government."

The Times, London, writing on August 22 under the heading "Keep Them Out of It," said:

"The publication of a pam-

leader of the Russian people has planned to bring the Paris Summit Meeting alive to the U.N. General Assembly. The remarkable way in which this perhaps the present rulers of the world keeps the initiative in his hands has dismayed the diplomats of the West. But whatever be their appreciation of the Russian leader and their apprehension about his strategy, this invitation must be accepted. Failure to respond would amount to running away from the battle of peace."

This is perhaps a lesson in "finesse", too.

GORWALLA'S ANTICS

THE whip cracked for the PSP, too. They had to share the West's dismay and dutifully perform certain antics to discredit the peace move. So the crisis-racked party's organ, Janata, pressed into service that pathological case called A. D. Gorwalla.

But poor Gorwalla seems to have been at his meagre wit's end. Not knowing what to do, he produced an imaginary interview between Khrushchov and the American Ambassador on the eve of the former's departure for UNO. It is, however, the tragedy of poor Gorwalla that he is utterly lacking in imagination or perhaps the basic wherewithal of imagination.

So we find Khrushchov "telling" the U.S. Ambassador that "Cuba is a nice little Communist prize," that "Congo is going to be my Cuba in Africa" and "with my help and advice, the mumba will soon make it very difficult for the U.N. to stay there" and such other prized and priced crudities.

Verily, the PSP's performance is poorer even than that of the Jan Sangh. But both have exposed themselves, the latter as arch-prevaricators since it had lately begun telling its non-alignment and world peace, too.

TAILPIECE

In the dark and dubious galaxy of RSS admirers now shines, as we all know, the name of Sri Jai Prakash Narayan, lately of Sikkim fame. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things to present to him this "compliment" which the columns of the RSS-cum-Jan Sangh Delhi weekly (dated August 15) paid him. A columnist wrote in the journal:

"When at a recent well-attended public meeting in New Delhi's Sapru House he (J.P.) solemnly claimed that no Indian would ever believe the accusation that he was Aryab ka Juta, instead of the expected general cheers, there was but a timid clap by barely half a dozen members of the audience."

—GARUDA

September 19

The transport policy, pursued by the Government of India, in view of its physical and financial implications if for nothing else, needs rethinking. It is all the more necessary because transportation activity does not directly produce any commodity, what it offers is only a service to the community.

THIS is really not a plea to minimise its importance. Rather, in a planned economy and more so in the set-up of a mixed economy with vast area like ours, the transportation system has a crucial role to play, as much of the success of the programme would depend on the availability of adequate transport capacity at the right point and at the right time.

Lack Of Balance

But designed as it was to serve the interests of colonial Powers, our modern transport system suffers from a lack of balance—both internal and external. Unlike other advanced countries where railways had either followed or developed simultaneously with the progress of industrialisation, acting and reacting on one another, industrial growth in India has been preceded by the development of railways much in advance and that too with no great stimulus to the economy for further advancement.

Reasons are also not far to seek. The imperialists were interested in obtaining in India at once a source for raw materials and an outlet where the manufactured goods could be pushed into, rather than her independent economic development. The industrial revolution in Britain served as the major driving force and effective background. This is why, apart from political and military considerations, the railways had to be constructed even though India could hardly bear the strain at that time; and the roads which could play a big role in developing the internal market, were not cared for and allowed to decay. Similarly, waterways were also neglected.

The table below clearly reveals, how, even after the completion of the first plan, we were lagging behind the advanced countries in respect of transport facilities, though the existence of a railway network had given us the benefit of a somewhat better start as compared to other underdeveloped regions.

TRANSPORT FACILITIES IN INDIA AS COMPARED TO CERTAIN OTHER ADVANCED COUNTRIES, 1956.

Serial No.	Description	Countries		
		USA	U.K.	INDIA
1.	Km. of railway per 1000 sq. mile	2.37	0.64	0.13
2.	" " highway	32.3	5.9	1.1
3.	" " railway population	50.9	141.6	15.3
4.	" " highway	669.5	1316.1	131.7

This wide gap cannot be bridged by a single trick. So what is really needed is a national transport policy with proper phasing. This signifies: **I** That the transport policy should now be oriented towards the needs of industrialisation which further indicate that a proper integration of the industrial and transport (also other economic) policies should be effected with due importance accorded to the needs of developing heavy and basic industries;

II That the full utilisation and coordination of the existing capacities in the transport sector should be brought about;

III That additional capacities are to be planned only with the long-range perspective in view;

IV That before adopting any new investment programme or project a thorough study of the relative economy of the alternative techniques in our specific context should be made to see that this costs least to the community; and

V That phasing of the project should be decided according to priorities on the basis of urgency, availability of the required resources, gestation period, etc.

Certain attempts have, of course, been made towards some of these but one is worried to find, even after two Plan periods have elapsed, that the Government's failures rest precisely at these very points.

Policy Is Missing

Seriously speaking there is no transport policy as such. Impact of the proposed economic policies have not been studied and these are not taken into account in estimating the transport needs. The Plan talks

should guide their future development."

So only the proclamation that all goods transport (roadways) are in the hands of private operators and this will remain so in the Third Plan. And they have to remain satisfied with the provision of adding (5,000 units) to the fleet in the nationalised road transport sector which mainly cater to the needs of passenger service. But all over the world, including the planned economies, the general trend is for increasing road transport activity (in both the fields of passenger and freight transportation).

In India, too, the estimated increase in the commercial vehicles will be from 82 thousand in 1950-51 to 119 thousand in 1955-56 and 150 thousand in 1960-61. Yet there is not a single word about the way this huge capacity could be marshalled and regulated for the needs of planning. Nor is there any positive encouragement for their expansion and formation into cooperatives and viable units with regular rules and regulations. Relative economy resulting from investment in different forms of transportation has not been studied either.

All this has resulted in an unrealistic and subjective fixation of targets. No change in the structure and composition of traffic has been thought of. Nor the possibility of diverting a part of traffic (specially short-distance traffic) to the road

PATTERN OF INTER-SECTOR OUTLAY DURING THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD PLANS

Description	First Plan		Second Plan		Third Plan*	
	Rs. crores	Per cent	Rs. crores	Per cent	Rs. crores	Per cent
1. Railways	268	48.0	900	65.1	890	61.5
2. Roads	130	23.3	246	17.8	250	17.2
3. Road Transport	12	2.2	17	1.2	18	1.2
4. Port & Harbour	34	6.1	45	3.2	91	6.3
5. Shipping	26	4.7	48	3.5	55	3.8
6. Inland water transport—						
7. Civil air transport	24	4.4	43	3.1	60	4.1
8. Other transport	3	0.5	7	0.5	—	—
9. Post & Telegraphs	50	9.0	63	4.5	68	4.7
10. Other communications	5	0.9	4	0.3	5	0.3
11. Broadcasting	5	0.9	9	0.6	7	0.5
Total Transport & Communications	557	100.0	1385	100.0	1450	100.0

* Provision for lighthouse has been included in Port and Harbour and those for tourism in civil air transport. Figures for roads include contribution from Central Road Development Fund.

portance as a major condition of economic growth it seems allocation for the transport sector has been unusually high. Though not strictly comparable, experiences of other planned economies in a similar stage of development also tend to confirm this view. In the case of the USSR, outlay on transport was only 14 per cent in the First Plan and below 20 per cent in the Second. In China, too, only 16 per cent was allocated to this sector in their First Plan.

Let us now look at the question more closely. Ours is a railway economy. Relative po-

ing stock and fixed assets and only to a small extent provision of additional facilities for meeting new needs.

The Second Plan mainly aimed at the creation of additional transport capacity with special regard to the requirements arising from the development of basic industries along with the task of overtaking arrears of replacement.

The draft outline of the Third Plan states that these objectives will be pursued further. But we have to be particularly careful about allocation as we are labouring hard under a resources crisis. Any investment which is more than neces-

WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR TRANSPORT POLICY ?

of better irrigation facilities and increased agricultural and food production in the States (including the deficit ones); it propagates balanced regional growth (though nobody is certain about the region and little is followed in practice except perhaps granting some projects to some States on political and other considerations!), 'decentralisation and diversification of industries', development of new processes or the use of new

transport has been seriously considered, which could otherwise have saved some railway transport capacity for long-distance traffic of importance. Actually no rationale can be found either behind the allocation of resources to this sector or for intra-sector outlay pattern or for targets of output as we would presently see. The figures below show how the transport sector fared in the first two plans and the role it is proposed to be assigned in the third as against the industries.

Description	ALLOCATIONS OF RESOURCES (in percentages)				
	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan	Original	Proposed
1. Industry and minerals (including village industries)	8.0	5.0	18.6	21.1	23.0
2. Transport and communications	24.0	26.0	28.9	29.8	28.1

In the First Plan transport had actually absorbed 26 per cent, estimated expenditure being Rs. 532 crores. In the Second Plan according to present estimates this comes to 28.1 per cent or Rs. 1,290 crores and in the Third Plan 20 per cent i.e. Rs. 1,450 crores have been proposed, whereas those of industries come to five per cent, 23 per cent and 24.1 per cent respectively.

Even recognising its im-

sition of the different modes can be gauged from the fact that in 1957-58 the roadways carried only about one fourth of the railway freight traffic, (ton-mile figures being 11,440 million and 44,897 million respectively: figures for roads estimated by Masani Committee) while those of waterways are practically insignificant. It would be seen from the table at the top of this column that while the share of the roadways is consistently going down, the railways alone account for more than 60 per cent of the outlay.

Foreign Exchange

Requirements of foreign exchange are also quite high for the railways. It amounted to about one-third (i.e. Rs. 320 crores) of the total foreign exchange cost of all the 'cores' in both the public and private sectors. In the Third Plan also estimates are put at Rs. 300 crores or 16 per cent of the total foreign exchange requirements. Moreover, railways being a highly capitalised industry and a heavy consumer of steel, utilisation factor assumes greater importance.

Of course there is no denying the fact that operational efficiency indices in the railways have much improved and have far surpassed our best wartime

* SEE PAGE 10

SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA NEW PHASE OF STRUGGLE

The text of the Statement of Policy of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, adopted by the Samiti's Parliamentary Board on August 30, 1960, reads:

As a result of the mighty struggle waged by the people of Maharashtra and the sacrifices of all those who were killed, wounded and imprisoned during the course of the movement, the Congress leadership and the vested interests, who opposed the establishment of the linguistic State of Maharashtra, were forced to retreat and the State of Maharashtra was born on May 1, 1960.

With the establishment of the new State of Maharashtra, the struggle of the Marathi people, in cooperation with all the other people in our country, for a better life and living, based on equality and freedom, democracy and ideals of Socialism, entered a new phase.

New Tasks

New tasks now face the people of Maharashtra, in which its workers and peasants, its intellectuals and middle classes, its owners of land and capital will be confronted with serious political, economic and social problems, on the correct solution of which will depend the future, not only of Maharashtra but of the whole country also.

Some of the basic problems of life, which confront us, are the same which face all our people and the whole of our country. And it is obvious that Maharashtra cannot solve them in isolation from the rest of the country, for the simple reason that the national economy, with which is tied up the life of every citizen, is an integrated and interdependent one for all the States and people of India, though within its general and basic framework, some amount of variations and departures, suitable for each region or State are possible.

Take, for example, the problem of employment and unemployment, that is the problem of our daily bread. No one today feels that his employment, his daily bread is secure. Lakhs of unemployed people, though willing and able to work, have no means of work. Whether educated or uneducated, young or old, landless labour or landowning peasant, unskilled worker or technician, handicraftsman or small-businessman, all feel insecure and anxiety-ridden. No doubt there is a Five-Year Plan of economy and economic development but the Plan offers no assurance to the common man that his employment, his bread, his work, in whatever field, is secure and is provided in the Plan. Everyone is left at the mercy of the anarchic forces of the capitalist order of society and economy, of the unpredictable market forces ruled by so-called 'free enterprises'.

The Reason

When you come to think of the reason for this, it is apparent on the face of it, the Congress Party, as the ruling party, is running the Government and country for the capitalists, landlords and the moneyed people, despite whatever they may say or whatever their subjective feelings may be. This is being realised more and more by all thinking people.

It is just these forces who obstructed the establishment of the Maharashtra State. It is just these forces who killed our fighters, and it is just these forces, who, even after their defeat, have now seized the Government of the new Maharashtra State, with the help of deserters from the Samiti.

They supported the bilingual Bombay and opposed the people. Having been defeated in that, they have now formed the Government on the basis of their majority in the legislatures and the defection of some elements from the Samiti ranks.

Or take the matter of food, cloth and housing. Have we the means to secure these to the

people? The peasant toils on patches of land, with little power to fight against the forces of nature or the market. The vast resources of clothing and housing are at the mercy of big companies and urban landowners and contractors. The ordinary citizen, the hand and brain worker, has no power to compel these big monied powers to put the essential goods of life and the means of procuring them at the disposal of society.

Have the people of Maharashtra the possibility to change these conditions? They have. Though we are a part and parcel of the Indian conditions as a whole, we have more industries than any other State except Bengal. We have more skilled workers and technicians than any other State. We have enough capital resources. We have good land and an independent-minded peasantry. We have a good fund of intellectuals and thinkers. We have everything to build a prosperous social economy that can give everyone work, bread, education and living.

Yet, neither has India been able to go ahead in the matter of bettering the life and living conditions of the people not has Maharashtra, as part of India. No doubt, industry has grown, wealth and resources have grown. But the major and the main part of all this development has only enriched the already rich millionaires and moneyed people. A very insignificant part has come to the share of a small strata of intellectuals, technicians and managerial circles. The vast millions have not gained at all or in fact have lost. Even Government spokesmen have to admit this.

Some of the basic problems

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ment of Maharashtra has started with all good promises for the people's good. But by its very nature, it will be unable to fulfil them, unless the people, those people who fought for and got the Maharashtra State, reorganise themselves for the new tasks and fight for the realisation of their demands. How and who can do this? What is the role of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in this? This is the main question now asked by many people.

Disagreement

Some people think that once the Samyukta Maharashtra State is formed, the historical role of the Samiti is over and it should dissolve itself, allowing those parties and people, who formed the Samiti, to go their own way to build the new Maharashtra according to their own ideas of it. The overwhelming majority of the constituent members of the Samiti disagreed with this view. But the Praja Socialist Party persisted in this point of view and walked out of the Samiti.

The people of Maharashtra

ers in Maharashtra accepted the bilingual Bombay State and dissolved the Parishad.

For a time, there was no organised and united leadership. Ad hoc action committees of trade unions and political parties from time to time came into being and vanished. The great struggle of the Assembly march of November 1955 where 15 people were killed, was organised by an Action Committee, in which the trade unions and the weapon of general strike played the leading role. The Action Committee, however, was suspended on the demand of the PSP, who were also opposed to the general strike of November 21, but later on had agreed under pressure of the workers.

When the time for the verdict of the Central Government came near and it was anticipated that it would go against Maharashtra, a number of trade union leaders and political parties met and formed a body called the Samyukta Maharashtra Poorak Samiti, which in a rally on January 7, called for a total general strike and hartals, if the Congress Government did not grant Samyukta

SAMITI'S POLICY STATEMENT

all over felt regret over this happening. There is an overwhelming feeling that those forces, which united to lead the struggle for Maharashtra, should stay united together to build the new Maharashtra. We of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti agree with this view. Hence we decided to continue the Samiti and to prepare it for facing the new tasks.

In order to dispel the confusion that our opponents or those who have walked out of the Samiti are creating, it is necessary to examine in brief the historical role of the Samiti in the past.

In the stage where only ideological propaganda had to be carried out, and where more argument than action was possible in order to support the case, the movement had not gone down to the masses nor had it taken to any direct action. It was confined to meetings, conferences, essays, cultural gatherings and intellectual combats. Writers, political parties and even the Congress leaders joined in it and the Parishad was its common organ.

Beginning

But when the vested interests, mainly from the millionaire world of Bombay's high finance and the top bosses of the Congress frowned on the movement, the Congress leaders of the Parishad betrayed the movement. The Congress lead-

ers in Maharashtra accepted the bilingual Bombay State and dissolved the Parishad.

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Maharashtra. There also the PSP refused to join the Samiti though it was invited to do so. Events marched rapidly and then took place the arrests, the general strike and the epic battles of January 1956.

This new phase of mass struggles demanded a determined, fighting and unified leadership. The people began to ask for the building up of an organisation that would continue the battle for the break-up of the bilingual State and the creation of a Maharashtra State. A conference to found the Samiti was held. The PSP agreed to join and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti came into being.

Victory

Very soon the people wanted to give the Samiti proper flesh and blood. They wanted it to have a programme, a democratically functioning constitution and so on. Thus the Samiti grew out of struggles and unity of the people, and their parties became its expression in all fields of life. They began to look upon it as a people's front, as the people's alternative to the Congress which had become a handmaid of the vested interests and which had betrayed not only Samyukta Maharashtra but also all their ambitions for a better life and living.

The Samiti will continue to fight for the people's interests

toral battle with unity and great expectations. It was not only a plebiscite or vote on Maharashtra. There was even a desire to take over the Government by ousting the Congress from power. Herein also, the PSP in the Samiti proved a stumbling block. They did not want to give a slogan of ousting the Congress and forming an alternative Government of the Samiti, even if it won a majority. After the thundering victory in the elections they tried to obstruct the formation of a Samiti Bloc in the legislature also.

Disruption

In the legislature and the local bodies, the Samiti bloc, in the last three years has come forward as merciless critics and opponents of the ruling Congress on all problems of life of the people. They put forward alternative lines of solving problems of the toiling people, on land, food, prices, employment, industries, wages, etc.

Thus the Samiti installed itself in the minds of the people as a united oppositional force of the people of Maharashtra against the Congress, not only to establish a Maharashtra State but also as a democratic alternative to the Congress in the building up of the future Maharashtra. The Samiti acquired the character and reputation of being the democratic and progressive defender of people's interests in the legislatures.

When the time came to break up the bilingual State, the Congress leadership proved itself, once again, as a tool of the vested interests, and as anti-Maharashtrian in the financial deal, on the question of the border areas, the Dang, the Ukai Dam, etc. The Congress leadership went against the interests of the Marathi people by flouting accepted democratic principles.

This once again confirmed the people's desire to strengthen and continue the Samiti in the new Maharashtra, not only for solving the problems of the border areas, but also for the defence of people's interests in all spheres. Those, who have chosen to disrupt the Samiti, have failed to understand this development. They have fallen victims to the narrow selfish ends of their particular party politics and prestige and have done harm to the unity and strength of the people. Opposed to unity of the people, lest it might prove strong enough to overthrow the Congress, they, however, had agreed formerly to join the Samiti, under people's pressure. But once again, they took to the path of disruption and disunity and have thereby helped the anti-people forces of the Congress. We hope they will see the error of their ways and change their path again.

The Samiti will continue to fight for the people's interests

During the elections of 1957, the people went into the elec-

AITUC CALLS FOR ALL-IN TRADE UNION UNITY

Defend The Victimised, Defeat Attacks On Trade Union Rights

The Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) which met in Delhi from September 11 to 13, mainly discussed the recent strike of Central Government employees and its aftermath. The Committee in a resolution stressed that the prime task before the workers and trade unions is to "work for further unity to defend the victimised, to defend those whose bread-earners fell in firing and skirmishes and to defend the coming attack on trade union rights of the Government employees' organisations and the trade unions in general."

"All-in trade union unity alone can defend the working class and take it forward in fulfilling its tasks towards the country and its own class," the resolution said.

The Committee discussed the report on the strike made by General Secretary S. A. Dange, after which the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

THE strike of the Central Government employees in July 1960 was a perfectly justified and legitimate struggle in defence of their demands which Government had failed to satisfy during the last thirteen years, despite the recommendations of two Pay Commissions, peaceful representations and protests and all other channels of agitation, short of a strike.

During the thirteen years of independence, though the national economy has developed to a higher level and the incomes and wealth of the rich and upper classes have grown to unheard of heights, the wages and salaries of the lower grades of services did not go beyond the levels of 1947.

Agitation For D. A.

Every time prices rose to unbearable levels, Government employees had to agitate for dearness allowance, as it was never linked on a sliding scale to cost of living and even today continues to be a fixed figure. All the three increases given so far had been obtained, only after a severe rise in price and fall in real wages and the value of their salaries over a number of years and only after the employees had decided to go on strike after failure of negotiations.

The vital recommendations of the First Pay Commission, in the matter of D.A., grades and wages, after being first accepted by Government had later on been set aside.

The Second Pay Commission appointed after a series of partial struggles by sections of the employees and a notice of strike in August 1957 had failed to satisfy the major demands and on some points had done positive harm to the employees, though it had granted two increases of Rs. five, one in 1957 and one in 1959. While those recommendations which benefited the employees to some extent in the matter of grades, permanency, etc., remained unfulfilled for months, those that imposed larger workloads and disabilities were promptly put into effect.

The discontent was bound to rise with such a state of affairs and such an attitude on the

of dearness allowance or cash benefits in wages and left the employees at the mercy of the rising prices, which Government could neither control nor allow the employees to neutralise by a reasonable sliding scale of D.A.

After the breakdown of talks of July 2, the employees had no other alternative but to prepare vigorously for the strike of July 12.

The Government of India prepared to launch a reign of terror against the employees who were only fighting for their legitimate economic demands. A Presidential Ordinance banned the strike as illegal, provided drastic punishment for the employees, if they went on strike, ranging from dismissal to imprisonment and fines. Preparations for

part of the Government. When negotiations failed to move the Government, which, at first, refused to negotiate at all, the employees decided to strike on July 12, 1960.

Government Uses Terror

The organisations of the Government employees had shown great patience in negotiations and had shown reasonableness in their demands, and had tried their best to avoid the last drastic action of strike as far as possible. But the adamant attitude of Government had made the strike inevitable on July 11.

The refusal of the Prime Minister, in his letter dated June 10, to meet the representatives of the Government employees showed the attitude of the Government, though later on this was changed to some extent when the Labour Minister and others met them to discuss the question.

But the negotiations, at first brought forth no offers and no change on the part of the Government in the crucial matter

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Participation In Tripartite

THE Resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the AITUC on "Boycott of Tripartite" during its session in New Delhi from September 11 to 13, reads:

Suggestions have been made by some trade union leaders that all the central trade union organisations should boycott the tripartite conferences in view of the fact that these conferences do not benefit the workers and particularly because the Government refuses to abide by such tripartite conventions as are of benefit to the workers. This was amply shown by the Government refusal to accept the tripartite convention on minimum wage before the Pay Commission.

It is no doubt true that the Government of India has repudiated the tripartite convention on minimum wage so far as its own employees are concerned and it is also true that the Government and the employers tend to emphasise only such parts of the conventions as bind down the workers to certain obligations while the Government and employers repudiate such obligations as bind them and as are in favour of the workers.

At the same time, it would not be correct to ignore the fact that the workers have reaped some advantages from the tripartite and its various industrial committees in the matter of wage boards, national agreements in industries and so on.

Assessment Of Action

No doubt, the strike quickened the pace of the Government in giving effect to the beneficial part of the recommendations of the Pay Commission, as a result of which gains in the matter of grades, the period of retrospective effect of the wage rates, and such other matters are coming forth. Even the men in the army who suffered injustice in the matter of D.A. are now going to get a better D.A. than before.

These gains, however, pale in significance, before the huge sacrifices that the employees have to undergo, the thousands who have lost by victimisation and the attack that is in the offing against the trade unions and their rights.

The Working Committee feels that it was a step forward when all the organisations of the Government employees joined in one united front of the JCA and acted unanimously and unitedly. This unity, however, is likely to suffer a setback after the strike, when the whole movement now rightly sits down to assessing the gains and losses, the mistakes and achievements, not only of individuals and parties but of the whole trade union movement and all its wings.

Such assessment and criticism must be a step to unite the movement further and not to divide again those who had rightly united.

The AITUC for its part feels that the great action of the General Strike and its gains would have been still better and the losses less, if the whole trade union movement, including the central trade union organisations and the various Government employees' organisations had united on a common understanding, common slogan of action and common pooling of all their forces in a planned and agreed way, long before the JCA was formed and the decision to strike and its date was taken.

Insufficient Preparations

The AITUC feels that sufficient preparations were not made and the problem was not taken seriously even by its own centre for a long time as it was not certain that the strike would not, after all, materialise. There was ground for such a feeling to some extent till June 23.

But when the JCA met and actually fixed the final date on July 12 and gave notice, the strike preparations should have been

however, singularly failed to apply the conventions and labour laws in the fields where it is itself an employer, as was evidenced recently in the matter of the Pay Commission and the negotiations with the Central Government employees and the passing of the ordinance, the suppression of the strike and victimisation.

These actions of the Government would justify a boycott of the Tripartite.

But, it appears that the Government of India, which had at first refused to put the question of industrial relations in the public sector on the agenda has revised its earlier decision and has restored the item for discussion in the 18th Indian Labour Conference.

The Working Committee, therefore, feels that while it would have been perfectly justifiable to boycott this tripartite conference earlier, it now directs its representatives to attend the conference. If, however, during the proceedings, the reference to the subject of the Government employees is debarrred, the AITUC representatives should take suitable steps including a walk-out from the conference, to secure the consideration of the subject.

The AITUC Secretariat is authorised to take whatever steps necessary to carry out the above policy or modify it in the light of circumstances and further developments.

taken seriously. The AITUC accepts its part of the blame in not doing all it could and should have done in this matter, though what it did throughout this period was correct and the work done by thousands of its adherents, before, during and after the strike is worthy of the traditions of the AITUC.

Hundreds of its workers were arrested, including many of its M.P.s and M.L.As, trade union functionaries and its President. The AITUC unions should review their achievements as well as mistakes, learn the lessons for the future and work for further unity to defend the victimised, to defend those whose bread-earners fell in firing and skirmishes and to defend the coming attack on trade union rights of the Government employees' organisations and the trade unions in general.

All trade unions of the AITUC must exert more to enroll in greater numbers the vast number of workers still out of its fold, fight for recognition of its unions and strengthen its influence in all strata of the working class. The AITUC while strengthening itself should take steps to bring all the central trade union organisations and those who are independent into one central organisation throughout the country, irrespective of political differences.

All-in trade union unity alone can defend the working class and take it forward in fulfilling its tasks towards the country and its own class.

RESOLUTION ON CENTRAL GOVT. EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

black-legs on a vast scale were made.

The ruling Congress Party and several non-official organisations fed with grants from public funds, were set in motion to do blacklegging. The AITUC, the trade union wing of the Government and the Congress Party, took the lead in strike-breaking and attacking the morale of the workers.

After making these preparations, talks for negotiations through non-official channels and the mediation of the late Feroze Gandhi were held just two days before the strike date.

on July 10, there was hardly any time for it or for any fruitful manoeuvres in the conditions obtaining. The battle had become unavoidable.

The strike of July 12 was an unprecedented event in the history of our working class movement. There had been strikes of different sectors of Government services from time to time such as in railways, post and telegraph, defence, etc. But a common strike call of all services at the same time had never taken place.

Moreover, the call had been given by the united Joint

of the Government employees that the big centres of employment and the hub of economic political life of the country like Calcutta and Bombay had a more or less complete strike, with other centres following with lesser success.

The services of the P&T were in the forefront of the shut-down, followed by the Civil Aviation, Defence and the smaller services of Accounts, Income-Tax, Customs and so on. The railways closed in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay, with workshop closures in other places.

General Strike

Police terror on an unprecedented scale was let loose. Seventeen thousand people were arrested of whom 12,000 were employees and the rest sympathising helpers, pickets and demonstrators from among the people and other trade unionists.

Civil liberties were suspended, meetings and assembly of people banned. Workers' houses were broken into and hundreds were given the alternative of pistol point to march either to work or to the prison. Glory to those who preferred prison to breaking the strike.

Under such conditions, the fact that over five lakhs of workers responded to the call is no mean achievement. Despite the fact that it was not so complete and wide and deep as was expected, it was a great action in face of the terror that was launched, the forces of blacklegging that were organised with the whole backing of the State and the absence of the leadership that took place by the arrests on the very eve of the strike.

repent their great action. The whole working class had undergone a great experience and the ruling class, too, had learnt a lesson. History alone will show the real fruits of it.

The central trade union organisations like the AITUC, HMS and UTUC took the decision to call a general strike on July 14 to support the Government employees. The decision was a correct one. But in the context of these organisations having had no joint working even on this issue, the HMS refusing to have joint meetings with the AITUC, the call for the united general strike throughout the country did not materialise to any great extent, except in West Bengal and partly in Bombay. Some other places like Mangalore, Madras, Coimbatore, etc., had partial

Urgent Task

A general strike throughout India of all trade unions was too big an undertaking to materialise with such inadequate unity, preparations and organisation. In the background of a long history of refusal to unite, and of rivalries in every sphere, it was not a surprise, if such a gigantic undertaking on a countrywide scale did not succeed. Only the great sympathy for the Government employees on strike enabled such a call to be given at all. That also had its use.

After July 14 and the call back to work coming from some sections of the services on a local scale, and with no prospect of the strike spreading further, the leaders of the JCA took a decision to call it off unconditionally. The workers resumed work on July 18.

The trade union organisations must and will move to do all they can for the defence of the victimised and those who are still under attack.

Maintain Unity

Though hundreds of cases launched against the employees have been withdrawn in places like Calcutta and Bombay, yet hundreds continue to be pursued in other places, especially where the strike was weak. Ever as we are meeting, reports of arrests of trade unionists on back-dated charges continue to come in. Those who had to face unprovoked firing, as in Dohad on the Western Railway, are in danger of prosecutions and harassment and require relief and defence.

The AITUC will do all it can to render aid in this matter and calls upon all trade unions to take up the defence of the victimised and those under prosecution as an urgent task.

Following the strike, the Government of India has withdrawn recognition of the trade unions of the Government employees such as the NFPTE (P&T), the AIRF (Railway), the AIDEF (Defence), the unions in Audit Office, etc.

The Government also threatens to bring in legislation to ban strikes in essential services and to debar outsiders from their unions.

This retrograde legislation must be opposed tooth and nail, as it will ultimately hit at the whole trade union movement in all spheres, once it is allowed to be imposed on what are called essential services. Our experience of war-time legislation and its aftermath should warn us about it.

Samiti's Policy Statement

and for the integration of the border areas in Maharashtra.

In this matter, the Samiti would like to state that it will take the cooperation of all democratic forces and itself will cooperate with them. While criticising and opposing the overall reactionary policies of the Congress, the Samiti will cooperate even with the Government in such fields of constructive work, as, in its opinion, are of benefit to the people. The policies and programme of the Samiti remain as before and as unanimously agreed from time to time in its Conferences and General Council meetings. The Samiti will continue to work as a united front of all progressive parties and forces and is not embedded in the views of any one party. It will fight for the realisation of people's demands and for

liberty, democracy and Socialism.

There are some, who have been always opponents of the Samiti on one or the other ground and tried to weaken it, who never participated in the militant struggles led by the Samiti. There are some, who were formally inside the Samiti, but never became an active homogeneous part of it, and hence have gone out of it, at the first bait of personal or political gain. These elements are now spreading slanders against the Samiti. They are challenging its patriotism, its democracy and its Socialism, its popularity and its solidarity. The Samiti refuses to put itself in the dock to answer these slanders. The policies of the Samiti are as clear as before.

The Samiti stands by its loyalty to the country and the people. It stands for defence of

the country against any aggression. It adheres to the policy of peace and non-alignment. It opposes war-mongers and atom-bomb-maniacs. It stands in defence of the oppressed people of Africa and Asia and for Afro-Asian solidarity.

It stands for planned development of our economy, extension and growth of the public sector, nationalisation of key industries and banks and curb on the monopolies. It stands for democracy and for building the mightiest democratic opposition and struggle inside the legislatures and outside to make the ruling class amenable to the will of the people.

It stands particularly for the defence of the interests of the workers, peasants, intellectuals as the main forces of the people. It stands for equality and against any discrimination of caste and religion and for jus-

tice to the backward castes and communities of our people, particularly such as the Adivasis, the Buddhists and those whom the orthodox consider as untouchables. It reiterates its assurances to the linguistic and other minorities in respect of the protection of their rights.

It stands for the healthy growth of industry, not for private profit but for social benefit. It demands a total reorganisation of agriculture and land relations in favour of the toiling peasantry and landless labourers.

The Samiti wishes to emphasise that it will realise this programme by peaceful and legitimate means, by means of democratic and peaceful struggle, of the toiling people and strive for unity of all those who agree with this; that all this programme is consistent with the principles of the Constitution of our country and can be realised within its general framework.

It will cooperate with all mass organisations, working for the people, such as trade unions, peasant, student and women's organisations, cultural and sports bodies, etc. Above all, the Samiti wishes to emphasise that the interests of the people can be defended fully and properly and the new people's Maharashtra can be built successfully only if the Congress

Party and its allies and inspirers from among the vested interests, are displaced from governmental power, and a new Government of the toiling people, based on the alliance of all democratic forces, is established in its place.

For this, we must, from now on educate and organise the people and struggle for their demands and for the unification of the border areas into the Maharashtra State. The ruling Congress Party also mouths phrases about the need to bring in the border areas, and the need to build the new Maharashtra for the people. But in real life they side with those who are exploiters of the people. Hence, it is necessary to know how they really act, not merely how they talk.

We are making this statement and also concretising the details of the programme in terms of the demands of the people on each front, so that the various organisations of workers, peasants, students, women, etc., and the border area committees can organise on its basis and act in each other's support. We hope the people of Maharashtra will stand by the Samiti and join with it in fulfilment of its programme, which is nothing but a programme for the welfare of the people of Maharashtra and the whole country.

TRANSPORT POLICY

* FROM PAGE 6

performances. But taken as a whole there is still scope for much improvement as the following figures would indicate:

Description	(figures in millions)			
	USA	USSR	CHINA	INDIA
Net ton km. (freight) per route per mile of railways	4.14	16.11	7.25	2.11

Leaving aside the figures for the USA and USSR, where mechanisation and technological improvements have attained quite a high level, we find that China, with her low level of development, obtains a service out of one mile of railway which is more than three times that of India. (It is likely that the railway mileage of China are 'track miles' in which case the net ton km. per route mile would be still higher). The extent of their intensive utilisation could be gauged from the fact that average daily performance of a wagon in China (in terms of net ton Km) is more than eight times in India. With only 53 per cent of route mileage and 23 per cent of wagon stock of India, China performs more than 80 per cent in terms of net ton Km.

Even if we do not expect such a high degree of performance in India (with a mixed economy), certainly it can be raised to a much higher level given a proper attitude towards organisation and human resources and with certain improvements of

an auxiliary character. And it is common knowledge that better utilisation will mean less capital for the same

(figures in millions)

Description	USA	USSR	CHINA	INDIA
Net ton km. (freight) per route per mile of railways	4.14	16.11	7.25	2.11

amount of service rendered. There is another serious lacuna in that the targets have been calculated in terms of tonnage and not ton-miles (see table below). It is essential in transport planning that the likely freight turnover is estimated, as the tonnage originated have to be carried over different distance levels.

Absence of this only betrays the attitude towards planning. Assumption of constant load, without a study of the necessary factors (as has been discussed earlier) is also erroneous, because during the period 1939-40 to 1955-56, 41 per cent of the increase in freight turnover was due to the rise in average haulage and only in the First Plan period the average haul increased by nine per cent.

So, the sooner the Government sheds its conventional and dilly-dallying attitudes and takes up a serious, dynamic and realistic approach to transport planning, the better for the economy and transport sector, too.

MAJOR TARGETS IN THE DIFFERENT FIELDS OF TRANSPORTATION

Description Unit	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
a) Railways: freight (m.tons)	91	114	162	235
b) Roads: surfaced (1000 miles)	98	107	144	164
c) Shipping tonnage:				
i) Coastal (lakh Grt.)	2.2	2.4	2.9	3.4
ii) Overseas (")	1.7	2.4	6.1	10.8
d) Ports: Handling capacity (m.tons)	20	25	31	41

(1957-58)

the fourth item



There is no substitute for LIFE INSURANCE

SIGNIFICANT FACTOR OF OUR TIMES

This article by Academician Y. E. ZHUKOV is being reprinted from the Pravda of August 26, 1960.

The last mainstays of modern imperialist slave-owners in colonial countries are crumbling under the pressures of the peoples liberating themselves.

Nearly all Asia and a considerable portion of Africa have emancipated themselves from the yoke of colonialism. Whereas only ten independent States existed in the African continent early this year, their number today is 24. The peoples of Africa are confidently embarking on the path of progressive social life.

Having severed the chain of imperialist oppression, the popular revolution in Cuba has created major prerequisites for the further development of the national liberation movement in the countries of Latin America.

THE outstanding results of the national liberation struggle against colonialism are profoundly gratifying to all progressive men. The declaration of the Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1957 referred to the liberation movement of the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies as a powerful force of today. As this important document puts it:

"The peoples of colonial and dependent countries still in bondage are intensifying their struggle for national liberation. The development of Socialism and the national liberation movement has greatly accelerated the process of the disintegration of imperialism which has lost its sway over a greater part of mankind."

The disintegration of the colonial system, a process now at work, is a significant factor of our times. "Look at the map of Asia and Africa and you will see a picture of the emancipation of hundreds of millions from age-long oppression by aliens, from foreign exploitation," Comrade N. S. Khrushchov declared from the rostrum of the U.N. General Assembly.

The Debacle Of Colonialism

The profound political changes now wrought in the world testify with fresh power to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching which has theoretically substantiated the necessity and inevitability of the great liberation process evolving from the debacle of colonialism, and the complete realisation of the self-determination of the nations.

The emergence of new national States and the progressive development of some of the comparatively old ones, as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, is one of the essential features of today.

The policy of colonial oppression inherent in imperialism, far from strengthening its mainstays, actually undermines them, thus precipitating the collapse of imperialism. At the same time the ranks of the allies of the principal anti-imperialist force—the international working class—are multiplying.

Proceeding from the historic decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, the Soviet Union has been consistently carrying out the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence of States belonging to different socio-economic systems, has been decisively sup-

ported the national liberation struggle of the peoples against colonialism and has been strengthening its ties of friendship and alliance with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have won national independence.

Doctrinaires and sectarians who do not comprehend the laws of social development claim that the realisation of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence impedes the development of the national-liberation movement and dooms it to stagnation. This view is grossly erroneous.

Progressive Significance

Only petty bourgeois "Leftists" and hopeless doctrinaires can deny the historical meaning of the fact that new national States have emerged in Asia and Africa, though many of them have not yet reached economic independence, nor have they solved a number of urgent social problems prompted by life.

It is common knowledge that most of the new national States of Asia and Africa are headed by bourgeois political statesmen, usually under the nationalist banner. Yet this cannot

Certain problems of contemporary National liberation movement

less aid to the economically underdeveloped countries inspire the peoples of these countries and foster their confidence in the success of their right cause.

The States of Asia, Africa and Latin America are defending their independence and sovereignty under the banner of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. It is quite natural, therefore, that on the most radical international issues, on the issues of war and peace, the positions of the non-Socialist States of the East and those of the Socialist States coincide and cannot but coincide.

Characteristic Feature

This is conclusively shown, for example, by the decisive support given by India, Indonesia and a number of other national States to the Soviet Union's general and complete disarmament proposals. The USSR, for its part, insists that China, India, Indonesia and possibly other Asian and African States, may take part in the discussion of major international issues on an equal footing with other countries.

The origin and development of independent national States, which so recently were the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism, is a characteristic feature of the present epoch.

Exposing the errors committed by Rosa Luxemburg on the national problem, Lenin always

landlords', clerical, autocratic, national, etc. oppression."

Failure to understand this multiplicity, this arrogant scorn for the anti-imperialist actions when non-proletarian elements come to the fore under certain historical conditions is a highly dangerous kind of sectarianism leading to self-isolation.

Lenin foresaw that the revolutionary transition from capitalism to Socialism would in itself be a historical epoch wherein proletarian revolutions could combine with a number of

"democratic and revolutionary, including national liberation, movements in the midst of underdeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.

"Why? Because capitalism develops unevenly, and objective reality demonstrates that alongside the highly developed capitalist nations a number of nations are developed weakly or not developed at all economically."

Hence it follows that it is impossible to skip a certain historical stage and consequently the task of Socialist transformations cannot be mechanically placed on the agenda

all possible remnants and survivals of feudalism, the dissolution "without exception" of all one-sided agreements once imposed by the colonialists, the foreign policy of "peace and non-participation" in military blocs set up by the imperialist powers—these are the elements of that positive platform which is capable of uniting and which is actually uniting broad sections in the recent colonies and semi-colonies.

Democratic Reforms

This by no means implies that the transition to the non-capitalist path of development is everywhere postponed for an indefinite period. In the process of settling urgent national problems there will arise vital social questions which no one will be able to brush aside. This is what Comrade N. S. Khrushchov referred to in his report to the 21st Congress of the CPSU:

"When the colonialists have been expelled and the national problems have been settled in the main, the peoples seek the answers to the social questions put forth by life. These are, above all, the agrarian question and the

problem of the struggle of labour against capital. In the ranks of the national liberation movement there emerge social processes which inevitably lead to differing opinions as to the ways and means of the further development of the country."

Principal Task

For many underdeveloped countries of Asia and especially Africa now freeing themselves from the yoke of imperialism, in which the bulk of the population are peasants, the "struggle not against capital but against medieval vestiges" will remain the principal task for a comparatively long period. Hence the possibility of lasting co-operation between the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of the underdeveloped countries and certain bourgeois circles—that part of the national bourgeoisie which is interested in their country's independent political and economic development and is prepared to defend its independence against any encroachments on the part of the imperialist Powers.

The Communists of these countries come out as selfless fighters for the interests of their peoples and are an active patriotic force—therefore it is no accident that they are respected in their countries.

Relations Of Friendship

The imperialists of the USA, Great Britain, France and other colonial Powers are dreaming of pitting some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against one another, of splitting

* SEE OVERLEAF

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NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

them, of setting them at loggerheads with one another and the countries of the Socialist system as well. The imperialist schemes have been rebuffed owing to the solidarity of the peoples and their desire to put an end to colonialism, to drive the last nail into its coffin.

Communist Bogy

Imperialist propaganda is making convulsive efforts to distort Soviet policy with respect to the economically underdeveloped countries, to sow discord in the relations between the USSR and these countries. For this purpose recourse is made to such means, compromised a long time ago, as attempting to frighten a certain section of the national bourgeoisie with the "Communist threat," allegedly increasing because of close contacts with the USSR.

However, long experience of peaceful co-existence and beneficial co-operation between the Soviet Socialist State and the non-Socialist countries, both large and small, refutes the concoctions of the advocates of anti-Communism.

The Soviet State has always taken the stand of strict non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The relations of trust and friendship established between the USSR and many non-Socialist States of Asia and Africa vividly show that the differences in the social and economic systems, political regimes, and ideologies can offer no obstacles to mutually advantageous and peaceful co-operation. The Soviet Union is lending a helping hand to the United Arab Republic, India and Afghanistan in their economic development, thereby helping them to strengthen their political independence from imperialism, despite the fact that they, as we all know, are not Socialist countries.

The political and ideological differences between these States and the Socialist countries do not prevent the UAR, India, Indonesia, Burma, the Guinean Republic, Ghana, Cuba and other countries to come out on the international arena jointly with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist States. In defence of peace, for general and complete disarmament, against aggressive blocs, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and for the elimination of military bases on foreign territories.

The main and most essential thing uniting the Socialist and the non-Socialist national States is their common anti-imperialist stand, their common interest in the swift liquidation of the colonial system and in the all-round economic and cultural advance of the nations which lagged temporarily in their development. They are also commonly interested in establishing real national equality and achieving lasting peace on earth.

Cover For Aggression

Only the imperialist provocateurs, who have chosen anti-Communism as their ideological standard in promoting the policy of aggression and new colonial adventures, declare each just national liberation struggle of the peoples to be the result of a "Communist plot," no matter who heads the struggle. For instance, the rulers in Washington recently raised a cry about an imaginary "Communist threat" in Cuba as "ground" for economic blockade against the freedom-loving Cuban people, despite the fact that the revolutionary Government of Cuba is conducting not a Socialist policy, but a general democratic national policy.

The possibility of "exporting" revolution to other countries is most resolutely denounced by Marxism-Leninism as a reactionary Utopia. It rejects in any form whatsoever, the foisting on other countries of social orders and institutions which are not the products of internal development.

The Soviet Union is rendering and will continue to render unselfish support to the national States defending their sovereignty against imperialist encroachments. In doing this, the Soviet Union is prompted by the sole desire to see these States free and prosperous as soon as possible. It pursues no other aims.

Lenin's idea of the necessity of alliance and friendship between the Socialist countries and the peoples waging a national liberation struggle was strikingly manifested in the historic documents of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the C.P.S.U. The dogmatic idea that the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries had everywhere and forever become a reactionary force incapable of taking part and, the more so, of playing a leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle, was cast aside.

New Stage In Struggle

This not only made it possible to give an objective, positive appraisal of many prominent leaders of the national liberation movement who had come out under nationalist banners against imperialism, but also helped fully to understand the historical formation of a number of independent States in Asia and Africa.

The 21st Congress of our Party, which enriched Marxist-

Leninist theory with a series of vital, theoretical propositions and advanced the thesis of the possibility of wars being excluded in international practice, noted the existence of a new stage in the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence, a stage characterised by the spread of the national liberation movement in all colonial and dependent countries. The Congress stressed that those peoples who had already gained their national independence were particularly interested in preserving peace. This is helping to bring these peoples still closer to the USSR and the other Socialist countries.

Underscoring the significance of international solidarity of those fighting for the progress of the peoples, Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the revolutionary Government of the Cuban Republic, wrote in his letter to N. S. Khrushchov: "We are deeply convinced that there can be real peace on earth only when a single oppressed people will remain, when all peoples shall have become the masters of their destinies. The solidarity of the free nations is the main thing in achieving this aim."

Importance Of Disarmament

The struggle for general and complete disarmament is of particularly vital importance to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are the targets of open and disguised aggression on the part of the imperialist Powers. It is in the territories of Asian, African and Latin American countries that many military bases of the United States of America and its allies have been set up.

Turning to Africa we see the blood of patriots being shed in Algeria, because they are defending the freedom, and independence of their country against the French militarists. An attempt at joint armed intervention by the imperialist Powers has been made in the Congo.

In Asia we see the aggressive American military intensifying their activities in Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Iran and other countries, activities directed against peace and security of the peoples.

Victory Is Assured

The colonialists are doing their utmost to retard the historical processes of the revival of the previously enslaved peoples, but their efforts are in vain. Life has shown that wherever the people have gained their freedom, the entire process of social life has quickened and the national economy and culture develops rapidly as well.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are waging a sacred struggle against colonialism and they are sure to win.

(—Pravda, August 26, 1960)

headed not only against the interests of universal peace but also against the independence of those countries on whose soil the imperialists have set up quarters. Militarism is the twin brother of colonialism.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are defending their rights against the colonialists, are vitally interested in preventing the imperialist Powers from carrying out military adventures. That is why they support the struggle of the USSR and the other Socialist countries for the reduction of international tensions, for the exposure and isolation of war-mongers, for peace and disarmament.

Events In Congo

The continuing disintegration of the colonial system is frightening the imperialist colonialists. This is eloquently manifested by the events in the Congo where the colonialists, making use of "NATO solidarity," the venality of individual tribal chiefs, and the obsequiousness of high-ranking schemers of the UN staff, are trying to set up a united front of their own against the young sovereign State which is expressing the unbending will of the Congolese people for independence and freedom.

We cannot help but notice that the Security Council more than once discussed the situation in the Congo and passed resolutions on the immediate withdrawal of the Belgian troops from that country, and that afterwards everything was done to sabotage the fulfilment of these decisions. It is not by accident that some American newspapers are already beginning to speak of the "wisdom" and "inevitability" of the division of the young African State.

The United States of America, the leading country of the capitalist camp, is stinting no dollars (at the cost of the taxpayers) in its effort to prop the sagging edifice of colonialism.

Apart from openly aggressive actions, military pacts and bases and provocations and conspiracies, the United States is also resorting to propaganda methods, loans and "gifts," and to the bribery of individual political leaders, while trying at the same time to corrupt the minds of the youth with the cheap "delights" of the "American way of life" in order to win the battle for the souls of the Afro-Asian nations, as some people in the USA fondly call it.

The struggle for disarmament, for the prevention of new wars, colonial wars included, for the elimination of foreign military bases is a struggle against imperialism, a struggle to liquidate the survivals of colonialism as soon as possible and to strengthen the sovereignty and security of all countries.

The Yearly Twist

The World Bank managed to "prune" the Second Plan, nearer its own desire after T.T.K. had managed to produce the last crisis by wilful waste of the nation's foreign exchange.

It now trusts Morarji to run India's finances in a manner that there appears to be no other way left except seek the "aid" of the World Bank to complete the Second Plan and get started on the Third Plan.

(September 21)

the Third Plan and Morarji is no Indian matador but a meek aims-seeker. T.T.K.'s fate will certainly overtake him one day but meanwhile, the country cannot afford to drift.

The pro-Western reactionary elements on our side are busy working out the traditional tactic of the softening process. Newspaper readers will recall that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has been campaigning for some time past for the very demand which has now at last come from the World Bank under the specious plea that the best way in which the Government can rid itself of the great worry of raising resources for the public sector is to float its shares and let the private bankers and businessmen lead their helping hand and share the responsibility of raising resources for the nation's Plan.

The World Bank demand is not only being persistently voiced by selfish Indian monopolists but their lobby inside the Indian Government is also plugging it in.

When the draft of the Third Plan was being finally discussed at the Cabinet level and in the full session of the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry offered some "comments and suggestions" wherein it was urged: "In very special cases if funds are not available public sector undertakings may be permitted to raise additional resources on their own by way of loans, debentures or shares."

Reject World Bank's Demands

If the above is not disloyalty to the declared policy of the very Government which has employed them and serving the interests of the aliens, what else can one call this atrocious suggestion?

Under the heading "Industrial Projects" this note further added:

"Besides the industrial projects already mentioned, there should be a general reference in the outline to the effect that industries of high importance could be taken up in the course of the Plan even though they may not be specifically indicated in the Plan at this stage."

What else does it mean except that some essential gaps are to be left for the foreign monopolists to muscle their way in as and when their friends and counterparts at the Indian end can clear the hurdles and create the right atmosphere for their entry?

The Yearly Twist

We can save our national existence and build a progressive future, according to the principles of our Plan, only by repudiating the demands of the World Bank, and hounding out of the positions of authority and responsibility all those who are acting as its agents and champions inside our Governmental set-up.

All loyal forces of the nation must come into action. The need is crying and urgent.

(September 21)

SEPTEMBER 25, 1960

and in one lump its demand for selling the shares of Indian public projects to the bankers of the West.

It has, therefore, through its agents in the Indian official set-up, ensured that there will be a yearly review of the Third Plan. There was no such clear statement in the original draft of the Plan but then the Hoffman Mission came, hints were thrown and the needful was done.

The Economic Weekly of July 9 (p. 1109) stated: "The Planning Commission has implicitly committed itself to the annual phasing of expenditure and resources in the Third Plan period. It had tried to avoid this commitment in the memorandum."

The World Bank tactic is to adopt the technique of the yearly twist, exploit Indian weakness and need for foreign exchange to twist year after year, and more and more, India's arms fill we agree to India's industries being financed and owned by the bankers of the West.

A preliminary rehearsal of this shameful drama is being enacted during Morarji's current aid-seeking mission abroad.

Morarjibhai is the hot favourite of Birla's Hindustan Times. Its Special Correspondent, boosting Morarji's mission abroad under the heading "Exchange Gap Sure to be Covered," writes:

"Mr. Desai is understood to have met with responsive interest in India's Five-Year Plan. There is how full under-

WHAT HAPPENED AT 'AID-INDIA' CLUB'S PARIS CONFERENCE?

At Paris the "Aid-India" Club has met and dispersed, without anybody in India—not excluding the Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, B. K. Nehru or his chief, the Finance Minister—being any the wiser about the quantum of aid to be expected from its members.

In fact, judging from the Press comments and B. K. Nehru's statement at the end of the meeting, all that one can be certain about is the uncertainty of this aid.

"There is a big gap between everything and nothing; the thermometer goes up and down," said B. K. Nehru, according to a Reuter report on September 16. Obviously, his spirits were indubitably at a low ebb to force even him to make such a cynical statement—or was it some flicker of objectivity dawning upon him to make him for once see the facts as they really are, and not as he often imagines and wants them to be?

For, what has the Club meeting made explicit, after all? On paper, no doubt, it has made nothing known, for, are not the recommendations meant only for the ears of the member countries' Governments? And yet, there are enough indications to go by to make a fair assessment of what it decided and what it deferred for future consultations.

No Cause For Comfort

Immediately it decided to make available, by March next year, the remaining part of the assistance promised in 1958, although, according to G. K. Reddy (The Times of India, September 17) even in respect of this assistance, "the five delegations took the line that at no stage did they collectively promise that credits to the order of 938 million dollars would be provided by them for the completion of the Second Plan."

Indication To India

In withholding assistance—or its promise—at this stage, the Club countries hope to influence the country in yet another way. In case their view is not accepted, and the Plan is initiated without any firm offers of foreign assistance, it is sure to face, according to the calculations, a foreign exchange crisis before long. (By their own restrictive import trade policies they would see to it that it does.) Then it would be time to offer assistance to India provided the Plan was "reappraised" and "rephased" the way it was done during the Second Plan.

Anyway, now that this assistance is said to be forthcoming, it will be interesting to see how the aiding countries resolve the tangle of their procedural processes, which had delayed the disbursement of even the earlier authorisations.

The real disappointment (to B. K. Nehru et al) from the Paris meeting arises from the fact that the participants there "have maintained a reserve" that gives no cause for comfort. (The Hindustan Standard, September 17)

The fact that such "rephasing" resulted in the past in needling out only those projects, like heavy machine building and drugs, which the Club countries frowned upon, gives them hope that

the experiment can be repeated. In fact, the Times has been quite sanguine about it. In an editorial on the Paris meeting on September 12 it said, "No doubt the Third Plan will have to be revised from time to time as the Second Plan has been... (and) the same flexibility will have to govern the leaders' decisions."

Apart from this basic objective of the Club countries—of withholding aid to pressurise the country either into accepting the changes suggested by Hoffman, or failing that, into a situation where it might be forced to willy-nilly "reappraise" or "rephase" the Plan, there are certain other factors which make the Club singularly unsuited to act jointly to aid India. In a masterly despatch on the subject, G. K. Reddy writes:

"Japan was brought into the five-nation group on political considerations merely to associate an Asian country with the aid programmes for India... Canada appears to be quite content with her present contribution of 25 million dollars a year in straight donations. Germany (West) is prepared to relent a bit and rebalance some of the old loans and roll them over to the Third and Fourth Plan periods. The U.S. aid programmes are so tangled and spread out through so many different agencies that the Americans themselves get quite confused at times to assessing the total assistance they are giving India and Britain is distinctly reluctant to commit herself at this stage about her contributions during the Third Plan period."

Biding Their Time

The very fact that they endorsed this report denotes the conditions which they will like to be fulfilled before making any firm aid commitments. Hence, their resolve to bide their time till March next, when they hope to see incorporated quite a few recommendations of the Hoffman report in the final revision of the Third Plan. If, however, their hope is not fulfilled, and the planners and the people remain steadfastly wedded to the Plan objectives, they would give only tied aid for some projects which suit their own purposes. They thus are not agreeable to give an omnibus undertaking to give aid now, or in future, unless the Plan is patterned the way Hoffman and his colleagues have suggested.

Indication To India

The Paris meeting has thus turned out to be an anti-climax—after the high hopes pinned on it. It has, however, enough indications to New Delhi about the way it should not act if it means to adhere to the Plan objectives.

At the same time it makes it imperative that New Delhi does some rethinking on the question of foreign aid for the Third Plan. If it does so, and makes it plain to the Club countries that it means to go ahead with the Plan with or without their aid, the latter will have to think twice before laying down the type of conditions which a Hoffman can write so glibly about.

—ESSEN

September 19

WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT

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phlet by the Bundeswehr leaders demanding that their forces should be equipped with nuclear weapons to meet all possible forms of military conflict is a serious matter. Such a definition is bound to include the Polaris missile, the possible introduction of which into Europe has already caused controversy. The objection to it is that it is unsuitable for NATO defence because it is a total war weapon... But it does not matter greatly which weapons the Bundeswehr leaders have in mind.

"Most disquieting is that the German Generals appear to be telling the political leadership what must be done. It is only four years since the 'Soldatengesetz', the legal basis for the new Bundeswehr, was approved.

"One of its main aims was to prevent the army from ever again becoming a State within a State..."

The Governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union could not but take serious note of the Nazi General's memorandum.

The Czechoslovak Government in a declaration said: "In this memorandum, the provocative content of which aroused the indignation of world public opinion as well as of the West German population itself, the most aggressive military circles of Western Germany proclaim 'a programme for the speediest possible completion of the rearmament of the aggressive German army by weapons of mass destruction and for a total engagement of all human resources in the preparations for an atomic war.' Characterising it as an 'insolent' action, a 'result of the

policy of Western Powers, primarily the USA whose ruling circles would like to turn the Mull force of German militarism against the Socialist States", the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic calls for urgent steps to meet the growing threat of German militarism, "the first indispensable step in this direction" being the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States.

The Soviet Government in a note to the West German Government characterised the memorandum as "a programme of total militarisation of the country." It notes the fact that this programme is being advanced at a time when the efforts of peace-loving peoples are aimed at reaching agreement on universal and complete disarmament. All this is being done "as if there had been no unconditional surrender of Germany."

On the strength of Germany's unconditional surrender, the Soviet Note says, the Allied Powers have to take any measures to ensure the unswerving fulfilment of the goals of the declaration on Germany's defeat and, above all, the main goal—to exclude the revival of German militarism in any form.

Development of the most recent events, the Soviet Note says, dictates most convincingly the need for concluding a peace treaty with Germany without delay and the normalisation on this basis of the situation in West Berlin. The Soviet Government is convinced that this problem will be resolved shortly. And if the Government of the Federal Republic refuses to participate in such a treaty, it will be concluded without her.

—ZIAUL HAQ

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SEPTEMBER 25, 1960

OUR LONDON LETTER

South African Problem

—S. A. INDIAN LEADER INTERVIEWED

The following is the text of an interview which New Age London Correspondent Omeo Gooptu had with Dr. Youssef Dadoo, former President of the South African Indian National Congress.

Dr. DADOO

Q Dr. Dadoo, on behalf of New Age and its numerous readers, let me offer you our very best wishes and warmest greetings. I know how extremely busy you have been ever since your arrival in this country; we are grateful to you for making it possible for me to interview you in spite of it.

A Thank you, Mr. Gooptu, for your good wishes and greetings. We, in South Africa, need all the support of all people in every country for the just and noble cause which has inspired the overwhelming majority of the people of our country.

Q Now, Dr. Dadoo, the policies of the South African Government have aroused the conscience of the ordinary people throughout the world. Until now, nothing has been done to mitigate the anger of those people by the South African Government. For the benefit of our Indian readers, could you explain the main reasons behind the mass upsurge of the Africans, Indians and a section of the European population against the present regime in your country?

A Well, it is due to nothing else but the evil and dastardly policy of apartheid which is being pursued by the South African Government. It is a policy which, on the ground of colour, discriminates against people who are not white and robs them of their dignity. It has reduced them to a status of inferiority and driven them out from land which they have possessed for so long in the name of apartheid.

White Domination

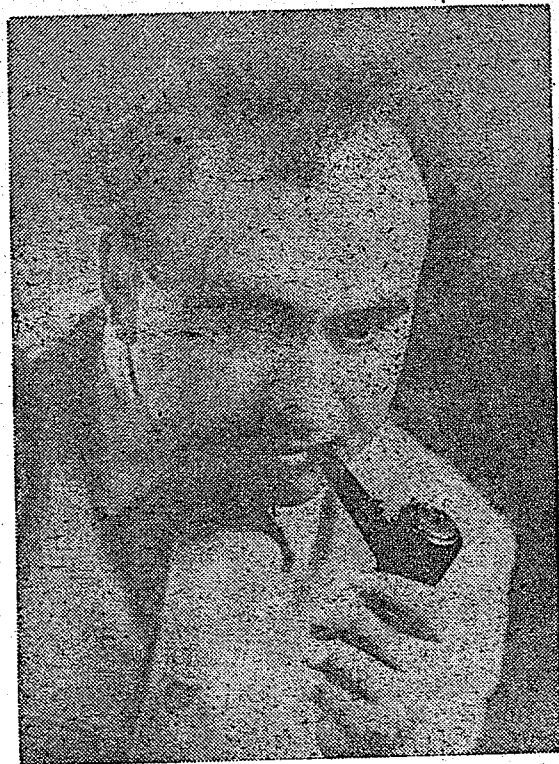
The policy of the South African Government can be summed up in one phrase—WHITE DOMINATION—a policy very akin to the policy of racialism against which the whole world had to fight so hard—Nazism and fascism.

Q What is the significance of the banning of the African political parties?

A They have been banned because of the vigour, energy and determination with which they represented the cause and aspirations of the non-whites in South Africa.

These parties were in the thick of everything, putting up a fight against the evil of apartheid and demanding the basic legitimate rights for the people. By banning them, the Government is not going to make its position secure; it may only somewhat hinder the work of the national organisations.

But if by banning them and using the force of arms by the police and troops the Government expects to suppress the



people of South Africa, then it is quite mistaken.

Q Some time ago Mr. Louw, the South African Foreign Minister, declared that Communist propaganda has played its part "in inciting the Bantu masses against the Europeans". Is then the uprising in South Africa the direct result of the activities of the Communists and other Left-wingers only?

A That is a familiar phrase which we have heard for many a long years from the rulers of South Africa. Anything they want to be condemned, they put it as Communist-inspired, in order to hide their own sins.

Well, in the first place, they should realise that times have changed. People are no longer frightened throughout the world (if at all they were ever) by the bogey of Communism.

Liberation Struggle

The fact is that the struggle in South Africa is a struggle for national liberation, a struggle against baaskavism, white domination, for the recognition of the rights and liberties of the people. As such, in this struggle, the Africans, Indians and a section of the Europeans realise that they are struggling against a common enemy.

Q Mr. Verwoerd and his Government colleagues repeatedly assert that the "protagonists of the black men" have never given a "thought to the interests and welfare of

South Africa's European population". What is your comment on it?

A If Dr. Verwoerd and his henchmen in the Cabinet sincerely believe that by their policy of apartheid they are going to protect the interest of the white men in South Africa, then they are quite mistaken. I think, it is absolutely foolish on their part to think in that way.

The white people outside look at it differently because of the different situation throughout the world, because of the vast upsurge of the people throughout the continent of Africa soon after the upsurge on the continent of Asia—an upsurge crying out to defeat colonialism and imperialism, crying out to be free to assert their rights, to determine their own destiny in their own way.

And because of this upsurge the Western Powers have realised that in this situation it is no longer possible to continue in the old way—that new ways have to be devised. And, therefore, so far as the outside white public opinion is concerned, I don't think that Dr. Verwoerd can fool them for long.

Q The Federated Chamber of Industries, the largest representative body of industrialists in the country, have recently approached the Government "with proposals which appear to invite a radical change in official policy." What is the significance of this, Dr. Dadoo?

A The affairs in the country, especially after the massacre at Sharpeville, have affected the economy of the

JIGAR MURADABADI

JIGAR Muradabadi, the most beloved and popular contemporary Urdu poet of ghazal (lyrics), breathed his last in the morning of September 9, 1960, at his home in Gonda (U.P.).

He was born at Muradabad (U.P.) in 1870, and came from a family of poets and calligraphists. Together with Hasrat Mohani, Asghar, Fani and Yagana, he belonged to that group of Urdu lyricists who changed the mood and the tone of Urdu ghazal from the decadent mid-nineteenth century trends to one of exquisite simplicity and realism within a framework of bewitching romanticism.

Like the great poets of the Bhakti period in India and the Sufi poets of Iran, he believed in the omnipotence of love—human and divine; and thus was carrying forward the most potent traditions of our cultural heritage.

Nevertheless, he was deeply sensitive to the individual and collective human problems of his age and his country—and expressed through manifold direct and indirect ways, giving new meaning to traditional metaphors—the moral and spiritual tribulations of contemporary Indian humanity.

His heart bled when he witnessed the misery of our people at the time of the Bengal famine and he wrote one of his most poignant poems on this theme beginning:

Bengal ki main sham-o-sahar dekh raha hun,
Dekha nahin jata hai
magar dekh raha hun.

(I witnessed the (frightful) mornings and evenings of Bengal, impossible even to look at all this (misery) but I see it.)

And again, the carnage and massacres which follow—

ed the partition of our country moved him deeply and he wrote powerful poems imbued with deep humanism and patriotism wherein he emphasised the fundamental unity of man:

"Un ka jo kam hai Arbab-e-Siyasat Janen,
Mera paigham-e-muhabbat hai jahana tak pahunchay...."

(I am not concerned with politicians; let them do their duty. My message is love—let it spread far and wide...)

Jigar associated himself closely with the progressive writers' movement and sympathised with the progressive ideas and movements of the Indian people. He detested exploitation and capitalism and dreamed of a world where human love, equality and brotherhood would prevail and all would be able to lead a happy and joyous life.

He was a deeply religious man, but humanism and love were the cardinal principles of his religious beliefs.

Jigar consistently refused to migrate to Pakistan, even though he was very much grieved at the treatment meted out to his beloved language Urdu by the Congress Government and his own economic condition was always precarious.

Two years ago, the Sahitya Akademi awarded him its prize for his latest collection of verses.

In Jigar's death India loses one of its most distinguished contemporary poets. We grieve with our people in their great loss.

The best tribute that we can pay to Jigar—this distinguished son of Bharat—is by according to Urdu—Jigar's beautiful language—its full rights.

—Sajjad Zaheer

country in a very bad way. The industry in South Africa is in a state of uncertainty. They do not know if the workers will turn up one day or not—production has been affected. Also, investment, especially—investment from external sources, is drying up. In this situation, the industrialists in South Africa are very much concerned with the policies of their Government.

Q The movement for the boycott of South African goods has assumed the character of a great crusade for justice and retribution. But meanwhile, Mr. Macmillan, the British Tory Prime Minister, criticising the boycott campaign has said, "I do not believe in refusing to trade with people just because of the way they manage some of their internal affairs." Do you have anything to say on it?

A Well, to him it may not be a good thing if he is representing the interest of the British investors in South Africa. Of course, everyone is aware of the fact, that the British investment in the Union is about £826 million, that is, at its nominal value. The present value is much more.

Therefore, the fact is that Mr. Macmillan, while recognising the political upsurge in the continent of Africa (in his

Cape Town speech) was at the same time trying to preserve the interests of the British industrialists and British monopoly capitalists. And so, it was quite natural for him to condemn the boycott movement. But that did not affect the public opinion in many countries.

Q Dr. Dadoo, you are held in great esteem in India. Our people are eager to know how you are going to carry on your tremendous responsibilities away from South Africa. What are the plans of your colleagues who have also come to London to carry on the freedom struggle?

A Together with my colleagues, we shall regularly visit independent countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, perhaps all over the world, in order to impress upon the Governments in those countries, the trade union organisations and the people in general the importance of taking firm actions against the Union of South Africa through the means of economic sanctions, etc.

The mass shooting in our country has failed to intimidate the South African people. In our struggle for freedom we are gaining inspiration and confidence from the victories of our Asian and African brothers.

ASSAM EVACUEES IN WEST BENGAL

Hellish Conditions—Treck Back Begins

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

OFFICIAL estimates put the number of evacuees who have crossed over into West Bengal from Assam at 50,000. The influx still continues, but the rate has considerably declined of late.

A memorandum submitted jointly by the Communist Party, Marxist Forward Bloc and four other Left parties to the West Bengal Chief Minister on September 15, points out that "all possible enquiries reveal that the evacuees do not feel inclined to go back because of lack of a sense of security, the tension that still persists and absence of other measures that can guarantee carrying on of one's normal avocation of life."

While stressing that the evacuees should go back, it further says that "it is important to remember that a little time may be necessary for objective conditions to improve in Assam and for the psychology of the refugees to change."

A spokesman of the West Bengal Government, however, claimed on September 12 that according to its information "the bulk of the Assam evacuees have expressed their desire to return provided conditions are created by the Assam Government, guaranteeing further safety to their life and property."

Encouraging Feature

An encouraging feature of the situation, which is otherwise depressing, is that the reverse movement has already begun, though it is as yet a mere trickle.

About ten days ago, 205 evacuees living in different camps in North Bengal left for Assam of their own accord.

But the first organised movement of the evacuees started on September 12, when 200 persons, most of whom had taken shelter at Sealdah Railway Station in Calcutta, were sent back to Assam by train. Another batch of 126 persons was despatched the next day.

Two days earlier, a batch of evacuee Bengali students from the Jorhat Agricultural College had gone back.

The West Bengal Government is organising these movements in cooperation with the Assam Government, it is stated.

According to present arrangements, the evacuees will be escorted by the West Bengal police up to Alipurdar (North Bengal), wherefrom they will be taken charge of by the representatives of the Assam Government. It is learnt that they would be first sheltered in the transit camp at the Pandu (Assam) and then taken to their respective destinations in batches.

An urgent task, which is as much important as persuading the evacuees to go back, is to ensure human

conditions of life to the vast masses of the uprooted people who will continue to stay in West Bengal till necessary conditions and guarantees are created in Assam to facilitate their return.

The Left parties' memorandum has rightly pointed out that during this interim period, "it is the duty of the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal to look after the evacuees and to make necessary arrangements for human conditions of living for them."

But the attitude of the Centre till now has been one of utter callousness. "In these circumstances," the memorandum emphasises, "the West Bengal Government must do its duty and it must act more vigorously according to the needs of the situation."

It, therefore, urges upon the State Government to press the Centre for meeting all expenses in connection with interim relief to the Assam evacuees in West Bengal.

Dealing with these conditions, the memorandum points out that in Amoyal, Bagdogra, Dange, Tufanganj, Cooch Behar, Tapskhola, Sonapur and Madarhat camps in North Bengal, the evacuees complained about overcrowding, shortage of drinking water, absence of sanitation, etc.

The number of tents supplied to the evacuees is utterly inadequate. On top of this, most of the tents are not water-proof and this at a time when West Bengal is having very heavy rains.

In the Dhubulia camp (Nadia District), several deaths have already taken place, and the condition of many more is causing anxiety. Godowns have been converted into camps in Tufanganj (Cooch Behar District), and due to the insanitary conditions of the camps most of the inmates are suffering from various types of diseases. Unable to find any accommodation in the camps, some evacuees have been forced to take shelter under the open sky near the court compound.

At Sealdah and at other railway stations in North Bengal, thousands of evacuees have been stranded. They have squeezed themselves into every inch of space available at these stations. No Government help in the shape of dry doles or anything else has been given up till now.

While the influx of evacuees into Sealdah continues, their dispersal to transit camps has been suspended since August 22. As a result, the total number of evacuees now living at the station in the midst of stinking filth and squalor has gone up to over 4,262!

The Left parties' memorandum has demanded that all evacuees without shelter should be removed to camps, they should be provided with drinking water, adequate food and clothing, facilities for medical treatment, etc.



Delegates at the Tirupur Conference along with Saraswati Subbiah, who inaugurated the Conference and Parvati Krishnan who presided over it.

COIMBATORE WOMEN WORKERS' MEET

Deteriorating Employment Position

ON August 15 this year the town of Tirupur in Coimbatore District witnessed the biggest mobilisation of women workers ever seen in the District.

On that day the Conference of working women, organised by the Coimbatore District Mill Workers' Union, took place, attended by over four thousand women workers.

The Conference took place in the background of the crisis of employment facing particularly the women workers in the textile industry.

Crisis Of Employment

In 1938, women constituted nearly 35 per cent of the labour force in the textile industry in Coimbatore District. With the progress of the industry the total number employed in textiles had reached the figure of 15,000 by 1952.

But since then there has been a growing tendency on the part of the millowners to eliminate the women workers. In the newer mills women are no longer employed in the reeling department, traditionally worked by women. In other older mills, with the introduction of new automatic machines, women are gradually being retrenched.

The trend now is to switch over from hank to cone yarn and whereas earlier, women were employed in the spinning, reeling and winding departments today confined as they are only to the reeling department, they are threatened with retrenchment due to the policy of producing only cone yarn.

It was against this background, that the question of organising the Conference and discussing the problems of working women was taken up.

For over a month, gate meetings were held in all the centres which were attended by large numbers of women workers. Collections were made for the Conference from the women themselves and support came from women belonging to all unions—in one mill women workers belonging to the INTUC union contributed more than Rs. 50 to the Conference fund.

The Conference commenced with the hoisting of the flag by a victimised woman worker of Tirupur—she had hoisted the flag at the meeting where the union was first formed more than fifteen years ago. In her speech she exhorted the women to join the union and work for it actively and thus fight back this latest offensive of the employers.

Saraswati Subbiah, MLA of Pondicherry, inaugurated the Conference and Parvathi Krishnan, M.P., presided over it.

Participation In Discussions

A large number of women workers participated in the discussions and spoke on the resolutions. Delegates from the textile mills in Coimbatore, from the tea and coffee-curing establishments, from the ginning and rice mills all posed their problems while discussing the resolutions. This was the first time when many of them came forward of their own accord in this manner to speak about their problems and participate actively in a Conference.

The main resolution adopted at the Conference was on the impending retrenchment of women in the textile industry. In the resolution, the AITUC demand for

the reservation of 25 per cent of the jobs in textiles for women, as included in the memorandum presented to the Textile Wage Board, was reiterated. Further steps are to be taken to impress upon the State Government as well as the Centre the urgent necessity of convening a Conference to go into this question of employment of women and find a satisfactory solution for the same.

Equal Pay

The second resolution was on equal pay for equal work, a demand yet to be realised in this country. While welcoming the fact that the Central Government has at last seen it fit to adopt the ILO convention, it calls upon the trade unions to campaign vigorously for implementation of the demand in all industries.

The third important resolution demanded extension of all trade union rights to the workers in seasonal factories, the majority of whom are women who are denied permanency of employment, maternity benefits and other rights enjoyed by women in other industries.

A decision was taken to observe a day in defence of the rights of women workers and to send a deputation to the Government to make representations on these problems.

This Conference has laid the basis for more active participation by women workers in the trade unions and has enabled a large number of them to come forward and campaign for their rights, shoulder to shoulder with their men comrades.

DISARMAMENT AND THE U. N. SESSION

The Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly which has just opened in New York is of exceptional historic significance not only because leaders of a number of countries are attending the session, but also because despite all the Western imperialist tactics, disarmament will be the main item on the agenda of the session.

N. S. Khrushchov who, on behalf of the Soviet Union, presented to the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly the proposal on universal and complete disarmament, is personally leading the Soviet delegation to the present session, highlighting the importance the Soviet Union attaches to solving the disarmament problem.

Prime Minister Nehru welcomed the latest Soviet disarmament proposal made on June 2 and he will also be present in the U.N. when the General Assembly discusses the disarmament issue to underline the urgency of its solution for world peace and for the future development of underdeveloped countries.

Here below we print an article on the disarmament problem and the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

by I. ERMASHOV

A YEAR ago, speaking at the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly, N. S. Khrushchov tabled on behalf of the Soviet Union the proposal on universal and complete disarmament.

The General Assembly unanimously carried a resolution supporting this great idea. The "Ten Nations Committee" representing five Western and five Socialist countries was eventually established to work out practical measures.

The decisions of the session raised hopes that the disarmament problem would be settled at long last and that the foundations of a lasting, universal peace would thereby be laid.

The Ten Nations Disarmament Committee, however, failed to cope with its tasks. The responsibility for this rests wholly and entirely with the Western delegates and their leader—the United States of America.

The Western Powers are trying to evade responsibility for this state of affairs. Quite recently, Mr. Herter, the U.S. State Secretary, addressing a conference of editors and publishers, alleged that the Soviet Union had hitherto refused to discuss the American proposals on disarmament submitted to the Ten Nations Committee in Geneva. This is pure distortion.

It is well known that neither the USA nor the other Western countries represented on the Committee submitted any effective disarmament proposals apart from suggestions on control and inspection aimed only at reconnaissance.

Of course, control and inspection are an important part of the disarmament problem,

INDIA WELCOMES TWO VISITORS



JOSEPH CYRANKIEWICZ

Polish Prime Minister Joseph Cyrankiewicz who arrived in New Delhi at the Government of India's invitation for a week's stay in India before going on to Ceylon for a State visit there, will have talks with Prime Minister Nehru on July 24. Premier Cyrankiewicz on this his second visit to India is accompanied by Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Marian Naszkowski and Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade Janusz Burakiewicz.

On arrival at Palam the Polish Premier was received by Cabinet Ministers, diplomats and officials and inspected a guard of honour. In a statement at the airport Cyrankiewicz said he cherished the memories of his first visit in 1957 and was glad to have the opportunity "to renew our friendship and strengthen our relations with India."

Besides the talks with Prime Minister Nehru which are expected to voice Poland's deep interest in solution of the disarmament problem particularly in Central Europe, the Polish delegation is expected to have talks with Indian authorities for further expansion of Indo-Polish trade.

It is gratifying to note that in 1959 Indian exports to Poland showed a big increase and were about five times India's im-



SEKOU TOURE

ports from Poland. The same trend is noticeable in 1960. The talks are expected to centre on balancing this trade by increasing the import of machinery and whole plants from Poland. A new Polish credit of about Rs. 14.3 crores to India has just been announced.

Sekou Toure is perhaps today the man most hated by imperialists in Africa. He had the audacity to lead his country out of the French Community two years ago and the French had responded with stripping the country of the smallest piece of furniture. The expected collapse of Sekou Toure not having materialised, the imperialists are now busy painting him a Communist. Sekou Toure's first visit abroad was last year and included the U.S. and other Western countries as well as the Soviet Union.

Passing through Delhi on September 24 he is now on his way back after a successful mission which carried him to the USSR, China, North Vietnam and Indonesia.

but they are only a part of the problem. Important though they are as an element of the disarmament programme, they cannot and must not be substituted for disarmament proper.

This is the crux of the matter. The Western Powers, and the U.S. above all, have been seeking Soviet agreement to control and inspection without disarmament. The Soviet Union, however, cannot accept and will not accept this, because agreement to such a plan would mean belying the hopes of the peoples, for what the peoples want is disarmament. Without disarmament, any control and inspection plan would be pointless, for it would become control over armaments, which, as everybody understands, is not the same thing.

Soviet Initiative

At the Fourteenth U.N. General Assembly, the Western representatives voted for the proposal of the Soviet Union. They did not dare to vote against it. However, later on they, in point of fact, sabotaged the implementation of the decision for which they had

voted. Of course, they never openly said "No." They resorted to their old method of sabotage — endless discussion of countless details of control and inspection, which meant putting off again and again the discussion of disarmament itself.

The objective of Western Diplomacy is to avoid any serious consideration of disarmament. But that is exactly what the Soviet Union wants—serious talks. Now, the Soviet Union has again submitted the disarmament problem with all the seriousness it claims for discussion at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly Session, which opens on September 20. The Soviet Union has suggested that the General Assembly shall discuss this problem with the participation of the heads of Governments.

This proposal was obviously not to the liking of Western ruling circles. True, for some time they did not have the courage to turn it down. They tried to confuse the issue, to keep the people guessing whether the heads of Governments of the USA, Britain and France would go to the Fifteenth Session. As a matter of fact, there was not much guessing to do. It was obvious that they did not wish to go, for the simple reason that they are afraid.

What are they afraid of? They are worried by the prospect of discussing disarmament at an international forum of such importance when the responsible heads of countries would have to give a clear-cut answer as to where they stand and what they intend to do to live up to the moral obligations that the U.N. member States assumed last year.

Mr. Herter, in the speech mentioned above, called the Soviet proposal on the participation of the heads of Government in the work of the General Assembly "a major Communist initiative", adding that he personally thought the proposal was "ludicrous in the extreme".

We consider Mr. Herter's statement to be ridiculous. His words showed once more that American diplomacy has no other plan than empty talk on control and inspection. When the American delegation announced that it did not intend to have serious talks on disarmament at the Fifteenth Session, it thereby merely confirmed the fact that all it wants is barren and futile discussions that lead us nowhere.

Reports from all over the world prove that regardless of the campaign launched by certain quarters in the West, the Fifteenth Session will be

of particular and exceptional importance. Despite Western pressure, many responsible political and State leaders are attending it.

Regardless of the tactics that the U.S. representatives and the representatives of some other Western countries intend to adhere to at this Session, the disarmament problem will be the main issue on the agenda. It cannot be otherwise.

Speaking at the Fourteenth General Assembly Session, N. S. Khrushchov said that the path mankind will take—towards war with its catastrophic consequences or towards the triumph of peace—largely depended on whether it would be possible to find a correct solution to the disarmament problem. This statement is still quite true today.

Disarmament and peace are synonymous. Until the disarmament problem is solved the war menace will hang like a Sword of Damocles over all countries. What is to be done? This sword must be broken. War must be abolished. This is the only correct alternative to war. This idea has won millions of supporters because it is sound. It is convincing. It is simple. It can be implemented given the goodwill of all those upon whom it depends.