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RIGHTISTS ATTACK AGAIN

NEW AGE

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Editorial

INDIAN reaction staged another onslaught for its reactionary aims with the Defence Minister as the scapegoat. If the pro-Western Rightwing politicians attack the progressive policies of the Government or the political statements of the Defence Minister it would amount to nothing more than the normal political activity. But when they use the Indian armed forces as their political pawns, they are guilty of a serious political crime. And this is what they have done.

"The services of a number of senior army officers would be shortly lost to the country because of serious dissatisfaction in high army circles over recent appointments and promotions, warned Dr. Kunzru in the Rajya Sabha". (Hindustan Times, March 10)

"Concern was today expressed in both Houses of Parliament over what was openly and impliedly described as a fresh wave of dissatisfaction in the top brass of the Army on account of recent promotions". (Times of India, March 10)

It is the same lot that had raised a similar rumpus during the Thimayya affair, the same Kunzru, Praja Socialist Goray instead of Asoka Mehta, only Masani was quiet—not to make the game too obvious. The papers were the same, that gave it a big publicity boost.

The whole story of "widespread" dissatisfaction and of "several" generals resigning is utterly false. One Lieutenant General after completing his tenure is retiring and after voluntarily indicating his willingness to do so. The other General is reported to have "submitted his resignation" because he feels his claims to promotion have been ignored.

The Free Press Journal editorially summed up the whole position very succinctly and correctly. "Wittingly or unwittingly both these officers have created the impression that they would rather retire than continue in the army after the retirement of the present Chief of the Army Staff. This is a most unfortunate impression which seems to indicate that these two officers and very senior officers at that owe their loyalty to their present Chief (Thimayya-Editor New Age) and not to the Indian Army, the President at whose pleasure they hold their commissions, and the country under whose flag they serve".

Dr. Kunzru and others in his company are all wrong when they complain that there is no "definite principle" guiding the Defence Ministry in the matter of

promotions. There is the old principle, inherited like so many other such things from the British days, that all promotions above the rank of a Lt. Colonel are on the basis of merit. This principle was, besides, accepted by the senior officers of today!

In such a situation, "if any particular officer who fancies himself to be the most brilliant soldier in the Army finds himself frustrated because somebody else has superseded him, he is always free to tender his resignation as an officer and gentleman should—without making a song and dance about it. To allege that there is much dissatisfaction among senior officers is to spread a canard against our gallant officers".

This is again from the Free Press Journal. Every patriotic Indian cannot but agree with this position. The integrity and loyalty of the vast bulk of the officers and jawans is beyond question. They are the pride of the country and loyal defenders of its frontiers and independence.

It is very well known in New Delhi circles that after

the last Thimayya affair reactionary politicians and MPs of the pro-Western lobby have built up contact with a handful of disgruntled and ambitious senior officers who are trying their usual mischief among the younger officers, JCOs and jawans serving under them.

Referring to such disloyal and reactionary elements, the Free Press Journal rightly states: "There may be a few officers who are dissatisfied with the scheme of things and if their frustrations are reflected in a decline of the morale of the lower formations the obvious thing is to terminate their commissions after a court of inquiry". This is obviously the only way to restore and maintain national and army discipline and save it from mischief from within and without.

The Free Press Journal has also put its forefinger at the right spot: "The trouble with the services in India is that Government, particularly the Defence Ministry, has been too lenient with senior officers with a penchant for underhand politics. This situation is further messed up by professional

politicians who like to see an ulterior motive in everything that is done by the Defence Ministry".

The matter has to be taken seriously. A few Generals, supported by some well-known members of Parliament and widely publicised by the daily press, want to condition public opinion in such a way that the military has a say in matters which really should be decided by civil authorities. And, if they succeed in their efforts, that would embolden them further.

When Thimayya attempted it last time, he was sharply pulled up by the Prime Minister. This time it is all hush-hush inside the Parliament.

The vigilance of the nation has to be roused in a massive way. The reactionary aim and subversive methods of reaction need effective exposure.

The Kunzrus, Gorays and their like, the Swatantra-Jan Sangh and Praja Socialist leaders' reactionary alliance deserves public castigation and plainly told to keep their dirty hands off Indian armed forces.

The Defence Ministry must immediately warn all top officers that they will have to face summary court-martials or courts of inquiry if they seek to play politics, in violation of their service code and oath, to realise their personal selfish or reactionary ambitions.

We appeal to all, let us think and act together and not ignore the common danger any longer. Let us not remain blind. The "acting Prime Minister" Morarji Desai does not speak up because he is one of them, head of the Rightwing lobby inside the ruling party.

The true voice of the nation must ring out, united, determined and clear. Right reaction must be rebuffed here and now.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Central Office of the Communist Party of India will be shifting from New Delhi to Vijayawada from April 1.

All correspondence should kindly be sent to that address.

For Anti-Indian Slanders

W. German Embassy Guilty!

From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE West-German Embassy in New Delhi refuses to express any regret and make any amends for the publication in their country of the rotten anti-Indian book, India With and Without Miracles. This is the substance of the press note they have issued after the exposure in press and Parliament of the scurrilous stuff.

The only two points they have cared to make in their press note are: (1) that the author is not a West German but a Swiss national; and (2) that "Germany-Magazine of the Federal Republic" is not an official publication. This irrelevant denial is nothing but a crude device to sidetrack the issues raised.

The relevant facts which have not been and cannot be denied are that the book, full of anti-Indian libel and slander, has been published in West Germany and the English language periodical "Germany-Magazine of the Federal Republic" carrying a notice of the book is freely distributed in India to Members of Parliament, etc. by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The relevant fact above all of the attitude of mind of the West German technicians working in Rourkela that Peter Schmid shares and revels in reporting in his book is not considered worth taking any

notice of by the West German Embassy in New Delhi in their denial.

They dared not claim that they were ignorant of the contents of the book; they only disclaimed official responsibility for it.

And that is what they consider is enough for them to do in the matter—not a word of regret not a word of sympathy for the insulted and aggrieved.

Shameless Disclaimer

Somebody from their country—a West German citizen—sent with official sanction to work in Rourkela, wishes that gas chambers be built in India to incinerate and exterminate 400 millions as he and his superiors were doing in the case of millions of Jews and other "inferior" people during the last war.

When public attention is drawn to it, the West German

Embassy in New Delhi is satisfied with disclaiming official responsibility for the publication and circulation—must be in a huge edition of at least some hundreds of thousands—in West Germany of a book encouraging readers to think on those lines.

What is flung in our face is that the author is not a West German but a Swiss national. It is as if they decided one fine morning to tell the world that Adolf Hitler was not a German but an Austrian by birth.

Nazi Party Card Holder

Even the cleverly thought up fiction of "No official responsibility", however, was not such as could stand the light of the days. While the disclaimer was being issued in New Delhi, the book was on display in the campus of the Calcutta University in an exhibition of West German books backed and sponsored by the West German Consulate there.

On March 14 when the matter came up again in the Rajya Sabha in the question hour, Bhupesh Gupta produced the catalogue of the 2,000 books that were exhibited there entitled "German Book Exhibition in India—List of Titles and Publishers". Ap-

pearing in the catalogue under the head "Books About India in Germany" on page 15, stands the name: Schmid, P.: India mit und ohne Wunder (Cotta).

The catalogue carries a foreword signed "Dr. Wilhelm Melchers, German Ambassador", the gentleman who has been an active member of the Nazi Party, Bhupesh Gupta revealed, his party card number having been 7077242.

The exhibition is described in this foreword as "a message from Germany" carrying within its confines "the visions of her poets and the theories of her scientists". Although there are no progressive German scientists represented there, nevertheless there are many titles that do deserve such a description. But this out and out racist and India-baiting author and his book is also there supposedly capturing the theories of the West German scientists.

Official Stamp

One cannot imagine a situation where an Embassy sends round an exhibition all over the country and claims that it is not conversant even roughly with the

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COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

AMONG the various questions that are being currently discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference the continued South African membership of the Commonwealth is a burning problem. The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, London March 14 reports that India's Prime Minister, led "a frontal assault" on South Africa's apartheid policy, supported by six Afro-Asian premiers as also the Canadian.

"He made it unequivocally clear that the continuation of country with a policy based on racial discrimination meant the eventual disintegration of the Commonwealth". Pandit Nehru not only echoed Indian and Afro-Asian but also the honest Western conscience.

The popular Daily Mirror, with the largest British circulation, editorially supported throwing out South Africa, "the longer Mr. Verwoerd stays the worse for the Commonwealth". The Manchester Guardian is also for black-balling South Africa. The influential weekly, Reynolds News has commented, "Will South Africa still be a member of Commonwealth in this time next week? And if she is, will some of the African and Asian countries still be members?"

Chief Minister Nyerere of Tanganyika has announced in a signed article published in the Observer that unless South Africa is excluded from the Commonwealth, Tanganyika will not apply for Commonwealth membership when it becomes independent, which is due next year.

The very respectable Sunday Strait Times of Singapore in an editorial headed, "No Place for Verwoerd" states, "This man must go and with him the country that is sworn to a policy completely based on inequality between white and non-white".

The discussion was opened inside the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference by Britain's Macmillan and in his speech he is reported to have made a distinction between the question of membership and the policy followed by that member. In plain words, it amounts to accepting the racist Dr. Verwoerd's basic plea that apartheid is a domestic South-African issue, which is utter nonsense.

Racialism can be no domestic issue for any individual state. If a state, however, makes it the very foundation of its existence, it cannot simultaneously claim membership of any group of association of civilised modern nations, for it stands guilty of defying the most elementary and universally recognised Human Rights.

The strong Tory core that seeks to keep South Africa in, is propagandising certain vital statistics which themselves give the game away, still more. The British Tory friends of the South African racials whisper that £ 900 million of British capital is invested in South Africa and £ 200 million in Rhodesia which together is more than the total of the British investments in India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Malaya and Ghana put together, that is the non-white Commonwealth countries.

The common capitalist interest blinds Dr. Verwoerd and Macmillan together, despite the breach of Human Rights. But Britain's rulers are experts at putting on a democratic mask to hide their capitalist-imperialist face and as far as possible get others to do the dirty job or participate in the dirty deal, hence the reported Macmillan formula this time that the British Government is "anxious to retain South Africa in the Commonwealth" with the consent of other members.

India is not only the biggest but the most influential non-white member of the Commonwealth. India's national interest and prestige are directly involved. It is not only the black Africans but the citizens of Indian origin also who suffer loss of all rights under the hated apartheid. India is not alone but has the ardent support of all the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth, of the British Labour Party itself and men of conscience the world over.

It Prime Minister Nehru acts firmly and boldly, South Africa would be out of the Commonwealth right away and next out of the U.N. as well. The simple reality is that the Commonwealth cannot last as a respectable and influential association minus India and the other Afro-Asian members.

Britain's Macmillan with South Africa's Verwoerd, the rump of the Commonwealth, can remain as a gang up of the racials and the colonialists, which the civilised world will treat as the political untouchables of the twentieth century.

Pandit Nehru is against the use of the loud word. He also accepted the conception of the Commonwealth being the club of friends and equals.

Sitting inside this multi-racial club, he must tell the white racials as politely as he likes that if a white member pursues racialism as policy then self-respecting and conscientious India cannot sit at the same table and walk out.

National dignity and Human Rights demand this from India's spokesman and Prime Minister.

Distortionist Morarji

WHENEVER Morarji is criticised by Communist spokesman for his foreign aid policy, he defends himself by indulging in distortion. He did so again when during the Budget debate in the Rajya Sabha, Bhupesh Gupta attacked his

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policy of softness towards private enterprise and the anti-national concessions to foreign capital.

Instead of factually and directly answering the concrete criticism made, Morarji Desai resorted to his favourite trick of distortion, that the Communists considered that it was only profitable to take help from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries and not from elsewhere.

Thereafter, he fired words shots slandering the aid from the Socialist and glorifying the aid from the capitalist countries.

Morarji Desai argued that we were getting only 8 per cent of our requirements from the USSR while 80 per cent came from the U. S. assistance. Let us neither challenge nor subject Morarji's statistics to any closer examination but ask him to answer a simple question.

What has Soviet aid helped to build in India and what the U. S.? Morarji knows it better than anybody else that Soviet aid has been for our heavy industrial projects that makes us economically independent, while U. S. aid has been primarily for the social over-heads which are necessary in any case even for the realisation of the American monopolists' dream of taking over India, after Nehru, when they finally hope that Morarji Desai will become the next Prime Minister!

India's present Finance Minister can say what he likes to win greater favour from America's rulers but we confidently forewarn him that he will not inherit Nehru's mantle for it is not only we, Communists who will regard it as a national calamity but also the best of Congressmen as well who remain true to the ideals of the Congress.

As regards Morarji's claim that there was no difference between Soviet aid and U.S.A. and if there was any, it only went against Soviet, the real truth is that Morarji Desai has indulged in falsehood and that too very outmoded. He is being more American than the U. S. President himself.

Kennedy, before his election, is on record for stating that U. S. could not hope to compete with the Soviet terms of aid or trade with the under-developed countries. Falsehood and not truth is the propaganda weapon of the potential puppets in every country of the world.

Morarji's other argument that "there was a capacity beyond which Russia and others could not help" is also of the same type. The capacity and the rate of growth of the economies of the Socialist world as also the capitalist world are no more the subject of debate among specialists in international affairs and the top economists of renown.

Leading Western papers as also the Indian carry the speeches and statements of Western statesmen and feature-articles by eminent pub-

licists showing that Socialist economies are growing at a far greater rate than the capitalist, that the stagnation or recession of capitalist economies worries their rulers and leaders of business and industry while overfulfilling of targets and unprecedented problems of economic growth is the irresistible and realistic picture emerging from the countries of the socialist world.

Morarji Desai also made out the case that U. S. assistance was "not less profitable". Let us examine Morarji's claim by sampling just one event of the week.

On March 9, India signed another Agreement with the U. S. under PL-480 which S. K. Patil's Rs. 700 crores deal for importing "surplus" food, etc. in Indian rupees has already made infamous. India is to import three lakh bales of American cotton, worth 33.8 million dollars with an additional 1.5 million dollars thrown in to enable American cotton to be transported for Indian mills exclusively in U. S. ships.

Let us not make the argument that it is a living damnation of the Congress Government that India that used to export cotton has to become an importer to meet the needs of its own textile industry.

U. S. is offering the "aid" under PL-480 not only to India but to other under-developed countries as well. Argentina is no Communist country but very much like our own. Let us read what the capitalist organisations themselves and the national press of Argentina states about the impact of U. S. aid, under the same PL-480 and the same terms, on their national economy.

Alberto Massonat, President of the General Economic Federation, pointed out at a recent press conference that the U. S. plan for dumping its "surplus" agricultural produce abroad, only causes disturbances in the economy of the recipient countries.

Argentina Weekly, Ovinclines wrote that "as a result of the sales of U. S. surplus products, Argentina since July 1954 has lost 650 million dollars solely for the slashes in the international grain prices. Besides it has also lost traditional wheat markets such as Brazil and Chile which are being penetrated by U. S. surplus products".

It is no use our presenting Argentine evidence, from Argentine capitalist sources, in terms of Argentine national interests to India's Finance Minister but we do to offer it to our readers to heighten their vigilance against Morarji and speed up the struggle against his "aid" policies.

Aid Mission Or Boss?

MORARJI Desai emphatically stated in his reply to the Budget debate in the Rajya Sabha that "fore-

ign assistance was not taken in a manner that would hurt the country".

One need not go far but only recall what appeared in the daily press of the capital about the latest World Bank Mission during the same week. An eight-member World Bank delegation is visiting the country to negotiate a 50 million dollar World Bank loan for the Indian Railways.

The foreign exchange component of the Rs. 1,250 crore Railway programme under the Third Plan is no more than Rs. 190 crores. India would be financing most of it from its own internal resources. The loan is being sought for the purchase of steel and other specialised items from abroad for the railway programme for the next year.

The World Bank delegation met the Indian Railway Board officials who explained to them that the Indian Railways registered an actual increase of 50 per cent in ton miles and "phenomenal increase" in traffic and yet could not quite keep pace with the expanding needs of the economy.

As for operational efficiency, the Indian officials claimed continuous improvement on the basis of rolling stock and track utilisation.

In the context of available resources it had not been possible to provide in the Third Plan for creating carrying capacity any more than what was just enough to meet the requirements. The Indian officials stressed and generalised the Indian experience that "in a developing economy transport capacity had to keep just ahead of the possible requirements".

The above is from the reports of the Special Correspondent, Hindustan Times of March 13 and 14. After this preliminary talk a self-respecting and loan-seeking Indian Finance Minister should expect the World Bank to start talking honest business, with Bank officials behaving no more than guests in our country.

Let us, however, glance at another Special representative's story, in British-owned Statesman of March 14, for an account of the activities and methods of this World Bank delegation. It discloses that the World Bank delegates will not only study and discuss the development plans for Indian Railways but "also inquire into the complaints made against the Railways recently by some important industrial establishments".

This is not all. "During its three week stay in India, the Mission will study every aspect of the working of the Plan. While deciding whether or not the Railways should receive any further loan assistance, the Bank will be guided by its findings".

Are these the ways of a Banker or of an insolent alien Chief Inspector, who seeks to become the behind-the-scene guide of India's Plan?

—P. C. JOSHI
March 14.

POWER AND TRANSPORT IN INDIA

By ESSEN

TRANSPORT and Power are vital for any country's economic development, for without these machines cannot work, nor can they be brought to factory site and their products sent to markets. Our foreign rulers too knew as much, but being concerned only with exploitation of our market they paid attention mainly to the development of transport. Here, too, it was not to creating wherewithals for an independent railway network—independent of foreign markets for its requirements of rolling stock etc., that they directed their efforts, but only to creating a system which would continue to absorb ever larger numbers of British locomotives and wagons.

In the development of ports and of power as well, their policy was to circumscribe the progress to serve the needs of their own industry, rather than to sponsor its growth to lay the foundations of overall industrialisation.

With the attainment of freedom this pattern had to be changed, and the progress hastened to serve the needs of rapid economic growth. What follows is an attempt to assess, largely statistically, the magnitude of the progress made in these lines, and to underline its significance both in terms of policy and direction. It is only through such an evaluation that we can gauge the extent to which the pace of this progress has to be hastened as well as the power of the factors which hinder it.

Nation's Pride

In the field of power with the development of which are associated such big names as Bhakra and Hirakud. These, and a good many other projects, are a matter of pride for the entire nation. They are a concrete manifestation of the efforts which our people, and their State, have put in to create capacities in the State sector to work machines in our industrial projects. The British rulers, though conceiving sometimes such grandiose schemes as Bhakra, always ended with handing over power development to one British company or another.

Western Stratemeg

The World Bank and other Western agencies have been major dollar lenders for power projects. They have done, first, to sidetrack attention from industrialisation in State sector, and secondly to enable creation of new capacity to provide power cheap to the private sector. The Government has not heeded their advice in respect of industrialisation, however, and has programmed for more rather than less of it during the next Plan. But in respect of giving power cheap to the private sector, it has not been as firm. This obviously is a weakness which can be corrected only if dependence on Western agencies is progressively curtailed, and finally done away with, for, it is by dangling their dollars that they make the Government yield to their pressure.

The following table gives the progress in the creation of installed capacity over the decade, and the projected capacity for the Third Plan:

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
State-owned	0.6 m kw	1.4	3.3	9.1
Company-owned	1.1 "	1.3	1.5	1.6
Self-generating plants	0.6 "	0.7	1.0	1.1
Total	2.3 "	3.4	5.8	11.8

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This danger will not, however, arise if assistance to set up new stations is taken from the Socialist countries which can have no interest whatsoever in helping the private industrialists here.

The recent offers by the USSR in this respect, and the Government's acceptance of them are, therefore, a significant pointer to a policy, which, if pursued steadfastly, can help the country to minimise both the dependence on Western sources for power development, as well as the chances for a slip back from a truly national policy for pricing power.

National Shipping

For a nation out to build an independent national economy it is necessary to have a national shipping, for, without it it will depend on foreign lines for the carriage of capital goods for its development. The drain on resources it entails deprives her of a substantial amount of her foreign exchange earnings, of which she can never have too many in her initial years of progress.

The British knew this very well, for when they conquered India, the first thing they did was to capture the transport of her foreign trade. And later, when they had consolidated their power, they did all they could to smother India's efforts to build a merchant marine of her own.

Aptly Mahatma Gandhi once remarked that the "Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish" to which he could have added, that the Indian shipping was not allowed to revive, so that the British shipping and economic power might continue to reign supreme over India's trade and economy.

With the attainment of freedom, this picture had to change, and it has changed too to a certain extent. But neither the pace of this change is as yet as rapid as it is possible, nor its direction as well set as it is necessary to meet the needs of the situation. In fact, we do not as yet even have a firm and properly worked out national policy for shipping, which would lead to the creation of enough tonnage to fulfil our needs, and be worthy of our maritime traditions.

Let us first look at the facts. About 91 per cent of India's overseas trade of about Rs. 1,500 crores per annum was till recently transported in foreign ships, which appropriated by way of freight about Rs. 150 crores a year, leaving a mere Rs. 20 crores to Indian lines. The drain it caused on resources compelled even the British Government to set up a Reconstruction Policy Committee in 1945, which recommended that Indian tonnage, if it was to have any meaning, should reach two million mark in the next five to seven years. The Indian planners have, however, targeted for a mere 900,000 tons by the end of the Second Plan, i.e., not even 50 per cent of what even the British considered necessary, and possible of achievement, by the beginning of the Third Plan.

Complex Situation

Another significant development in shipping has been the purchase by the Government of the British-owned Mogul Lines Ltd., the Mazagon Docks Ltd., and the Garden Reach Workshops Ltd. These with some remodelling can be used for shipbuilding as well.

The picture in shipping is thus criss-crossed with light and shade, and although the light is as yet only as bright as it should be at dawn of freedom, it is there nevertheless. The private shipping interests, who own about 81 per cent of the Indian tonnage, want to increase their fleet further, and what is more they want the State to foot their bill too through disbursements from its Shipping Fund.

The State, with its two

percent of the country's overseas trade, and about 50 per cent of the trade with adjacent countries, as against the present proportions of 5 and 40 per cent respectively.

This is certainly not a creditable performance, although judging from the position at the time of independence it is no doubt something to write home about. Now we have—or rather will have on March 31, this year—172 vessels aggregating 844,000 GRT, as against 94 vessels aggregating 372,378 GRT, on April 1, 1951. We also have three tankers now while we had none ten years back.

Shipping has been placed in scheduled 'B' of the 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution, which means that its development should be progressively undertaken in the State sector. The Government have to-date floated two shipping corporations in pursuance of this objective. These together own a tonnage of 60,000 GRT which will go up to 112,000 GRT by the end of the Second Plan.

These Corporations, however, are not supposed to take the business now being handled by private lines. In fact, their operation is hedged by so many qualifications that even the Estimates Committee of Parliament has pronounced the Government's policy towards them as largely negative. Their very existence, nevertheless, is a welcome development since with a positive policy they can be made to serve as nuclei for future progress.

Besides these two Corporations we now have a State-owned shipbuilding yard at Visakhapatnam. Another yard

is proposed to be built at Cochin. Although the operations of the Visakhapatnam yard have not been up to the expectations, largely because of the incompetence of, or wilful negligence by French collaborators, its establishment, and that too in the State sector, is by itself a significant development.

Volume of Traffic Handled by Indian Railways.

Year	(in millions)			
	Passenger Traffic	No. of Passengers	No. of Tons	No. of Tons Miles
1950-51	1,284	41,332	91.5	26,980
1955-56	1,275	38,774	114.0	36,434
1958-59	1,422	42,259	134.8	46,709

For passenger traffic provision has been made for an increase of three per cent per annum. In rolling stock the railways have increased the number of locomotives from 8,200 in 1950-51 to 10,600 in 1959-60 and the number of coaches from 19,200 to 28,900. The number of wagons has gone up from 199,000 to 354,100 over the decade.

The rate of growth during the first four years of the Second Plan has been: locomotives 14 per cent, wagons 27 per cent and coaches 15.5 per cent. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, established in the teeth of opposition from the World Bank, turned out 173 locomotives during 1959-60 as against the Second Plan target of 200 which is very much expected to be fulfilled. Arrangements are also being made at Chittaranjan for the

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BUDGET DEBATE

From Ziaul Haq

The debate in the Lok Sabha on the Budget got off to a scintillating start with S. A. Dange's sharp and blistering attack on it. Recalling his speech on the President's address, Dange said some of the industries that are being built and have been built in the Second Plan have enabled us to break the blockade which was being imposed on us.

Basic lines of production in the direction of strengthening the economy were being developed and developed in a satisfactory way. "On that point, I have no difference," he said.

"But the relevant question," Dange added, "which the Finance Minister also has raised is: What is happening to the fruits of this development?" These were being cornered by those who owned industry and even amongst them, by those who have monopoly hold on the economy of the country.

He referred to dangers inherent in the process which had been warned against some years ago by the Panel of Economists headed by Prof. D. R. Gadgil and how all these were coming true. The present budget is far from trying to correct that. There were the indirect taxes and the approach of the Finance Minister for whom the common man was a "tax-paying machine."

The only criticism of such a budget one could make, Dange said, was to say that it should be thrown out.

The Finance Minister had disowned responsibility for price rise following announcement of the budget proposals and said society should look into the matter. "Now, if society does start looking into the matter, the simple result would be that society would go at those profiteers who are doing this thing and there would be a veritable civil war." And the Finance Minister would be the first person not to allow such a thing, Dange said.

He congratulated the Finance Minister for being frank. "Price rise in a developing economy was described as inevitable by the Finance Minister and he would not say what sort of a developing economy it was—capitalist or socialist. In an economy developing in a Socialist direction prices should not rise as they had done continually in India ever since independence, even when deficit-financing was lower and production highest—as it was last year.

Banks had been the greatest culprits in this and what was the cure provided in the budget. Not nationalisation as demanded nor curbs but a greater encouragement for converting reserves into bonus shares by reduction of tax for floating bonus shares! Speculative tendency which was admitted was not curbed but encouraged from year to year.

The budget was anti-people and had received from business houses more praise for the Finance Minister than he had ever received before. Enlarging the State Sector continually was the way to go away with the phenomenon of continually rising indirect taxation,

was legitimately due to the common people under the ordinary norms of a capitalist society had been taken away from them and given into the hands of somebody else. It was thus that private sector had developed over the last ten years.

"I can understand, for example," said Ramamurti, "money being taken away from the common people and put into the hands of the State so that industries become the property of the entire people. But that has not taken place. That is the reality that stares us in the face."

Speaking on the role of foreign assistance, he said Communists had never stated "We do not want help from any particular country." It was a question not of country from which aid was got but of the terms on which it was got.

"You give me a single instance," said Ramamurti, "let the Government cite a single instance where a Socialist country has said, 'We will invest in the private sector or any sector but we will get a permanent lien or charge on projects because of that investment.' On the other hand, the kind of help that you are trying to get from other countries does exactly the opposite.

"What are we to do?" he asked, "Certainly get help from other countries but without a permanent charge on our wealth."

Foreign aid, he said, was one thing and foreign private capital another. He appealed for serious thought to be given to the problem and formulation of policies which would be calculated to see that there was no contradiction between the objectives and the methods.

RAMAMURTI HITS OUT

IN the concluding stages of the Budget debate in the Rajya Sabha, P. Ramamurti, recalling all the 36 speeches (22 from Congress benches) made till then said almost all of them barring half a dozen had criticised the actual proposals of the Budget.

"I would just make a present of the sentence from the speech of one of their members, Smt. Krishna Kumari. This is what she says:

"When I read this Budget, when I see these proposals and then when I look at my people and also at the prices that are rising day after day, nothing but darkness envelops me from all sides."

So many from Congress benches had said that the Government would never be able to control prices.

In such a situation, it was a question not of examining the proposals but the approach of the budget.

Ramamurti asked what it was that we were doing. When prices rose as they had done during the last ten years by 25 per cent, it meant that the wealth of the country was taken away from certain people and given into the hands of certain other people.

It meant that even what

week in parliament

that sons and sons-in-law of highly placed officers today prefer the private sector and draw fabulous salaries. That sort of corrupting influence must be done away with." There were references to retiring high officers of Government joining private firms.

The mood was best reflected in what Prof. Satya Charan said, "I am not one of those who feel that because it comes from a Communist member or for that matter from a member of any other political party, it should not be admitted, accepted or subscribed to. If a thing is good and on principle it is correct, it must receive our support without any reservation of mind."

Although the proposal was inevitably negated, Bhupesh Gupta made mincemeat of all evasive, irrelevant arguments. E. Gopala Reddy and others had raised. The "moral victory," he claimed, was certainly his.

He has now introduced Constitution Amendment Bills on President's Powers which will certainly evoke interesting discussions.

Hindustan Times' malicious campaign against the Oil Ministry's work to develop the public sector in that vital industry hit a new low this week with the absolutely baseless canard about Rudrasagar.

Not very different in its exaggerated and lurid display was the report published by the same paper next day about the so-called Chinese incursion in Sikkim territory.

Compared to the report about Rudrasagar, this one had "some substance" said Krishna Menon, making the statement. But it was "not strictly accurate in particulars." The "particulars" happen to be rather vital. The Sikkim Dewan in a statement at Calcutta said that "there had been no incursion of the border by Chinese troops and the captured Chinese was found alone a mile inside the Sikkim border." (Times of India, March 15)

While Nehru refused to discuss "whispers", it was pointed out by Joachim Alva that most active in the anti-Indian campaign in the Congo is the British Ambassador. To that country who is a former I.C.S. official. Commonwealth ties, indeed!

The conditions attached to India's agreement to send combat troops to the Congo were restated by Prime Minister Nehru. Communist members voiced their scepticism about the conditions being actually observed by Hammarskjöld after we had seen how he had failed to carry out U. N. mandates in the Congo.

(March 15)

ORISSA PROCLAMATION

The issuing of a proclamation under Article 356 by the President of India in relation to Orissa, the Orissa Governor's defective ordinance and the delay in its withdrawal because Government thought it could lapse of itself caused a number of interesting changes in the Lok Sabha. The constitutional point raised by Communist member T. C. N. Menon had to be upheld by the Speaker.

Speaking on the Government resolution on the subject Prof. Eiren Mukherjee

Further, "We find today

In Parliament

ANTI-SOVIETEERS REBUFFED

ON Monday, March 6 the day the Prime Minister was leaving the country to attend the Commonwealth Conference, PSP member Hem Barua powerfully backed by his leader Asoka Mehta made a desperate bid to get a declaration from the Government that Soviet Embassy personnel in India had been involved in the recently uncovered spy rings.

Hem Barua read out the American Newsweek's story which alleged that Premier Khrushchov had tendered apologies to India's Prime Minister for the happening. He charged the Government of hiding from the House what was so well-known to the world press.

The Prime Minister strongly denied the Newsweek story and decried the so-called world press for its mischievous and baseless stories, which Hon'ble Members of Parliament fell for and accepted, as gospel truth.

Asoka Mehta angrily referred to the reports that had appeared in some Delhi papers that Pandit Nehru when asked about "Khrushchov's apology" at Palam aerodrome on March 2 had said it was not the Soviet Premier but the head of a Mission in New Delhi who had apologised.

Confronted with this, Nehru said he had not been properly heard and corrected by the press. He was not prepared to go beyond the position he had earlier taken on the question in Parliament refusing to name any country. He left the Soviet-baiters sorely disappointed.

Another question which the Prime Minister tackled on the day of his departure relates to the campaign against Rajeshwar Dayal in the Congo and the decision to send combat troops to that country.

From the reply it became clear that although Hammarskjöld had for the moment refused to bow to Kasavubu and others' pressure Rajeshwar Dayal would not continue in the Congo beyond "some months".

For instance, a bill was formulated to standardise land rates but with the Ganatantra coming in, the Bill was shelved and Rs. 60 lakhs annually which would have accrued to Government in revenue were as it were, handed back to the feudal interests.

Panigrahi enumerated numerous such instances and warned that a very difficult time lay ahead for the people of Orissa. He demanded the setting up of a State Advisory Council.

The Hon'ble Judge had declared that "any systematic attempt by the employer to use his powers of management to disrupt the trade union of his employees would be condemned as unfair labour practice".

If the Government was unable to accept the resolution, Banerji said, they must institute a judicial inquiry into the cases of the victimised Central Government employees.

Indrajit Gupta in his speech which could not be concluded that day, recalled that the single issue on which the employees had to go on strike was the question of rise in prices. Once again, those apprehensions had been proved correct by the latest budget proposals.

"I say, if we look back dispassionately", Indrajit Gupta said, "and ask ourselves whether

From Our Correspondent

ANTI-SOVIETEERS REBUFFED

by Ministers vicious action prompted by sheer vindictiveness had continued to be taken against Central Government employees, particularly since the last general strike.

She narrated instances where cases have been kept pending for months and months. Chargesheets issued in some places go to the extent of denying employees' fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

Defending Government employees' right to organise themselves in trade unions, Parvati Krishnan recalled a convention adopted by the ILO as far back as in 1948. In the explanatory note appended it is said:

"In order to leave no doubt about the real significance of this it was understood that the report of the committee would stress the fact that according to the terms of paragraph 1 of Article 857 of this Code, freedom of association was to be guaranteed not only to employees and workers in private industries, but also to public employees and without distinction or dissemination of any kind as to occupation, sex, colour, race, creed, nationality or political affinity"

S. M. Banerji supporting the resolution sought through an amendment to specifically mention those who had been victimised following the July 1960 strike. According to figures given in Parliament 397 Central Government employees had been dismissed or removed, 183 temporary employees had been discharged and 18 had been compulsorily retired.

Those under suspension were 364 and departmental action had been taken against 389. Information was "not available" about those who had been downgraded or whose increments had been stopped.

He quoted a judgement delivered by Mr. Justice Dhawan of the Allahabad High Court wherein the honourable Judge had stated that it was "against the public interest and the policy of the Industrial Dispute Act" to permit employers to undermine trade unions which are the most effective instruments of the State policy of industrial peace through collective bargaining and representative negotiations between employers and workmen.

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turned to his homeland, once again to join the struggle to build a democratic peace-loving Germany free from the cancer of militarism. Since 1948 he has worked at the Faculty of Journalism of the Karl Marx University in Leipzig

VETERAN GERMAN JOURNALIST VISITS INDIA

CURRENTLY visiting India at the invitation of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists is Professor Hermann Budzislawski, a doyen of German journalism and life-long fighter against Fascism and German militarism.

Budzislawski, now 60, started his journalistic career immediately after the end of the First World War and came in contact with the Indian group of freedom fighters living in exile in Germany. His interest in India led him in 1925 to become the editor of a fortnightly called "The Industrial and Trade Review for India".



Prof. Budzislawski

With the approaching danger of Nazi take-over, Budzislawski threw himself into active political struggle. He joined Carl von Ossietzky who later in a Hitler concentration camp was awarded the Nobel Prize.

The two together carried on through the then well-known periodical Die Welt-bechne the struggle against the Nazis coming to power. Budzislawski managed to escape first to Switzerland and then to France to continue the publication of the journal till the outbreak of the Second World War.

Hermann Budzislawski is a member of Parliament of the German Democratic Republic. Active participation in his own people's struggle for a New Germany had not allowed him so far to visit India, the country with whose struggle he had associated himself so early in life and with which he feels so deeply attached. After visiting Bombay, Hyderabad, Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow and Chandigarh, the Professor expects to spend the last week of his stay in Delhi before he leaves for home on March 28.

When Hitler's forces occupied France in 1940, Budzislawski again managed to escape—this time to New York—and founded there, along with other anti-Fascist Germans the "Council for a Democratic Germany". He worked closely with Dorothy Thompson and wrote for many American papers under the pseudonym of Donald Bell.

After the defeat of Hitler Fascism Budzislawski re-

turned the Central Government employees' strike was a bonafide trade union action on a valid issue of rising prices and the defence of their real wages, and if that be the case, I would like to ask for what are these people being penalised—these 700 or 800 men who are still kept out?"

Like the earlier speakers, he too referred to the Railway Board circular of February 7, 1961 defining "gross misbehaviour". He said, "as I understand the circular, there are only three types of instances which can possibly be brought within the definition of gross misbehaviour according to the Railway Board, which I assume, is also the interpretation now of the Government and the Home Ministry.

Those three are—first, picketing and instigation of a coercive type, provided it has been of a coercive type secondly, use of abusive slogans not ordinary slogans, but abusive slogans—reference to the circular will make that clear—and thirdly, issuing of leaflets which contain highly objectionable matter.

"Apart from these three, there is no other action or activity which according to this circular can fall within the definition of gross misbehaviour".

Indrajit Gupta demanded to know wherever action had been taken long before the circular was issued "whether it had been established by any impartial body that they have

CONTRACT LABOUR

ON March 10 the Lok Sabha resumed discussion of the private members' bill calling for abolition of supply of labour through contractors, moved by Aurobindo Ghoshal. Continuing the speech he had begun on February 21 Ghoshal cited the subhuman conditions in which people were made to work under contract labour and the inhuman exploitation to which they are subjected. Mohammed Elias supporting the bill recalled the Planning Commission's recommendations made in 1954 calling for gradual abolition of the system. S. M. Banerji, Dr. Melkote and others supported the Bill.

The tragic death of K. Rama Rao former editor of National Herald as a result of falling from an open door of a moving train where the alarm chain had been disconnected to prevent its misuse was the subject of angry interpellations on the part of members on Friday.

The Speaker had to withhold his decision on the adjournment motion to enable the Minister to secure information. Information given on Monday added little to what was already known. The sorrow and indignation felt in the press gallery was no less than in the House.

NEW STAGE IN GENERAL

CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

IN the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism the instability of the capitalist system has increased. This is furthered by the aggravation of the uneven economic development of the main capitalist countries, and the growing gap between their production potential and the capacity of the world capitalist market.

The time when the capitalist economy of the world grew owing to the abolition of the consequences of war and mass renewal of the production apparatus is already past. The privileged position of the USA in the world capitalist market is also becoming a thing of the past. During the past 10 years many West European countries developed their economies at rates considerably more rapid than those of the USA, the economy of which was shaken by crises every three or four years.

As a result, the percentage of the USA in the world capitalist economy dropped considerably. In 1948, 56.4 per cent of the industrial output of the capitalist world fell to the share of the United States, and in 1959 it decreased to 47-48 per cent.

At the same time, the share of the West European countries grew, accordingly for this period from 29.8 to 38 per cent. Japan restored and rebuilt her production potential. A result of the change in the correlation of forces was the sharp increase in the rivalry in the world capitalist market.

New Crisis

In recent years, the rates of industrial growth have decreased considerably not only in the USA but also in capitalist Europe. At present, the whole of the world capitalist economy is confronted with new inevitable and severe crises.

An index of the growing disproportion in the American and the world economy is the state of the dollar. Its rate of exchange in the world currency markets is falling. The outflow from the US gold reserves has taken on threatening dimensions, and is causing alarm in the world of capitalism.

Not so long ago the French journal Paris Match published an article with the tragic heading: "Save the Dollar!" It read: "A devaluated dollar means the ruin of Europe. In the near future severe financial problems will arise. There are no signs that the draining of the gold reserves will stop."

"The Government may well resort to draconic measures in order to reduce America's foreign expenditures, comforting itself with the illusion that in this way it will save the dollar... The devaluation of the dollar will undoubtedly bring about great disasters. If the dollar is devaluated, all the Western currencies will automatically share its fate. Devaluations will follow each other in a cascade. We shall again live through something analogous to the great crises of the '30s'."

All this does not only create the prospects of the devaluation of the dollar. It is a ques-

Walter Lippmann writes: "We no longer resemble a resolute and self-confident country. We have alienated the broad masses—by no means only the peasants, workers, and young students—by the reactionary spirit and tone which permeated our diplomacy to such an extent."

In fact, the United States has become a sort of epicentre of economic crises and upheavals for the whole capitalist world, rather than its saviour.

As to such a remedy against the ailments of capitalism as the concentration of the power of monopolistic capital and capitalist state into a single entity and mergers of every description, the whole of post-war development shows that such prescriptions only lead to the unprecedented aggravation of capitalist antagonism and sharper strife within the "integration" between individual groupings of monopolists for markets.

Militarised Economy

As V. I. Lenin pointed out, the relations between capitalist countries are governed by the only factor—by force, by amount of capital. Therefore, it is not accidental that the growing discrepancy in development and mounting competition undermine the military and political alliances that were shaped when the all of forces was different.

The American imperialists have to go all out so as to save the Nato which is crumbling up. The heaping contradictions are weakening the camp of imperialism and providing favourable conditions for the forces working for peace and social progress to consolidate their ranks.

Inside individual imperialist countries, the positions of monopolistic capital are being undermined by the unprecedented acceleration of decay and parasitism. That much can be seen from the fact that the manufacture of arms has become an industry which is cared for by the state most of all. Never in the history of capitalism has there been a situation when such huge sums of money were spent on the production of lethal weapons.

The transformation of monopolistic capitalism into State-monopolistic capital is linked to a great measure to the militarization of the economy. The huge war budget makes the state the biggest single buyer of goods and services.

Decline In U.S. Power

Of late American imperialism has been conducting its expansion under the flag of saving world capitalism. In Europe too, influential capitalist forces set their hopes precisely on the USA. And with what results? The capitalist sphere of influence and domination has shrunk greatly, and the USA has already lost the role of director of world events.

The American journalist

progress of industrial and office workers in their struggle for increased wages; to rob the working people through taxes, and to assign a bigger role to the reactionary military and the police and bureaucratic machinery.

The growing power of state-monopolistic capitalism changes the alignment of class forces and the conditions of the class struggle. In the past, industrial and office workers used to fight for their vital rights, against individual capitalists of companies which exploited them. Today, a good proportion of the working class has to fight the state guarding the power of monopolies through direct "adjustment" of the economy.

Thus, the myth is dispelled about the supra-class role of the bourgeois state. The development of state-monopolistic capital leads not only to aggravated class antagonism, but to a split in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. The differences begin to stand out clearer and clearer between the group of leading monopolies making profits from the arms race and pushing the country into dangerous war adventures, and the non-monopolistic bourgeoisie which suffers from such a policy directly.

A stiffer opposition is put up to monopolistic capital by the middle classes which have to shoulder the heavy burden of taxes, skyrocketing prices, ruinous competition of the bigger manufacturers, suppression of free competition and private enterprise.

Militarization is evidence of civilized barbarism and the anti-popular nature of capitalism, no longer capable of using modern productive forces. The unprecedented upsurge of militarism which is brought to its extremity and made an integral factor of the system, the threat to bring thermonuclear weapons down on to the peoples is eloquent proof that capitalism has run into an irreconcilable conflict with the vital interests and security of entire mankind.

Socialist Camp

The real aims US imperialists pursue consist of the arms drive and the "cold war" coupled with the prospect of turning it into a shooting war. Small wonder, the imperialists are finding it harder and harder to brainwash the masses.

A noteworthy characteristic of the new stage in capitalism's overall crisis is the fact that imperialism has lost its decisive part in international affairs. Its foreign policy is obviously in the throes of a growing crisis, which is not only because of the profound antagonisms weakening the imperialist camp.

In the countries of advanced capitalism, the upsurge of militarism and reactionary state-monopolistic capitalism are becoming a veritable threat to the whole nation. This places particular emphasis on the creation of a broad anti-monopolistic coalition led by the working class so as to fight for radical reforms, for peace, for democracy, and for socialism.

Ideological Impasse

The deep-going crisis bourgeois politics and ideology are experiencing is an indication of the exacerbation of capitalism's overall crisis, of a new stage in this crisis. Even imperialism apologists are sounding the alarm noting that modern capitalism has nothing to offer in ideological opposition to Marxism-Leninism.

As far as ideology has been concerned, capitalism has always touted imitations,

are consolidating socialism's, and undermining imperialism's international positions.

Prime among these is a readjustment—a considerable expansion of the world scene at the expense of the increasing elimination of capitalism's characteristic system, when only a few states had a say in international affairs, while the overwhelming majority of states listened. This readjustment holds out the prospect of imperialism's increasing isolation in world affairs.

Essential also is the actual division of the capitalist countries into two different sets of blocs—one allied in military blocs and orienting itself on war and the other abiding by a neutral policy.

Imperialism's loss of command posts on the world scene is strikingly illustrated even by activities in the UN, though this organisation still far from fully reflects the actual balance of forces and though one of the world's biggest powers, the People's Republic of China, has still not taken its lawful place in it.

At any rate today the voting machine which the US delegation set up and ran, no longer operates in the UN as smoothly as it did before. The Declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and people, which the General Assembly adopted at its recent session is a historic milestone on the road of UN development and an indication of the new alignment of forces.

Imperialist Defeat

This Declaration, which pilloried imperialism, was adopted only because the initiative showed by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries was seconded by the Afro-Asian states who denounced colonialism in their proposals.

When we speak of the crisis in imperialism's foreign policy as being an integral element of the new stage in capitalism's overall crisis, we do not mean at all the events of the moment associated merely with the fact of one or another imperialist faction being at the helm of the state in the main capitalist countries at one or another time.

We mean the profound, irreconcilable and drastically growing contradiction between what one may call imperialism's master stake on "power politics" and its logical sequel, war, on the one hand, and the determination of the masses, a determination unprecedented in world history, to deliver the world from the menace of such a policy, on the other.

Urgency Of Peace

With the truly Leninist foresight the Statement notes that "the danger of a new world war still persists. US imperialism is the main force of aggression and war... The Communists must work untiringly among the masses

to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful co-existence and, at the same time; underestimation of the danger of war".

In our days with the tremendous destructive force of the thermonuclear weapons one must not stake one's hopes on the possibility to combat war after the bombs have begun to fall. The interests of mankind urgently demand that the very possibility of nuclear war be excluded.

The need, therefore, arises for the peoples to show great vigilance with regard to the intrigues of the instigators of war, and display tremendous activity and energy in carrying out all measures directed at averting war.

The Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties noted that the implementation of the programme on general and complete disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union would be of historic significance for the destinies of mankind.

The following words of the Statement sound a solemn vow, an expression of the noble strivings of the Communist movement:

"The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission".

Important Conclusions

From the theoretical Marxist-Leninist analysis of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism there stem important political conclusions for the Communist and working-class movement, for the national-liberation movement, and for entire progressive mankind.

In the development of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism the peoples of the socialist camp see a real confirmation of the fact that their day-to-day activities that ensure the success of socialism in the world economic competition with capitalism are extremely important for accelerating historical events.

They realise that the labour of the peoples, working for the sake of peace, for the sake of construction has never played such a big role in solving the problems of socialism on an international scale as today, that this labour has never been so important for entire progressive mankind.

The countries of the socialist camp, the greatest community of working people in world history, reply to the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties by expressing their readiness to mobilise to a greater extent the existing reserves for raising labour productivity and for carrying out the Leninist principles of

***** by *****

B. PONOMARYOV

(Concluding portion of the official translation of a Pravda article.)

economic construction in the best manner.

The peoples under the yoke of colonial oppression draw the only possible conclusion from the fact that a new stage has begun in the general crisis of capitalism. They see how their enemy is growing weaker while the front of their friends is becoming wider and more powerful.

They see that they have greater opportunities than ever to achieve complete and final political and economic liberation. There is no doubt whatsoever that they will exert all efforts in carrying out this urgent task.

Tasks Of Communists

The beginning of a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism shows that the course of development of human society has created conditions for the activation of all forces coming out for peace, for national independence, for the interests of the working class and of all the working people, for socialism.

The task of activating these forces and the best utilization of all the opportunities created by the heroic struggle and work of the fighters of the great army of Communism, as can be seen from the Statement, is the task of the Communists building and strengthening the socialist society, the Communists in the capitalist countries, and the Communists of the countries which have achieved national independence or are fighting for their national liberation.

The Communists will achieve new victories in the cause of peace and socialism by the activation of their forces and the consolidation of the widest masses under the banner of the great ideals advanced in the historic documents of the Meeting—the Statement and the Appeal to the Peoples.

Anti-Monopoly United Front

The new stage in the development of the general crisis of capitalism confronts the working class of the capitalist countries with difficult and honourable tasks. The weakening of capitalism and the deepening of its contradictions inevitably lead to attempts still further to increase the burden on the shoulders of the working class.

However, under present-day conditions the enemy of the working class is weakening and the capitalist system is becoming more vulnerable. An ever larger number of weak links are being revealed in the world system of imperialism. The contradictions and weakness of capitalism are becoming more apparent in individual countries. The further aggravation of the contradictions between the ruling monopoly oligarchy and the people is inevitable.

All this opens prospects for the successful struggle of

NEW AGE

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After Jabalpur

THE communal riot at Jabalpur was not only a shameful affair for the nation and an organised plot of reaction but it was part of a bigger plot to spread the riots to as many other places in Madhya Pradesh as possible and it partly succeeded. The riot in Saugor was the next most serious part of the common plan and in this the same pattern stood clearly revealed to me even during the one day and night spent in my Saugor investigation, listening to local people, on Holi eve.

On February 4 the first riot began in Jabalpur. On the fifth there was stone throwing at the Masjid in Saugor. On the sixth a Muslim faqr was beaten up. On the seventh, Aziz, a hotel boy was provocatively thrashed and also Nathu, an egg-seller. Vegetable seller Yasin's stall was burnt. The masjid was again stoned. This was also the day when the second big riot began at Jabalpur and just before it all the Jan Sangh organisers from the various districts of the State had held counsel and made their plan for the subsequent days.

JAN SANGH-P.S.P. LEAFLET

The eighth morning papers carried the provocative Jabalpur lie-story about Muslims being the aggressors there. In Saugor a widely signed leaflet by Jan Sangh, P.S.P. and others seeking limelight was published calling upon the students to come out on hartal. The primary school children were mobilised. They marched throwing stones around with the bigger boys guiding them from behind and the police just looking on.

On the ninth, the real riot began and its fury lasted two days. On the same day, it was spread to the villages around and also to the rural areas of the neighbouring Damoh district.

The slogan of the riot organisers and the communal provocateurs was "Jabalpur ka bada Saugor men lenge" (Avenge Jabalpur in Saugor).

Everybody in Saugor realised that this is just what was going to materialise unless the officials and the local administration took firm and quick action.

OFFICIALS GUILTY

The local officials were duly forewarned by more sources than one, repeatedly by the Communists, some non-party secular citizens. The officials, however, either proved themselves to be bankrupt or part of the criminal gang-up, the same as in Jabalpur.

The District Magistrate was an exception. From what I heard, he was an honest but weak person who was taken by surprise. The police officials either acted as agents of the riot-planners or acted the passive nincompoops.

Everybody with his head on his shoulder realised that the student hartal could not but lead to trouble. Nothing was done either to stop or to control it. When the students melted into the communally inflamed mob and the Jan Sangh goonda gangs began actively operating, the police force played a passive role. They looked aside when the looting began or themselves began participating in the loot. When arson began, they did nothing to stop it.

The police did nothing to make any arrest on the first or the second day either. The known goondas should have been rounded up as murder, arson and looting

began and went on for the second day. The first arrests were made only on the second day evening.

The City Superintendent Police went around announcing curfew instead of organising the round-up of the rioters.

Later on, the police did make arrests, over 500, goondas not more than 80, common folks for breach of curfew about 300 and the rest innocents.

Those responsible for the murders in Katra, and everybody in the town knows their and their names, have been left scot-free.

The number of the houses burnt was 134 but the arrests for arson only 18.

Everybody in Saugor talks about Prem Katare, the big goonda chief who went about with the revolver. When the procession reached the Meat Market, he shouted aloud at the police, "Hat Jao" (Get Away) and the police force melted and gave him and the mob the right of way—murders, arson, loot and rest of it followed unchecked for a while till the District Magistrate along with a section of the Congress and the local Communist leaders took the situation in hand.

As in Jabalpur, the Jan Sangh was the main organiser of the riots but a section of the local P.S.P. leadership was also associated with it.

PROVOCATIVE SPEECHES

On the eighth evening, the Jan Sangh speakers at street-corners made provocative speeches and statements. The Jan Sangh workers were seen with arms in their hands in the thick of the riots and as the torch-bearers in the arson campaign.

When the All India Jan Sangh Secretary Deen Dayal

Upadhaya went to Saugor he did his best to cover up the role of the Jan Sangh with a statement that it was the Muslims who began it, that the government was being partisan to the Muslims. He also set up a Defence Committee and met the District Magistrate to get his men out.

The P.S.P. leader Dr. Silakhari was the Chairman of the local municipality which had to be dissolved because of shocking corruption under his regime. He now sought to win popularity anew because the next general elections were due (he was the P.S.P. candidate during 1956 general elections).

GOONDA LEADER

He was the moving force behind the handbill calling for the hartal. Last time, he was defeated by Congress Muslim candidate and he now thought of consolidating the Hindu votes against the Muslims by working in league with the Jan Sangh.

The local P.S.P. Secretary

He is also the organiser of most of the gambling-dens in the town. He receives regular ransom-money from the big Biri merchants, the urban and rural landlords, and does all their dirty jobs for them. He is reported to have personally led the riot with his gangs doing the burning and looting and also realising "protection money" from the Muslims for escorting them to the safety of the police station.

CONGRESS SPLIT

His men publicised the slogan that Prem Katare is Shivaji of Saugor. Through these riots he sought to emerge as the rakhshak (protector) of the Hindus.

The Jan Sangh has formed a committee for his release with funds, lawyers and rest of it.

The local Congress was split into two groups, the same as in Assam—one group is accusing the other of responsibility for the riots.

The secular non-communal

and commission during the riots.

His character and role stands high-lighted by an earlier incident. Jan Fukar is a local paper that has been writing strongly against the police and D. P. Mishra's activities. To safeguard and strengthen his own position as the Vice-Chancellor, D. P. Mishra has organised a band of students that swear by him. Some students misbehaved with girls inside the campus. Jan Fukar exposed this. D. P. Mishra's favourites led a students' procession into the city and demonstratively burnt the Jan Fukar copies and shouted the slogans, "We will burn the press! Jan Fukar ko band karo! (Close down Jan Fukar) Sam-padak ko giraffar karo! (Arrest the editor). Only the police Inspector and two constables accompanied the students till they reached the press and broke up its doors. The Kotwal reached the spot and assured D. P. Mishra's boys that Jan Fukar will be closed and its editor arrested!

This time, too, the Jan Fukar castigated the police and its editor was arrested on a murder charge on the very day Mrs. Indira Gandhi was due to visit Saugor to prevent him speaking up to her and writing more in his paper.

The dark and evil shadow of D. P. Mishra spread over the Saugor riots in more ways than one. I was told that some secular and influ-

CONGRESS BOSS

During and through these riots he sought to create the impression that Dr. Katju is too old and weak to act as an effective Chief Minister and that there is no other man who can successfully run the State administration and win



One of the 293 burnt Muslim houses in South Miloniganj, Jabalpur.

riots, no killing of the Hindus, no burning of the Hindu houses.

A big difference between the Jabalpur and the Saugor riots was that the local head of the administration together

police force available to control the situation!

The Communist and non-communal Congress workers together rescued the Muslims from burning houses and escorted them to places of safety.

When the situation went out of hand the D. M. took counsel with the Congress and Communist leaders present on the spot and called for the military.

After the curfew was enforced the Jan Sanghis began spreading wild rumours and shouting provocative slogan from inside the houses. Our comrades successfully countered this rumour-mongering campaign from jeeps fitted with loud speakers.

When the Peace Committee was formed, Congressmen and our comrades went together to the places where uprooted Muslims were staying as refugees and helped restore confidence. Congressmen and Communists together went round the city and the Cantonment to see that the military pickets were properly placed and the riotmongers held at bay.

MUSLIMS' MESSAGE

If the Hindu Communists boldly worked among the communally excited Hindus to save the Muslim minority, the Muslim Communists were tireless in trying to keep the Muslims inside their own houses and mohallas and not retaliate on any account. They succeeded to an amazing extent. There were no counter-attacks from the Muslim side.

Qaim Gah is a big Muslim serai where the Muslim refugees were quartered. They unanimously passed a resolution and sent it to our Party office, through Comrade Yaseen, whose sum and substance in heart-felt Urdu was: "We will never forget the Communist Party! Our comrades, both Hindu and Muslim are rightly very proud of this tribute from children who have lost their all."

The Congressmen and the Communists, on behalf of the Peace Committee, went to the riot affected villages and brought back not only stories of

inhuman brutalities, of communal infection, and neighbour killing neighbour but also of the sanity and humanity that is the traditional pride of India's common people, whether Hindu or Muslim.

In Rahat Garh village, 26 miles away from Saugor, the Muslims constituted 50 per cent. The Hindu set fire to a Muslim hut. The excited Hindu and Muslim crowds mobilised on each side and before the inevitable clash could take place the elders from both sides solemnly came in between and pleaded for peace and amity. This calmed the situation, the Ramayan and Koran were brought out to swear and declare, "Hama-re yehan kuech nahi hoga" (Nothing evil will happen amidst us) and nothing happened!

In Saleri village, outsiders came and set fire to four Muslim houses. Hindu villagers came out to resist them and protect their Muslim fellow-villagers. When it was feared that the rioters may come back again, they decided to escort the Muslims to a safer place. The Hindu women cried as they bade farewell to their Muslim sisters and pledged that they will do everything to get them back soon.

In Barkheri when Hindu rioters came up to set fire to Muslim houses, two Hindu boys came up and declared: "If you burn the Muslim houses, we will set on fire all the Hindu houses!" Their determination worked the wonder and the rioters sneaked away.

HOPE FOR FUTURE

I heard numerous such heart-warming stories about the good and heroic work by unknown and unsung sons and daughters of our motherland, Hindus as well as Muslims. I thought the best I could do was to write up the Saugor story for the benefit of our readers and the wider circle. What happened in Jabalpur and Saugor must not happen again, nor anywhere else in the country. The fearless and noble work done by men of conscience, whether Congressmen, Communists or non-party, is the hope of our future.

WHAT HAPPENED IN SAUGOR

by P. C. JOSHI

Trevadi also signed the strike handbill but later joined the Peace Committee, being anti-Silakhari.

Prem Katare, from what people said, appeared to be the most powerful force in local life. He has akharas (wrestling clubs) in the various mohallas and his men met on the eighth and evolved the evil plan and divided up their duties. His gang consists not only of goondas but some loafer type students as well. A large number of Prem Katare toughs are well-known R.S.S. cadres.

The local Congress M.L.A. Dr. B. B. Rai was also active against the riot, himself present at the danger spots, tire-

group was headed by Jawala Prashad, M. P., a respected Gandhite. The old man who does not carry much weight inside his own organisation but did all he could by personal intervention.

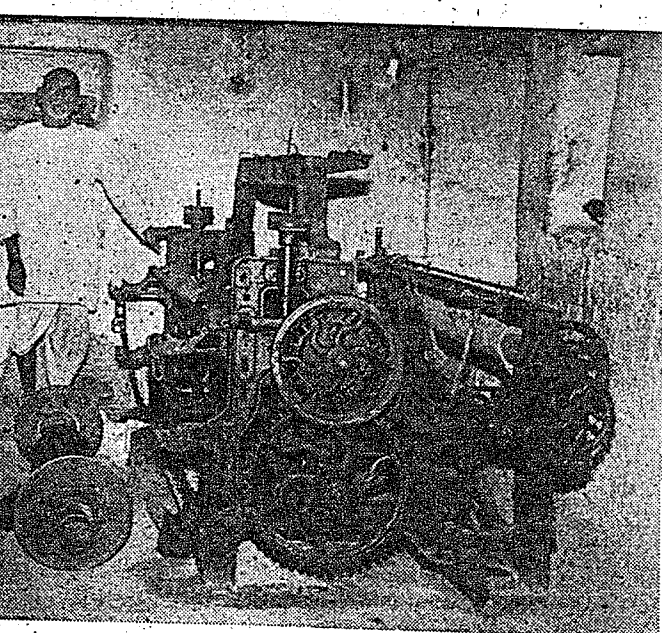
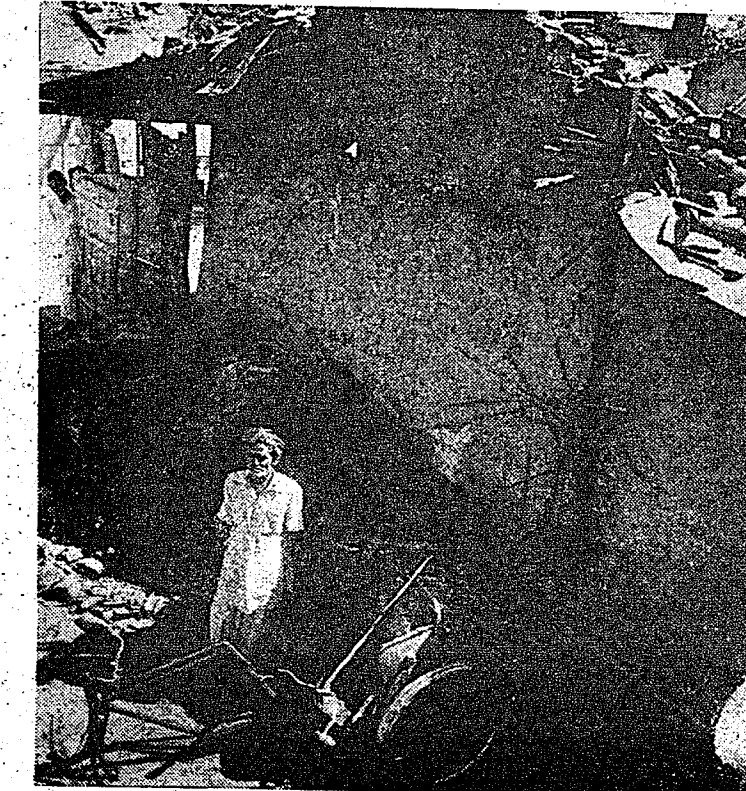
The next elections for the Congress except D. P. Mishra himself. He imagined himself in the image of C. B. Gupta of U. P.

The local Congress organisation is in D. P. Mishra's grip. Its chairman Pathak came on the surface after the riots were over and claimed that he had kept peace in his mohalla where, however, seven houses were burnt. Some of his followers joined the Peace Committee to impress and influence the officials and use relief for their group purposes. They formally condemned the riot but actually played a communal, opportunist or passive role.

The P.S.P. leader Dr. Silakhari, referred to above, is D. P. Mishra's own man. D. P. Mishra's close links with the Hindu communal elements both inside the Jan Sangh and the R. S. S. are old and well-known. D. P. Mishra's bungalow is also the place which the top police officials regularly visit to offer salaams and get the hukum. As former Home Minister most of them are his place-men, personally loyal to him.

The District Police Superintendent Pithare, for instance, there were so many complaints against him during and after the riot that the charge of the district police had to be handed over to the head of the local police training centre.

The city kotwal was Sudhir Mishra linked with D. P. Mishra by more than caste bonds. He is personally responsible for the sins of omission



LEFT: A Muslim rickshawalla of Sooji Mohalla, Jabalpur, stands forlorn beside his smashed rickshaw and smashed home. ABOVE: Bade Miam with his powerloom partly smashed and home half-burnt, looks lost.

IMPERIALISM need not fear and does not fear what will never threaten it on the part of the socialist states, it need not fear an aggressive war. The imperialists know, as well as we do that war is not in the interests of socialism. But they may worry and are in fact gravely concerned about the outcome of the competition with the world socialist system. The rivalry of the two systems presents to the capitalist system extremely unfavourable prospects in the backward and economically underdeveloped regions of the world.

The world capitalist system is composed of two groups of countries—one of the economically well developed countries and the other of the countries more or less retarded in their development. In 1959, the population of the world numbered 2,995 million. The countries of the socialist system were inhabited by 1,018 millions, i.e., 35.1 per cent of the total world population, and the countries of the capitalist system by 1,888 million, i.e., 64.9 per cent of the world population. Out of the total population under the capitalist system only 29.3 per cent (552 million) lived in highly developed countries and 70.7 per cent (1,334 million) in countries retarded in their development. Various contradictions exist between the first and the second group of the capitalist countries and there is an abyssal disparity between their economic standards. The first group is represented by 17 highly developed countries estimated to account for some 88 per cent of the total industrial output of the capitalist

every attempt at national liberation; they adjusted the economy of these countries to their own needs, exploiting and plundering the riches of these countries with impunity; at the expense of the colonial peoples they were developing their own countries. The poverty and misery, and the social backwardness of the subordinate countries and peoples were consistent with colonizers' interests, making it easier for them to dominate the underdeveloped countries.

Now, when the domination of imperialism belongs to the irrevocable past, when the socialist system is exercising an ever more decisive influence on the development of humanity, the problem of underdeveloped countries is becoming the central problem of the capitalist system.

Economic Independence

There is an increasing tendency to throw off the chains of economic dependence on the great imperialist powers, to gain full independence, both political and economic. The national liberation movement is spreading not only in the countries still in colonial slavery, but also in those which, although they have been politically independent for a long time are striving to get rid of the foreign monopolies and planners and want to be masters in their own homelands. The poverty and misery of the underdeveloped countries, the difference between their living standard and that of the

their states; secondly, under the social conditions prevailing in these countries it is impossible to release the enormous resources of the creative energy of the nations, which is indispensable for an increase in accumulation and investments; thirdly, a large part of the national income of these countries is being used unproductively by the parasitic sections of the community.

Stupendous Problem

According to estimates of United Nations Organization experts, were the underdeveloped countries of the capitalist system to set themselves the very modest task of raising the national income per capita by 2 per cent on an annual investment outlay (with the present birth rate) would have to amount to 19 or 20,000 million dollars in current prices. But the annual net accumulation of all these countries amounts to 6 to 7,000 million dollars. Consequently even to attain an increase of only 2 per cent in the national income per capita, these countries still need another 13 to 14,000 million dollars per year to fulfil this modest task. Even if by some miracle they succeeded in achieving this increase of 2 per cent the countries where per capita incomes do not exceed 100 dollars per year (and some

China was developing her industry six times as fast as was India. At the same time Chinese agriculture developed also more rapidly than Indian agriculture.

At present, there are no appreciable differences in the living standards in these countries. But there is no doubt that if the present disparity of the rate of development of the two countries is maintained, the production potential of the Chinese national economy will in the next ten years grow to the point of making it possible to raise the living standard of Chinese population well above the standard achieved in India over the same period of time.

The social and political consequences of this state of affairs, though difficult to predict accurately at the moment, are unavoidably bound to intensify the tendency in India and other countries to favour socialist development. The results of the competition between China and India are of decisive importance for the two systems on the Asian continent.

It is worth considering whether or not India and all the underdeveloped countries of the capitalist system can, after all, accelerate their economic development with the help of substantial foreign credits? There is no doubt that the underdeveloped countries badly need assistance from without to help them fight the

estimate that the underdeveloped countries still need another 8 or 9,000 million dollars per year to achieve an increase of 2 per cent in the national income per capita.

What the underdeveloped countries need is long-term credits at a low rate of interest. The credits granted to them by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries meet these conditions. On the other hand, the government credits of the capitalist states are very burdensome.

Terms Of Trade

The rate of interest for these credits is by some 5 per cent higher than that for the socialist credits, and the repayment is more difficult because of the agricultural and raw material structure of exports from the underdeveloped countries.

But this is not the point. The possibilities of repayment are closely connected with the relation of prices, for the goods exported and imported by the underdeveloped countries. The relation of these prices as a fundamental problem of the economy of these countries.

The enormous economic supremacy of the highly developed countries over the rest of the capitalist world makes it possible for the former to dictate world market prices. The underdeveloped countries have to sell their goods and to buy the goods they need at the

He thinks it paradoxical.

This paradox, or rather the systematic exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by the capitalist monopolies and their states, appears in a still more glaring form when we consider that in the years 1853-58 the world prices of raw materials dropped—according to the United Nations sources—by 7 per cent, while the prices of industrial articles rose by 4 per cent.

For the countries of Latin America the export prices in relation to the import prices fell 12 per cent, and for the Far East countries 10 per cent (New York Times of July 10, 1959). The export price index for the goods manufactured in the underdeveloped countries dropped another 3.2 per cent in 1959.

In this situation the trade balance of the underdeveloped countries, additionally burdened with high costs of grain and food imports, showed an enormous trade gap of nearly 14,000 million dollars in the years 1949-53. So, the losses resulting from the fall of the prices of raw materials and the rise of the prices of industrial articles alone, incurred by the underdeveloped countries in their trade with the industrialized states, swallow up the so-called economic aid granted to them by the governments of these states.

The relations of economic dependence now existing between the underdeveloped countries on the one hand and

these countries into the pockets of the capitalist monopolies continues with no compensation.

Transfer Of Profits

The investments of capitalist monopolies in underdeveloped countries contribute to the development of these countries only inasmuch as it is in the interest of the investor. The underdeveloped countries cannot acquire accumulation from the production establishments originating from foreign investments since these establishments are not their property but belong to the monopolies which reap enormous profits.

If it is in their interests, a proportion of these profits is spent on new investments, i.e., so-called re-investments, while the rest is transferred to their countries. So, the much publicised "assistance" for the underdeveloped countries in the shape of exports of private capital not only does not help accumulate the means for the economic development but exposes these countries, their wealth and their manpower to plunder and exploitation by foreign capital.

So we can see that also the other form of so-called assistance for the countries retarded in their development, i.e., exports of private capital, cannot help these countries to recover from their backwardness and that it only makes them

the imperialist states they are themselves subject to exploitation by these states. All that answers the question why the classical road of capitalist development is now closed to the underdeveloped countries.

In this situation the fight against imperialism must be waged not only by the peoples still in colonial slavery but also by the peoples which have already thrown off the colonial yoke and won their independence, as well as the peoples of the former dependent countries; they are, so to speak, condemned to this struggle, more so than the peoples of other countries.

They are condemned to this struggle not only by their strivings for political independence from imperialism, but, above all, by their forceful endeavours to end their poverty and misery, to develop the economy of their countries. And the obstacle to this is imperialism, the big imperialist powers in particular. So, these peoples have to struggle against imperialism.

Marx said that capitalism, when it was born, gave birth to its grave-digger—the working class. If applied to imperialism this formulation needs extension. Imperialism, when it was born, gave birth to its grave-digger in the shape of all oppressed and exploited peoples.

Lenin said that the world socialist revolution would not be only and above all a struggle of the revolutionary prole-

capital and imperialism rules, the class struggle for an agrarian revolution also assumes an anti-imperialist character.

The internal situation in the newly liberated and dependent countries varies very much. Some of them, led by a wide democratic front from the Communists to the national bourgeoisie, have entered the road towards progressive reforms, liquidation of the remnants of feudalism and of the tribal system, and towards the development of state capitalist industry.

In others the ruling circles, while pursuing a seemingly anti-imperialist policy and driving at economic independence, oppose the Communist movement often with brutal force and are rather cautious in introducing the necessary social reforms.

In some others it is the peoples forces that have the most say and are combining progressive social development with anti-imperialist revolution; they are leading their countries along the road of non-capitalist development and building new States of national democracy.

The Communists are everywhere in the first ranks of the united national fronts, supporting the independent, national and anti-imperialist policy. At the same time they are opposing the reactionary forces and striving to realize the most far-reaching transformations and progressive democratic

NEW STAGE IN NATIONAL

world. The insignificant remainder (some 12 per cent only) constitutes the share of the second group. The economy of the underdeveloped countries is definitely one-sided, well adapted to their role of sources of raw materials for the industrialized capitalist countries. The collapse of the colonial system and the end of the great powers' political rule over the peoples of the underdeveloped countries by no means untied the knot of contradictions of the capitalist world. On the contrary, they laid bare the contradictions which capitalism is unable to settle and which undermine the whole capitalist world. **Main Weakness** The main source of the weakness of the world capitalist system, undermining its foundations from within, is the antagonism between the metropolises of imperialism—the highly developed capitalist countries—on the one hand, and the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples economically underdeveloped and dependent on the other hand. The independence won by the colonial peoples has not automatically ended the exploitation of their countries by capitalist monopolies; it has not freed them from the economic dependence resulting in political dependence on the former metropolitan countries. In the overwhelming majority of the liberated countries the property of foreign capital has remained intact. The struggle to end the cen-

rest of the capitalist world so well developed largely at their expense, can be measured with a comparison of per capita national incomes in different regions of the capitalist world. A rough estimate of the 1958 national income per capita, calculated in average prices for the years 1952-54 comes to 1,050 dollars in 17 highly developed capitalist countries, while the corresponding figure for the rest of the capitalist countries is 125 dollars, i.e., 8.5 times less. The first group, representing some 30 per cent of the population, takes 77 per cent of the national income produced in the whole capitalist system, leaving only 23 per cent for the other group which accounts for more than 70 per cent of the population. There are also striking differences within the latter group. Per capita national income amounts to some 300 dollars in Latin America, about 80 dollars in Africa, about 180 dollars in the Middle East, and some 70 dollars in Asia (without the Middle East and Japan). In this part of Asia, with a population of 718 million in 1959, i.e., 39 per cent of the total population of the capitalist system, the national income per capita was 16 times smaller than in the highly developed capitalist countries, and 27 times smaller than in the United States alone. At one time, before the colonial system had been smashed, when imperialism still dominated the world, the problem of the underdeveloped and dependent countries presented no direct threat to the capitalist system. The imperialists and colonizers suppressed and drowned in blood

in keeping these countries in their state of backwardness, now show so much concern about their economic development? The answer is easy. The reason is the well justified fear that, in view of the rapid development of the socialist countries, the present state of affairs in the underdeveloped countries of the capitalist system could result in more and more of these countries breaking away from capitalism. **Socialist Example** The rapid development of the socialist countries, with the slow development of the retarded countries of the capitalist system can become and are becoming a stimulus urging the underdeveloped countries on towards the socialist world. This is precisely the cause of the growing concern of the imperialist states. The history of the socialist countries, the majority of which were more or less retarded in their development (and some of them still are, as, e.g., the Chinese People's Republic), has shown how rapidly it is possible to recover from backwardness when marching along the road of socialism. The rate of development of the socialist countries is unattainable to the underdeveloped countries of the capitalist system. There are three main reasons for this. Firstly, a large proportion of their meagre national incomes passes in various forms to the pockets of the capitalist monopolies and

1,000 million people of the capitalist world live there) would need more than 70 years to reach the present national income per capita in Poland, to say nothing of the countries better developed than Poland. But even this modest dream of a 2 per cent increase in the national income is unrealistic. According to United Nations World Economic Survey 1955 published in New York in 1958 the industrial and agricultural production of all the underdeveloped countries calculated per head of the population increased only 5 per cent during the sixteen years from 1938 to 1954. What is worse, in south-eastern Asia production per capita fell 10 per cent over the same period of time. The following years brought no appreciable improvement in this respect. The difference between the rate of development of the underdeveloped countries in the socialist and in the capitalist system can be best seen on the example of China and India. These two largest countries of the world, together accounting for more than one-third of the world population, provide a good basis for comparison since the considerable underdevelopment of their economies is, or was, similar. After throwing off the chains of colonialism the two countries followed different roads: China the socialist while India the capitalist or rather that of state capitalism. What results have they attained so far? In the years 1950-59 the average annual rate of growth of industrial output of the Chinese People's Republic was 20 per cent, as against only about 5 per cent in India. So

backwardness of their economy. We have previously remarked that according to United Nations experts, in order to achieve a 2 per cent increase in the national income per capita, the underdeveloped countries would need foreign help amounting to 13 or 14,000 million dollars per year. **Foreign Aid** There is not the faintest chance of these countries receiving this very substantial sum. What is more important, however, exports of monopolist capital to the underdeveloped countries do not in fact help them but are used as an instrument of exploitation. According to estimates by Mr. Hoffman, who is General Manager of the United Nations Special Fund, the value of the so-called economic assistance granted to the underdeveloped countries in the financial years 1957-1958 by the imperialist states amounted to some 4,000 million dollars. Out of this amount about 2,400 million dollars was so-called government assistance originating from various international institutions subordinated to the governments of the imperialist powers, while the rest, i.e., 1,600 million dollars came from international capitalist monopolies as private capital. At the same time, as Mr. Hoffman estimates, since 1955 the Soviet Union has been granting assistance to the underdeveloped countries of the capitalist system to the value of some 700 million dollars per year. It transpires from this

INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

prices fixed by big-capitalist monopolies. The best part of the exports from the underdeveloped countries consists in mineral raw materials and agricultural produce, while they import industrial articles. The capitalist monopolies continuously widen the gap between prices of raw materials and of industrial articles, thus collecting an enormous levy from the underdeveloped countries which are forced to sell their products even below the cost of production. The fall in prices of raw materials becomes specially marked at the time of economic crises which repeatedly occur in the highly developed capitalist countries, the United States in particular. In this manner the capitalist monopolies save their interests, shift the cost of the crisis to the underdeveloped countries and reduce their very modest national incomes, accumulation possibilities and, in consequence investment possibilities. According to the United Nations statistics, as a result of the 1957-58 recession in the United States, the raw material exporting countries lost some 2,000 million dollars per year, i.e., an amount equal to the loans granted to them by the International Reconstruction and Development Bank over a period of six years. In his book *One Hundred Countries—1,250 Million People* Hoffman writes that in practice the underdeveloped countries have at their own expense, contributed to the betterment of the situation in the industrialized countries.

the imperialist states on the other hand not only cannot make any contribution towards satisfying the hunger for investments in the underdeveloped countries, but, on the contrary, hinder their development and are one of the main causes of their economic and social backwardness. **Export Of Capital** And what are investments of the capitalist monopolies bringing to the underdeveloped countries? It must be stated first of all that what the capitalist monopolies have in view when exporting their capital to the underdeveloped countries is not the development of these countries but only their exploitation. The investments are mostly adapted to the needs of industry in their own metropolitan countries. Private capital goes where it smells big profits. The rate of profit obtained from investments in the underdeveloped countries often reaches 30 per cent per year or more. For example the investment outlay on the extraction of one ton of oil in the years 1949-58 amounted to 12.3 dollars in the United States and only 1.18 dollars in the Middle East. Consequently, the American monopolies rushed for oil in the Middle and Near East since the capital invested there was repaid 10 times quicker than in the United States. Investment outlays of the capitalist monopolies in the underdeveloped countries are repaid within three or four years on an average, and afterwards the pumping of the national incomes of

more dependent on the imperialist states. The old capitalist road of development which the now highly advanced capitalist countries have already traversed is now closed to the countries retarded in their development. It has been closed by imperialism and monopolist capital. Imperialism and monopolist capital have closed it by their dictate of prices on the world market which, with the extremely low productivity in the underdeveloped countries, makes it impossible for these countries to carry on equivalent trade exchange with the highly developed countries. This road has been closed by monopolist capital through intensified exploitation of the underdeveloped countries with the use of exports of capital, and by directing this capital only to those branches of production which serve its own interest and not that of the national economy of the underdeveloped countries. Another reason why this road has been closed is that under the conditions created in the newly liberated and dependent countries the monopolies do not consider it worth investing, since the incentive of profits (which have always been and remain the stimulus for exports of capital) has now lost and will continue to lose its strength. Finally, the now highly developed capitalist countries developed by exploitation of the colonial peoples. Today, the peoples liberated from colonialism cannot acquire the means for the economic development of their countries by exploiting other peoples. They have no one to exploit. On the contrary, still being dependent on

tarist in each country against its own bourgeoisie; it would be a struggle of all the colonies oppressed by imperialism and of all the dependent countries against international imperialism. At its present stage the struggle of the peoples of the underdeveloped and retarded countries is of a democratic, not a socialist character. The class structure of the societies of these countries either still has remnants of feudalism, or, as in some African countries, tribal social relations still exist. In the majority of the countries of Latin America big landowners still hold the best part of the land... Therefore, the fundamental condition for social and economic progress in these countries is an agrarian revolution. Wherever foreign

reforms leading to the establishment of states of national democracy. The socialist states declare their solidarity with all the countries and peoples struggling for freedom and liberation from the yoke of imperialism and oppression; they regard them as their natural allies. The logic of the national liberation struggle and of the struggle for full political and economic sovereignty, in which the people's masses engage in a fight against imperialism and against the most reactionary and corrupted sections of their own communities, leads them towards more and more profound social transformation and provides ground for the propagation of the idea of socialism and the growth of the Communist movement. (Report on Moscow Meeting of Communist Parties.)

In Hindi
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FASCIST "CULTURE"

FASCISTS, too, talk about culture. But it has a different meaning for them. For the inheritors of Nazism in West Germany, it has a new use. The West German Foreign Affairs Minister, Brentano believes that culture is a political weapon.

West Germany is going to use this weapon on a large scale in India. For some time past the West German Government has received a lot of criticism from Indian quarters.

The recent remarks of the outgoing Indian Ambassador to West Germany, Badruddin Tyabji, criticising "the growth of self-centredness in Germany" in an article published in the new Indian Year Book of the Indian Embassy at Bonn and other damaging stories about the role of the West German thugs stationed in India in connection with erection of Rourkela steel plant, etc., have created a stir in West German circles.

It is to repair this damage to the West German prestige in India that plans have been recently formulated in West Germany.

A news item of the Handelsblatt (published from Dusseldorf, West Germany) of January 25, 1961 disclosed the background of the trip to India of the Head of the Cultural Department of the West German External Affairs Ministry, Dr. Sattler.

According to the paper,

Sattler was assigned the task of refurbishing West German prestige in India, which has been badly damaged by the actual experiences the Indians have encountered at Rourkela and the gloomy prospects of the so-called W. German "aid". For that purpose, an amount of DM 12 crores has been allocated by the West German Government. The paper says: "Foreign Minister Brentano declared at the inauguration of the advisory council for affairs of the External Ministry that culture had become a political weapon".

According to the report a West German, Dr. Raffalt, is supposed to stay in India for a longer period in order to supervise the new campaign of "cultural" propaganda.

Taking the report of the West German newspaper at its face value, it can be assumed that the West German Embassy will spend a few crores on "cultural" media in India. In plain language, under the new scheme a West German lobby will be built in India very soon.

Here, of course, is another opportunity for the monopoly press to vie with each other to sell space for West German propaganda!

UNASHAMED

THE Jan Sangh-RSS mouthpiece Organiser is an unashamed apologist of the imperialists and reactionaries. I hardly find anything properly to match

SCRAP-BOOK

U. S. AND AFRO-ASIA

It in our country. There are other rags, too, but on occasions they choose to evade issues instead of defending the imperialists all the way. Not so the Organiser.

Recently Bhupesh Gupta had brought to the notice of the Rajya Sabha the publication in West Germany of a book India: With or Without Miracles. Its author Peter Schmid (as already reported in New Age) has slandered India in the worst possible way and quoted a West German foreman in Rourkela as saying "It would be more intelligent if instead of blast furnaces we build gas chambers for 400 million Indians".

Such a book, I thought, would cause anger to the so-called worshippers of Bharatiya culture. Precisely the opposite is the case. The Organiser, instead, preaches caution "... there is, we think, need for all round restraint", it says. But that is not all. It complains Bhupesh Gupta committed a third wrong when he raised that matter in Parliament.

That is the way of unashamed apologists. After all, fascism was not the ideology of Hitler and Mussolini alone—the Jan Sangh and RSS also share it!

marly took the form of an abstention from voting, which on these major issues amounts to placing the United States on the side of the colonial powers".

Morse continued that the reason why the US made "many wrong votes" on anti-colonial resolutions was because it had "a military need for a base or a missile tracking station".

Here is another fact about U. S. designs on Afro-Asian countries. A Reuter message from Washington on February 21 said: The United States has formed special group of paratroopers and combat specialists to help train troops in a number of Afro-Asian countries in guerilla fighting.

The purpose of the group is to transmit to others its specially developed technique and tactics. The report said that the group has been undergoing its own training for some time at the special warfare centre at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

A defence department spokesman said that the special force has been given the task of developing and testing guerilla warfare tactics specially adapted to conditions in nearly 18 countries where "friendly regimes" may be endangered.

In plain language, the purpose of the special guerilla force is to export counter-revolution in such countries where people try to overthrow US-puppet governments.

—AGRADOOT

In London

PAK STUDENTS CONDEMN AYUB

PAKISTANIS living in London have been deeply stirred by recent happenings at home. Three hundred students and workers from Pakistan held a meeting on February 26 under the Chairmanship of London County Councillor, Donald Chesworth. They denounced the British Queen's laudatory praise during her visit of the military dictatorship.

Chesworth in his remarks said that the Queen's advisers had in her speech commending so-called Basic Democracy in Pakistan completely misrepresented British tradition which

stood for an elected representative parliamentary government, the right to disagree with the Government, an independent judiciary and a free press—none of which existed in the Pakistan of self-styled Marshal Ayub Khan.

Pakistani speakers hit out at the oppressive policies of the Government and John Stonehouse, British, M. P. in his message said that he looked forward "with you to the creation of a democratic Pakistan, with freedom of expression and with an elected Government charged to undertake land and other reforms."

The meeting, held to commemorate the martyrs of East Bengal Language movement and Karachi student struggle of 1953 passed a resolution voicing "profound grief and sorrow" at the torture and killing in Lahore Fort Prison of Hasan Nasir and demanded "an international inquiry into the circumstances of his death" and reference to the UN Human Rights Commission of this heinous crime committed by Pakistani rulers. The meeting also demanded the release of Maulana Bhashani and other political prisoners in Pakistan.

W. GERMAN SLANDERS

FROM FRONT PAGE

contents of each of the books included there. To disclaim official responsibility in such a situation, can be construed only as an attempt at downright shame-faced lying and deception, an insult to the intelligence of the Indian people.

It was in course of the debate on the Appropriation Bill, 1961, that Bhupesh Gupta first brought the book and its contents to the notice of a stunned House on March 6.

"Even Miss Mayo would have blushed if she had read this kind of a book," he said, "because such things are uttered about us in the middle of the twentieth century, thirteen years after independence."

In her written reply to the question on March 14, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon did acknowledge, after a lot of hedging and evasion, that the author who had been three in India had spent in all some ten months and even interviewed the Prime Minister once, "had come to the adverse notice of the Government of India because the despatches he sent from India during his visit were all anti-Indian." Could this fact have remained unknown to West

German authorities? Difficult to believe.

She admitted that this "gentleman" had come to India "as a journalist, with permission to visit the country so that he could write a book on India."

The Deputy Minister pleaded ignorance even of the principal facts—despite the fact that the notice of the question must have been given some three weeks in advance. She said the required information was now being collected by our mission in Bonn and would be placed on the table of the House.

Excitement and near pandemonium naturally followed when Bhupesh Gupta indignantly pointed out that it was not necessary to rush to Bonn to get even the facts which were readily available here. Diwan Chaman Lal had to make the pointed intervention as to how part (c) of the listed question which sought information about the duration of Schmid's stay in India had to be enquired from Bonn.

The Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, had ultimately to intervene to pacify the House. He told the House that the Deputy Minister had promised that necessary investigations will be made.

Bhupesh Gupta who demanded a discussion pointed out after the Question Hour that through their press-note, etc., the West German Embassy were trying to make out that he had made an incorrect statement.

"I am prepared to have it tested by any party. It will be found that it is against those who have issued the Press Note. I have got internal documentary evidence to show that I based my statement on those facts, evidence and catalogue and so many things which would show that the West German Embassy was in the know of things.

"How am I to proceed in the matter? Sir, you have to protect me," he said.

The Chairman again said, "We shall await the result of the investigations". The whole country will await it impatiently.

By coincidence, another question listed the same day related to the article written by former Indian Ambassador to Bonn, Tayabjee, in the Indian Embassy's brochure brought out there on the Republic Day this year criticising West Germany's attitude towards India in matters of economic cooperation.

Replying to the questions, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs said that the Government do not think that the Ambassador had committed any indiscretion in expressing himself as he had done.

The following significant exchange then followed:

A. D. Mani: Is it a fact that the Ambassador stated in the article that there is in (West) Germany a curious lack of responsibility for what is happening in the outside world, sometimes even when what is happening is a direct outcome of something which they themselves have done?

Lakshmi Menon: That is not only the opinion of our Ambassador but many other people think that way.

A. D. Mani: Would a statement of that sort help better Indo-German relations?

Lakshmi Menon: The Germans themselves have not understood it the way that we understood it.

Chaman Lal: Is it not a fact that Mr. Tayabjee expressed a feeling which is worldwide in respect of the (West) German Government?

Lakshmi Menon: That is exactly what I said, Sir.

GARHWAL PEASANTS MARCH TO CAPITAL

IT was an unusual procession for the capital city of India — 2,000 land hungry peasants of Garhwal, some in their eighties and others with their children had come to Delhi on foot all the way from Garhwal. It took them six days to cover a distance of 200 miles from Kotdwar to Delhi. Some of them had trekked long distances earlier to reach Kotdwar itself.

All the way they popularised their demands for rehabilitation in the Terai between the Ganga and the Ram Ganga in the Garhwal district. They entered Delhi with slogans "Bhoomi hmonko bhoomi do! Garhwal-ki bhoomkari door karo!" (give land to the landless and remove Garhwal's poverty).

They were peaceful, persuasive and disciplined and used their time in Delhi on March 9 and 10 in impressing upon the leaders of the Central Government to help them in securing their demands.

The demonstration was organised by the Peerat Janta Sangh (Organisation of Oppressed People) and its Secretary Hari Ram Misra. Chanchal told our reporter that their representations to the U.P. Government for rehabilitation have not been heeded by the U.P. Government. That is why they decided to come to Delhi.

In Delhi they met Union Ministers Lal Bahadur Shastri, Punjab Rao. Deshmukh and finally called upon Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Leaders of the Garhwal Hitkari Sabha of Delhi

welcomed them. On March 10 a meeting was also held under the auspices of the Garhwal Hitkari Sabha.

The visit of these landless peasants of Garhwal to Delhi has helped them in making their case for land and removal of poverty better known to the people. A large number of Garhwalis settled in Delhi were, of course, inspired by this bold initiative of their kith and kin living in utter poverty.

It was a surprise for many of them to see their brethren in thousands coming to Delhi. Next day in a public meeting hundreds of Delhi Garhwalis also joined to express their support to the demands of the landless peasants who came to Delhi.

There are about 10,000 landless families in Garhwal. Many of them live a sub-human life in conditions of starvation. The hilly tract of Garhwal is still very undeveloped and cannot provide any employment to the inhabitants in any industry or trade. Hundreds of them come down to the plains every year.

The land for the land hungry can be found out if the Government, considers their lot sympathetically. Vast tracts of 50,000 acres of land at present thickly wooded, lies between Haridwar and Garhwal and extends up to Ram Ganga. What is required is, obviously, distribution of this unused land. The U.P. Government can give them some relief by taking due notice of their utter poverty and rehabilitating them on this land.

POWER AND TRANSPORT

FROM PAGE 3

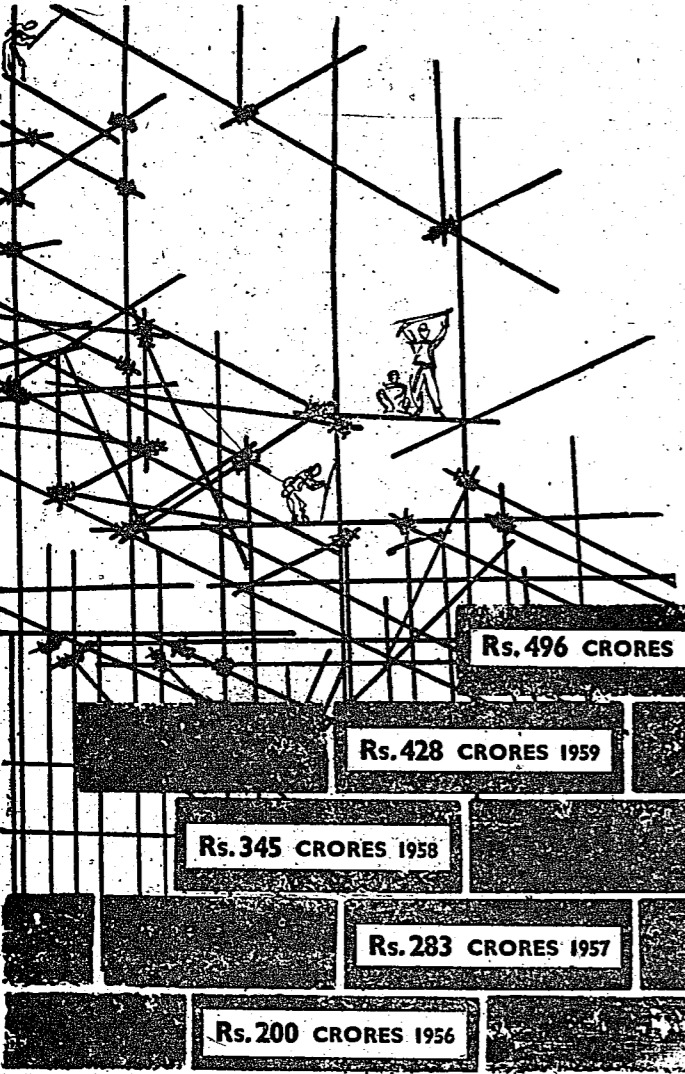
the tremendous headway which the Indian railways have made since the days they worked as accessories to imperialist exploitation.

All these achievements, impressive as they are, are yet inadequate to meet the needs of a developing economy. The shortfall in wagons, programme, and the failure to coordinate it with the needs of the coal industry, have already led to the piquant situation of coal accumulating at pits, even as industry and consumers are starved of it.

These successes in coach-building, as well as locomotive-manufacturing, have now made India self-sufficient in these two lines. What is more, she is now in a position even to export them to foreign markets. Indian railways are also considered one of the best bridge builders in the world and have been consulted on the subject even by some of the European countries. They have now really come of age, and as the Chairman of the Railway Board has said are now capable of even helping some of the less developed countries in building up their own national railways.

The Surl transmission system—a device invented by an Indian railway engineer to cheapen the working cost of diesel engines—has won world-wide recognition, and has thus symbolised the ingenuity of the Indian worker as well as

for their development.



Up and up soars the edifice of Life Insurance. In the second year of its Five-Year Plan, the Life Insurance Corporation is at the half-way mark to its target of Rs. 1,000 crores in 1963, with yet another new business record of **Rs. 496,00,00,000**

Year after year, the L.I.C. has improved upon past records. In 1960, it advanced by Rs. 68 crores upon its 1959 high of Rs. 428 crores. Thus, since 1956, the L.I.C. has multiplied its new business intake nearly two and a half times. From Rs. 200 crores to close on Rs. 500 crores ... in five years.

Figures speak volumes—they point to the increasing trust and confidence placed in the L.I.C. as an institution. They speak of the growing belief by the average breadwinner that Life Insurance—and Life Insurance alone—can provide his family with the complete security he wishes for them—a security in which funds are guaranteed for a man's old age, for his son's education, his daughter's marriage, or for his family in case they should lose him.



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THE Second Conference of the All India Youth Federation (AIYF) is going to be held on May 19-21, in Hyderabad. Almost two years have elapsed since the constituent conference of AIYF was held in Delhi. Two years is comparatively a small period in the history of an organisation. Yet the experiences of this short span of time have proved clearly both the need and possibility of a countrywide movement to mobilise the youth for the advance of our nation and for a better future for itself.

The formation of the AIYF itself was an encouragement to the youth workers through the country who were working in an isolated way to build youth organisations in their respective localities. They took it as a serious attempt to build a countrywide movement on broad democratic lines.

The AIYF by uniting isolated local youth organisations on the basis of a common objective and programme, has created a national platform for the democratic youth for discussion, exchange of experience and for taking a unified stand on important issues. It created an instrument for expanding our movement in new areas and for taking initiative for coordinating activities all over the country on common issues.

Existence of an all-India centre enables us to demand all the facilities which our Government is supposed to give to all the national youth organisations. Internationally, too, the AIYF by representing one and half lakh members and by voicing the opinion of the entire freedom and peace-loving youth of our country, is now in a position to play an effective role.

Since our first conference, the main direction of our work was towards the expansion and consolidation of our organisation. This included establishing regular contacts with the units which ceased to be active for some time like that in Kerala and Bihar and setting up units in new areas as has been done in Mysore, Delhi, Madras, Manipur and in some districts of Madhya Pradesh and U. P.

Today the AIYF has nine State organisations and four district units in other two States. The total membership this year as recorded in the Executive meeting (February 1961) is little more than one and a half lakh.

It goes without saying that the main purpose of the AIYF is to organise such activities as correspond to the best interests of our young generation and the people at large.

Multifarious Activities

The formation of our branches in new areas was always coupled with or followed by various activities, round which thousands of youth were mobilised. In most cases they were activities to meet some of the local requirements of the local youth or in response to the needs of the area.

Thus, the revival of the Kerala Youth Federation was marked by mass sports and cultural activities in all the districts of Kerala during the Onam festival.

In Manipur the Youth Conference was followed by a youth cultural festival.

In Mysore and Benares the first task taken up by the youth organisations was the relief campaign for the flood victims of Bengal.

Some of the new units have taken up important anti-imperialist issues as their first activity. In Delhi, after the formation of the organisation, the first important event was the celebration of Bhagat Singh Week.

In Madras, the Youth League's activities were inaugurated by demonstrations in front of the Belgian legation on the issue of Congo.

Andhra Advances

In Andhra through sustained day-to-day work most of the local units of the Andhra Youth Federation have developed into institutions where young people gather every day and participate in the activities according to their interest. In Andhra, our Federation runs 250 night schools, 500 youth libraries and 500 thea-

TWO YEARS OF ALL INDIA YOUTH FEDERATION

trical clubs. Many of the units have constructed their own libraries and office buildings. Our units, responding to the call of the local population, take the initiative to mobilise the youth in the service of society. Examples of building roads in the villages, repairing school or hospital premises by our members are not rare. The most important Statewide campaign taken up by the Andhra Youth Federation was in connection with the high bus fare in the State. Seventy-five thousand signatures were collected all over Andhra; meetings were held and deputations were sent to meet the Government officials and Ministers. No doubt this campaign has greatly contributed in bringing down the minimum bus fare from 40 to 20 naye Paise.

The latest achievement of the Andhra Youth Federation is bringing out the monthly journal Yuvajana with a circulation of 2,500. Seven numbers of the magazine have already appeared regularly.

By organising diverse types of activities and achieving active cooperation of youth, the Paschim Banga Yuba Sangh has become the most popular youth organisation of West Bengal.

The Yuba Sangh is the main organisation of the traditional West Bengal Youth Festival which is held every time in honour of the World Youth Festival. In 1959 two hundred local and district youth festivals were held all over the State for the popularisation of

the State festival which was held in Calcutta for nine days. Thirty thousand boys and girls took part in cultural and sports festival which were only a part of the entire festival programme.

The International Film Festival for Children which is organised every year since 1957 is a unique initiative of that nature. The last film festival, which was held at the beginning of 1960, lasted for 15 days. In 37 cinema halls in and around Calcutta more than 90 children's films from 25 countries were exhibited. 75,000 children of schools and juvenile institutions had the opportunity to see this film festival free of cost.

During the devastating floods in 1959, the Yuba Sangh in cooperation with students and teachers collected money, food and clothings in aid of the flood victims.

To mobilise the people in support of the popular movement, the Yuba Sangh organised a youth convention at the time of the food movement in 1959. Again at the time of the anti-Bengali communal riots in Assam, the Youth Convention convened by the Yuba Sangh contributed in preventing the outbreak of retaliatory actions.

500 to the Punjab Naujawan Sabha.

Simultaneously with its formation the AIYF was faced with the task of coordinating the activities of the State organisations and of taking a central initiative. The AIYF Centre with a skeleton staff succeeded in maintaining close contact with its units and in helping with their activities. This has been done mainly through correspondence, tours, publications and by convening regular meetings of the Executive Committee and the Council. It is going to start a monthly journal.

International Relations

Since its foundation the AIYF has widened its contacts and established better relations with various national organisations and also with the democratic youth movement of various countries.

AIYF representatives have taken part in several important youth meetings. The delegations of the AIYF to the Soviet Union and to North Korea have done good work to strengthen our friendly ties with the youth of these countries.

The Chairman of the AIYF P. K. Vasudevan Nair, M.P. is now the Vice-President in the World Federation of Democratic Youth. All our inter-

of India, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and Government and Chief Ministers of different States.

It is doubtful whether any other youth delegation has ever received such a tremendous mass reception in India and has toured so many places of our country in such a short time. For the AIYF, of course, it was a great venture but this single action has enhanced the prestige of the organisation to an unprecedented extent; both in the States and on the national plane.

In line with the tradition of our struggle against imperialism, the people and youth all over India strongly expressed their indignation against the criminal murder of Patrice Lumumba. The AIYF Executive passed a resolution, demanding severe punishment for the murderers of Lumumba.

In Delhi, Calcutta, Patna, Trivandrum, Madras and other places, AIYF units took part in the demonstrations and mass meetings held to express popular indignation against the dastardly crime of the imperialists. Telegrams were sent to the Secretary-General of the UN protesting against its conspicuous callousness in implementing its decision on the Congo.

Active Organisation

In spite of various shortcomings in our work, in the two years the AIYF has gained a place in the youth movement of our country. It is now looked upon as a serious and active national organisation.

Our second conference will unfold a new stage for our movement. It will be very different from the constitutive conference when our main task was to unify the isolated State and local organisations on the basis of a common objective and programme.

We shall meet in the second conference with our experiences of two years' work among the youth. Apart from solving our organisational problems it is expected this conference will be able to evaluate the problems and aspirations of our youth. Taking into account the major developments in our country and in the world this conference should be able to lay down the task for our movement for the next two years.

Let this conference be a forum for educating ourselves from the experiences of our work, a forum for discussion on the vital issues affecting the life of our young generation and a forum for taking initiative for uniting all sections of our youth for the advancement of our country and for a brighter future for our youth.

ANNOUNCEMENT

New Age (Monthly) will not be published in March 1961, due to heavy work in connection with the forthcoming All-India Party Congress. A double number will be published towards the end of March for that month as well as April. We apologise to our readers for the inconvenience.

Editor, New Age (Monthly)

MARCH 19, 1961

CONGO — INDIA'S DUTY

AFTER India's decision to send in combat troops to the Congo, events have continued to move at a bewilderingly rapid pace. Yet the trend that emerges from the swift passage of time clearly dictates that the Government of India face up to the two basic demands of the situation—a change in the composition of the U. N. executive organs and recognition of the Gizenga Government.

That these demands are not Soviet "stratagems" to have its way in the Congo is confirmed by the observations of Basil Davidson, the well-known British Labourite commentator on Africa. He writes in the New Statesman of March 10 that one can legitimately wonder "if any great international operation has been so muddled, misconceived and misconducted" as the U. N. operation in the Congo.

He adds extremely revealing reflections on the Congo: "Kasavubu's Government is largely a sham... the stooge nature of the Leopoldville regime... Over and above foreign backing, Kasavubu and Mobutu have also benefited from the U. N.'s curiously inept reading of its own mandate".

He goes on to write that Tshombe "too has had large quantities of foreign aid and, like Kasavubu, strangely soft treatment from the U. N.... Tshombe had continuously reinforced his military position with powerful and practical help from Brussels. All the same it is even now probable that Tshombe's Baluba opponents would quickly reduce him to impotence once that backing were withdrawn".

Finally, comes his assessment of the Gizenga Government: "The Stanleyville Lumumbists are the only political grouping which stands for the genuine political independence towards which Lumumba never ceased to struggle while he lived; and the cause of independence is still the cause that supremely counts with most Congolese".

From these observations it is clear enough that if the Government of India wants to assist the progress of the Congo towards freedom it must so act as to ensure that the U. N. does not behave in a "strangely inept" manner in the Congo and recognise the only genuine patriotic government in that country.

These conclusions are further strengthened by the declaration issued by the Congolese Confederation of Congolese States is not new. It has been long a pet scheme of the U.S. State Department, even in the days of Eisenhower—and blazoned forth in the columns of the New York Times towards the end of November 1960.

It reflects, of course, the fact that Kasavubu, Tshombe and Kalonji have not been able to compose their differences and none of them has managed to get the upper hand over the others. So each is to be master in his house and chief to be a figure-head chief for purposes of U. N. Assembly meetings and the like. The decisions of Tananarive

are meant to tear asunder the Congo and thus make it easier for the imperialists to control it—neo-colonialism par excellence.

In a statement issued on March 8 Antoine Gizenga denounced the Tananarive conference and said: "It is a fact—and the Government of the Congo is fully aware of it—that constitutionally speaking Kasavubu is the head of State as long as he has not been officially withdrawn by the parliament."

Similarly, the Government formed by Patrice Lumumba—victim of cowardly murder in Katanga—which I am still leading continues to be the legal government since it still has the confidence of the parliament which is the highest organ of the nation and to which the head of State and government are responsible.

"In the opinion of the legal government of the Congo, the normal life of the Congolese nation can become possible only if the following conditions are fulfilled:

"One, the legal government of the Congo should resume its normal activities throughout the territory of the Congolese Republic.

"Second, favourable conditions should be created to enable the Congolese parliament to function normally and decide on the future of the Congolese people.

"Any attempts to solve the Congolese crisis without taking these two points into consideration will be in vain, for, to deal with the Congolese problem, ignoring the normal path of freely-elected representatives means working against the people".

Simultaneously with preparing a blueprint for a neo-colonialist regime in the Congo, the Tananarive Conference has worked out plans for further modifying U. N. policy and operations in a direction yet more conducive to imperialist ambitions.

They are now planning to remove all restrictions on control of ports and air-stations placed by the U. N. so that a free flow of arms and men from the U. S. and its Nato allies may be ensured. They have already taken Matabi by force and intend to do the same with regard to Leopoldville airport.

They have started a furious campaign, together with the imperialists, against Rajeshwar Dayal, accusing him of being a partisan of Gizenga! Kasavubu has publicly and quite offensively attacked Nkrumah's suggestion for a primarily African U. N. Command in the Congo.

The traitors to the Congolese people are raving mad that the U. N. armed forces are to be strengthened by Indian troops under an Indian commander. They demand

that no troops should reinforce the U. N. armed forces without their permission.

Emboldened by the pampering and protection provided by Hammarskjold and his place-men in the U. N. executive organs, the Kasavubus and the Tshombes now want to go a step further and openly establish their puppet regime and to bring in quite unilaterally as much U. S. and Nato military and other aid as possible.

This aspect of the situation was highlighted by President Nkrumah in his speech to the plenary session of the U. N. General Assembly on March 7.

He declared that "United States aircraft had shipped military planes to Mr. Tshombe, the Katanga leader. These planes were apparently part of a consignment being provided to Belgium under the auspices of Nato."

"I ask delegates to pause for a moment and to imagine what type of speeches would have been made in this Assembly, if these aircraft had been manufactured in Czechoslovakia or Poland under the terms of the Warsaw Pact, and then delivered to Stanleyville in Soviet aircraft which

had stopped for repairs and refitting in Rumania on the way out".

In this situation what are India's duties? First and foremost it is essential that India coordinate her plans with the advanced African States, represented by the Casablanca powers—let alone the Soviet Union. Afro-Asian solidarity today has no meaning otherwise. This would mean that India has to recognise immediately the Gizenga Government. This would mean further that India has to pull together with the Casablanca Powers for a reorganised U. N. command in the Congo—as reiterated in Nkrumah's address to the U. N. General Assembly.

Secondly, India has to press for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of February 21 and demand that a report be made about what is being done about it.

This resolution, unsatisfactory though it is, had again asked for the removal of all Belgian armed personnel and for the use of force to prevent civil war in the Congo. There

are no signs of anything having been done about these two demands.

Thirdly, India has to examine as objectively as possible why it is that any resolution of the Security Council which has the slightest possibility of hurting the imperialist puppets in the Congo, is never implemented. India has to examine again the Soviet proposal to reorganise the U. N. Secretariat.

Fourthly, India must not place its troops under U.N. command in the Congo unless she has first acted on the lines mentioned above. Prior to these political decisions having been taken, it is more than likely that our troops would be either shot up or used against Congolese patriots.

Finally, apart from exploring all possible avenues of action within the U.N. framework, India should not shrink examining other proposals for action outside the U.N., should the imperialist control over that body make this necessary. For, India's aim is, above all, to save Congo's freedom in the most effective manner possible.

LAOS — WAY FORWARD

AFTER a comparative lull Laos has once again hit the headlines. Prince Souvanna Phouma has advanced two new proposals, which deserve serious consideration.

He has suggested the calling of a conference of all Laotian political groups with the aim of setting up a provisional Government and calling general elections. Secondly, he has proposed a neutral nations commission to ensure that no foreign intervention takes place in Laos, consisting of India, Indonesia and Malaya.

These new proposals were made in a joint communique issued from the Cambodian capital Phnom Penh following talks between Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Rightist strongman General Nosavan.

It certainly denotes a radical change in the balance of forces within Laos. It was Nosavan who staged the rebellion in Vientiane against Souvanna Phouma's Government and thus sparked off the civil war that still goes on. It was Nosavan who accused Souvanna Phouma of having "gone over to the Communists" since the Laotian Premier insisted on negotiations with the Pathet Lao forces, led by Souphanouvong. It was Nosavan and Boun Oum who claimed that the Pathet Lao and Kong Lao forces would soon be exterminated, following the latter's withdrawal from Vientiane.

Now Nosavan proclaims that Souvanna Phouma is "the only Laotian statesman capable of achieving national reconciliation". Now Nosavan is not averse to even being in the same government as the

Pathet Lao representatives. Now Nosavan is ready to embrace the neutralist faith, which he hated as the plague only a few months ago.

Why this change? The answer may best be given in the words of The Hindu correspondent in Tokyo, who writes of "the military success of the left-wing forces and a corresponding failure of Prince Boun Oum's Government forces in their bid to recapture strategic areas such as the Plain of Jars and Xien Khouang Provinces, despite repeated efforts, backed by American arms supplies."

"In fact, according to latest reports leftwing forces have recaptured the vital road junction of Xala Phukhuan in Northern Laos which was taken by Government forces early in February". (March 11)

This big advance by the democratic forces had been given a boost by the journey that Souvanna Phouma made to the Plain of Jars in the third week of February. He made at that time impassioned speeches expressing solidarity with the Pathet Lao and Kong Lao, condemning U.S. intervention, and declaring that the Government temporarily headed by his deputy Quinim Pholsena, was the only legitimate Government.

Alarmed by their military defeats and by the closer unity between the Pathet Lao and Souvanna Phouma, the Rightists are obviously adopting diversionary tactics. In this they are relying on the Laotian Premier's anxiety to bring together all Laotians—from traitors to patriots.

There can be little doubt that should he finally agree to once again embracing the

Rightists and insisting on their being represented in a coalition Government, he will be swept aside by the popular forces of Laos.

His Government is step by step dislodging the Rightists rebels. Its armed forces are now advancing upon Luang Prabang and Vientiane. There is not the slightest necessity for a compromise with the traitors at this hour, except the need to perform balancing tricks.

Similarly with regard to the international aspect of the Laotian crisis. The Soviet Union and, it appears, under its pressure the U.K. as well, have suggested that the Neutral Nations' Supervisory Commission set up by the 1954 Geneva Conference should meet in New Delhi and prepare the agenda and other materials for a Conference of all the nations who had participated in that previous Conference. This was a solution reached after a great deal of discussions and adjustments all round.

It would not be correct, then, at this late hour for another Commission to be established, however, well-chosen and well-intentioned its members might be. Which international conference or organisation would give this Commission its mandate? Who would ensure the acceptance of its findings and the implementation of its recommendations? With which Laotian authorities would it establish contact?

India would do well to steer clear of this new project and adhere to the agreement reached earlier. Thus, alone, would it be possible to assist Laos and help world peace.

—MOHIT SEN
March 15.

"ABSOLUTELY BASELESS IN ALL ITS DETAILS"

HINDUSTAN TIMES CANARD AGAINST OIL MINISTRY

● BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LAST week Indian reaction made two big political interventions inside the Parliament and sought nationwide press publicity. On March 9 it was the "resignation" of the Generals and the danger of the breakdown of the morale of the Indian armed forces. On March 13 it was the story of the collapse of the public sector oil-well.

It would be very incorrect to treat them as mere stunts. The grave nature of the issues involved demands that they be treated more seriously. Both these interventions, which are being casually treated by the average citizen were really well-planned, well-timed, high-powered political missiles fired by Indian reaction. They misfired but that does not make them any the less dangerous.

We are all familiar with the failure of the majority of the American space missiles, either bursting on their pads or breaking up en route and falling to reach the target. Imperialist America's failure with its space missiles does not make the danger of nuclear war less serious.

Similarly, the exposure and fiasco of these two stage-managed parliamentary and press interventions by Indian reaction does not imply that the danger has been warded off for good.

The New Age has treated the Generals' resignation story editorially, on the front page. Let us examine the canard about the collapse of the oil well here.

The Hindustan Times (March 13) carried a seven column banner headline "First Oil Well at Rudrasagar Caves In" as the story from its special correspondent, Calcutta, dated March 12.

As soon as the Parliament assembled on March 13, Socialist Braj Raj Singh supported by the same tribe of MPs who had earlier sought to play politics with a few Generals as their pawns, and still earlier championed Thingayya's cause against his Minister, now promptly filed and pressed hard their adjournment motion based, word for word, on the Hindustan Times story.

Parliament Discussion

The motion read: "The cement wall of the oil-well at Rudrasagar having caved in, abandoning of the exploration of oil in that field resulting in an aggregate loss of Rs. 30 lakhs. This has occurred due to the negligence in erecting the said cement wall. The mishap has affected the morale of the people engaged in oil exploration in that region and it may also affect the original time schedule in the region."

Orally Braj Raj Singh exposed his target when he stressed that the wall had caved in due to the negligence "of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission people".

Oil Minister Malaviya stated that he was himself "surprised" by the Hindustan

Times story and had been busy making enquiries at every level. From the Headquarters of the Oil Commission he "got the news that there is no such news available to them".

From Calcutta he "learned that nothing like that could happen". From Sib-sagar, he got the chit from his office, while he was in the House "with great difficulty a talk on telephone with Dr. Chandra on Sib-sagar could be had. All that we could hear is that the press report is absolutely baseless".

Total Falsehood

Instead of confirming the Hindustan Times, the operational Headquarters of the Oil Commission from Sib-sagar repeated and confirmed a different story that "spudding of second well in Rudrasagar area will most probably commence from 17th March 1961".

The Oil Minister, however, was very conscientious and careful when he merely stated — "It is possible that in spite of this news, something might have happened as a result of earthquake or by some major mistake committed by our people". He promised to make an authoritative statement the next day, after checking up all along the line.

The next day Oil Minister Malaviya stated in the Lok Sabha: "Accurate information which has now been received confirms that the report published in the Hindustan Times is absolutely baseless in all its details. The well has not caved in; exploration has not been abandoned, no loss has occurred and time schedule of the Commission in that region will not be disturbed in any way. In short, there is no mishap whatsoever".

Every statement made in the adjournment motion and the Hindustan Times story was specifically and categorically contradicted by the Oil Minister himself after talk-in to the oil-men concerned. He did more. He explained the exact position of the well in question as it stood.

"The position is that the Rudrasagar well number one, as is usual, after the completion of drilling, was awaiting to be tested for determining its potentialities.

"In order to expedite the work of exploration it is usual to use a work-over rig for the purpose of testing a well and the main rig, which is used for drilling, is removed for drilling of additional exploratory wells. For this reason, the main rig had been removed

and the Commission were awaiting arrival of the work-over rig.

"In the meantime, the well according to routine plan had been shut in. The flow of the well can be revived by activation at any time.

"The question of abandoning the well for any reason whatsoever does not, therefore, arise".

After the above forthright statement from a responsible Minister, one would have expected the honourable MPs to offer prompt apologies to the Oil Minister and the oilmen engaged in pioneering work in this vital branch of the national economy.

Braj Raj Singh may be a Socialist in name but he and his colleagues were only out to bait the Oil Minister and as three days earlier the Defence Minister. This is to malign and seek to change our independent foreign policy as also the policy of rapid industrialisation and economic independence, through the big and successful role of the public sector.

Again, if the Hindustan Times were an honest and decent newspaper, it would have published the Oil Minister's Statement under the same seven-column banner headline, same front page and same black type. Instead its editor Mulgaonkar wrote a feature article entitled "Mr. Malaviya in Action".

He dare not stick to the old story which had been blown skyhigh by Malaviya. He dare not repeat a single statement made earlier in his paper. Instead he wove together a whole series of technical details which were patently beyond his own knowledge and experience, and which must have been obviously enough supplied to him or written up for him by the specialists of the Burmah Shell or Stanvac or Caltex or perhaps by all of them by putting their heads together.

Whose Briefing?

After a lot of rigmarole, he claimed "it is impossible for a lay reporter to secure all the facts", only to cast doubts on the statement of Oil Minister himself, "he may be equal off the mark this time."

Editor Mulgaonkar did not stop there but wrote out paras after paras which amount to political character assassination of Oil Minister Malaviya.

The Hindustan Times is an unashamed and loudest-of-all champion of private enterprise and of according welcome to foreign private capital and in the oil sector in particular.

New Age readers know that Rockefeller himself came offering "help" to discover and develop Indian oil, that not only the three Anglo-American oil agencies that are entrenched in our country are pressing for the retention of their monopoly position but

the World Bank has also thrown all its weight to get India leave oil development in the hands of Western private enterprise.

There is every reason for the Anglo-American monopolies and their publicity organ like the Hindustan Times, their political spokesmen like the Swatantrites, the Jan Sanghites and rightwing Congress and Socialist MPs to feel panicky and go desperate.

The plans for the development of an Indian national oil industry, and the growth of public sector therein, have made such big and heart-warming progress that every patriotic Indian can only express heartfelt admiration for the men and the Ministry concerned.

The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) was established only five years back but its record of work could be the pride of any country. So far 15 wells have yielded oil and two natural gas, only six have proved dry. A grand record indeed! A very good evidence of the confidence of the Indian Government, even as it is, is that it has been allotted Rs! 21 crores in the next year's budget while it spent only Rs. 24 crores during the entire Second Plan period.

New and successful discoveries are being constantly made under the Commission assisted by the Soviet specialists. They have expressed their confidence that by the end of the Third Plan period they will produce an additional five to six million tons of crude oil

instead of 2.5 million tons as earlier envisaged.

The ONGC is currently busy revising its earlier Third Plan physical programme, which has been necessitated by the successful oil strikes in Ankleshwar and Rudrasagar. The earlier programme was based on preliminary results of the exploration in the Cambay region.

The ONGC has decided to concentrate in the Third Plan in Gujarat and Assam, with simultaneous exploration in the Punjab, Gangetic and Cauvery basins.

The Prime Minister in the last National Development Council confidently announced that India will become self-sufficient in oil by the end of the Third Plan. The Republic Day greetings from Moscow publicly stated that Soviet Union will render all possible assistance to realise this dream.

The Indian Government, despite all vacillations, has been resisting the pressure of foreign oil monopolies. These foreign tycoons of the private sector, as also their political spokesmen, know that the continued and growing development of Indian oil in the public sector, aided and assisted by matchless help from the USSR and other Socialist countries, sounds the death-knell of their monopoly position and all their reactionary political aims.

This explains why the Hindustan Times grew desperate and the pro-Western opposition MPs came out in the open and in a big way.

NEW DELHI BY-ELECTION FOR PARLIAMENT

OUT of 2,30,000 votes in the New Delhi constituency, 1,10,000 alone are in the Government Servants' quarters in Vinaynagar, Moti Bagh, Sewa Nagar, Lochi Road, Gole Market and Minto Road areas. Thousands of other Government servants, salaried employees working in the banks, the insurance and commercial houses and other working class live in Paharganj, Rajinder Nagar, Lajpat Nagar, Bhogal, Jangpura, etc.

The conditions under which the election is being held today are different from those in 1957.

During this period dissatisfaction among the bulk of the voters who are Government servants has grown due to the failure of the Pay Commission to give them necessary relief and neutralise the ever rising cost of living. To add fuel to the fire, the latest budget proposals will break the back of all salary earners because of very high indirect taxation.

Moreover, the last strike which failed under heavy repression has brought in its wake a spate of victimisation of over 700 trade-union leaders and denial of trade-union functionality after the withdrawal of recognition of the unions.

The trade unions amongst the middle class employees have gained considerable strength and, therefore, in this background, with its pre-dominance they are bound to react and cast their vote in favour of Om Prakash Gupta. The very fact that a trade-union leader is contesting the election has compelled all other candidates to start speaking in terms of support to the demands of the middle class employees.

The withdrawal of Vashist, Secretary of the Local Joint Council of Action, formed during the Central Government employees' strike, has ensured the united support of all sections of the working people. The results may be different than what the bourgeois press is forecasting.

There is of course no doubt that the election campaign of Om Prakash Gupta will considerably suffer due to lack of funds. Moreover, the Government servants on whose support he is standing cannot openly express their views. Nevertheless the organisers of the campaign are confident that sufficient funds will be raised and that the support of the working people will be won.