

FULL COVERAGE OF DEARNESS

Central Govt. Employees Demand

● FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Meeting in a convention in New Delhi last Sunday, employees of the Central Government made it abundantly clear that the satisfaction of their long-standing demands can brook no more delay. They would be soon reaching the end of their patience.

THE convention called by the Confederation of Central Government Employees' and Workers' Associations demanded that the Government honour its pledges. Its resolution asking for enhancement of the dearness allowance said:

The Central Pay Commission, in its report, states, "If during a period of 12 months, the index remains on an average, ten points above 115, the government should review the position and consider whether an increase in the dearness allowance should be allowed and, if so at what rate."

Sri G. L. Nanda, Union Labour Minister, on behalf of the Government of India, had in July 1960 assured the representatives of the unions of the Central Government employees that the Government would review the question of enhancement in the dearness allowance if the increase in consumer price indices averaged over 10 points.

He had further assured that to neutralise upto a minimum of 50 per cent in the form of an addition to the D.A. quantum, on a rise in the cost of living reflected in a 10 points average rise in the price index sustained over a period of 12 months would be automatic and the question of neutralization above 50 per cent was to be left over for adjudication. As per the statistics published by the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin (December 1961) the average rise of consumer price index is 10 points above 115 during the last 12 months ending October, 1961.

As nearly six months have passed since the requisite average increase in consumer prices indices, this mass meeting of the unions and associations of the Central Government Employees of Delhi urges on the Government of India to enhance the Dearness Allowance to fully neutralise the rise in consumer price indices with retrospective effect without any further delay.

The meeting appealed to all the unions and the associations of the Central Government Employees to organize the rank and file of Central Government employees behind this demand jointly under one banner and to coordinate their efforts for the realisation of the same.

Against Rising Prices

By another resolution the meeting expressed grave concern at the inability of the Government to hold the price line despite its numerous promises, and at the sharply increasing prices resulting in the erosion of the real wages of the employees. It demanded that Govern-

ment take all necessary steps to bring the prices down and make all essential commodities available to the employees at fair prices.

Calling for reinstatement of victimised employees, the meeting through another resolution declared:

Nearly 20 months have elapsed since the general strike of Central Government employees. In spite of a definite policy that except those who are guilty of violence or sabotage none would be harshly dealt with, nearly 200 persons in the various departments have either been dismissed or removed from service and hundreds of the strikers have to suffer heavy monetary losses and other disabilities as a result of the departmental proceedings instituted against them.

Vindictive Attitude

The authorities of Audit & Accounts department have been exceptionally vindictive in dealing with the strikers and as a result of their punitive measures scores of employees have been removed from service.

The meeting urged the Government to reinstate the victimised employees in their jobs and mitigate the punishments to restore confidence.

These demands have found strong support in Parliament and several members, especially those belonging to the Communist Party raised them in

STRANGE HAPPENINGS AT INDO-JAP FACTORY

Women Workers On Strike

SATURDAY March 24 saw a unique sight in Faridabad, a township 20 miles from the capital—thousands of workers from the Bata, Hindustan Electric, Metal Box, and other factories, each contingent with two garlanded workers leading it and, at the head of the procession a group of forty to fifty women winding its way through the main roads of Faridabad with banners flying and drums beating.

This was the demonstration in support of the 84 women strikers of the former Indo-Japan Factory.

The affairs of this factory—now called the Hindustan Vacuum Glass and Metal Factory, require a close scrutiny. It is supposed to manufacture thermos flasks, and other glass goods but the

main furnace is said to be not yet constructed. Still, strangely enough, the chief engineer, a Japanese, and his son and wife are all employed at salaries of more than two thousand each, with free bungalow, car, etc. The Indian owner, a business man of Delhi who has a flour mill and other flourishing concerns, has applied to the government for permission to work a double shift in the factory and is importing glass workers from Ferozabad. Still, according to management there is no work to be given to the 84 women workers who were employed in the artificial bead department!

Lakhs Misappropriated

It is said that when the Indian owner took over the factory from the original Indo-Japanese financiers, it

was learnt that several lakhs of rupees had been misappropriated and production had not even been started on the glass goods. Yet one of the terms agreed to was that the Japanese Engineer—and of course his family—could not be dismissed for a period of three years.

In order to keep up a pretence of production the artificial bead department was kept going by employing about a hundred women at the daily rate of one and a half rupees. But in order to avoid the application of the Factory Act, as soon as the period of employment of any woman neared three months, she was dismissed on the plea that there was not enough work and re-employed after a gap of two or three days.

Amongst the women were old women, former inmates of the Kasturba Sadans now turned out from there, young girls in their teens as well as married women with young babies to rear. None of the workers was given the four

paid Sundays holidays, nor any other paid holiday, none was considered eligible for maternity leave as all were on daily wage.

At the beginning of the year things began to happen. The son of the Japanese engineer who knows neither English nor Hindi tried to explain matters to a young worker with his 'Okay' and 'No Okay' and she burst out laughing. Furious at this rudeness, the Japanese struck her and shouted at her in his own language. The rest of the workers looked on in anger, and later got together to discuss the situation.

In a few days the majority were again dismissed and when reemployed after three days were told that they could work only if they increased their production from 40 bars to 60 bars per day. The women tried but found this task beyond their capacity. Again they got together and

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25 nP.

Reinstate The Victimised

course of the session just concluded.

Another occasion when they were highlighted was the reception given by the Confederation to Sri Mehr. Chand Khanna on March 19. Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri was also present on the occasion. Secretary of the Confederation Rajaratnam in course of his welcome address said:

In addition to difficulties arising out of the economic plight of the employees, the irritation arises mainly because of the unhelpful and bureaucratic attitude of the officers and red-tapism of the machinery inherited from a foreign ruler, which smacks of lack of timely appreciation of the employees' problems. We firmly believe that the task of building up a society of socialistic conception cannot be realised with such a machinery.

The need for a negotiating machinery was realised long ago. The Prime Minister and everyone else conceded the necessity as early as 1957. We, however, regret that even today there is no indication of its early formation. While we share the need for making strikes superfluous, we strongly feel that no law can make them illegal as it is only an extreme step taken by workers out of desperation.

The absence of such a machinery has not only resulted in mounting up of day to day problems, but also has deprived us of an opportunity to seek implementation of the accepted policies and decisions.

Let me draw your attention to the rising cost of living. Even the Finance Minister conceded that "the working class consumer price index figures for the 12 months from November 1960 to October 1961 work out to 125 (1949-100)" yet the Government has not so far sanctioned the enhanced D.A. in accordance with the assurance given in the Lok Sabha in 1960.

Delay Causing Irritation

This delay causes irritation and therefore when we raise our voice for implementation of the assurances, our position is quite often misunderstood. We feel that a proper appreciation of our feelings is needed.

Similar is the position about victimisation due to the 1960 regrettable strike. We and all our leaders have publicly expressed gratitude to the Government for adoption of a lenient policy. But we re-

gret that its implementation has not been done faithfully. Even today there are about 200 officials out of service in spite of the fact that none of them is involved in sabotage or violence. And again, thousands continue to suffer because of heavy penalties.

Even in this city of Delhi, where almost no strike took place, there are five officials out of service and dozens continue to groan under heavy punishments. In one case an official in R.M.S. Delhi has to suffer a loss of Rs. 70 per month for 5 years. Obviously no one will agree that this is an indication of leniency. Moreover, the indirect disabilities like loss of promotions, transfers etc., are many.

Things are still bad and it is our belief that unless the democratic forces take upon themselves the task of fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of the common man, they cannot defeat the forces of reaction and communalism, said Sri Rajaratnam.

That is the spirit of the employees today. It is to be hoped that Government will soon move in the matter and see that the rise in cost of living is fully neutralised and all victimisation measures cancelled, with retrospective effect.

FAULTY ESTIMATES, ANTI-PEOPLE TAX STRUCTURE

TELLING EXPOSURE OF CALLOUS BUDGETING

When the frogs croak, it means that rain is coming, and when the Budget has a deficit, it is obvious that taxes are coming, said K. K. Warior speaking on General Budget on March 24 in the Lok Sabha. Following are some extracts from his speech:

Last time we were told that the deficit was small and still new taxes came and the Finance Minister was pleased to reduce the aggregate taxes by a few crores. This time the deficit is much more—10 or 15 times more.

Once taxes are imposed any Government and for that matter any Finance Minister will be very reluctant to reduce the taxes. No relief could be expected from any Finance Minister once the taxes are imposed. Taxes go up; they never come down. That is our experience during the last fifteen years or at least during the last ten years of our plan period.

In this respect, apart from the audit reports, I should like the Government, especially the Finance Ministry, to take more cognisance of the repeated criticisms in the reports of the Public Accounts Committee and also the Estimates Committee, that have been laid before the House from time to time. The reports of both the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee give ample scope for the people for having the impression that there is much to be done and improved even in budgeting.

Apart from the usual cases of overlapping, there are so many items which are not properly estimated and which are not properly implemented also.

There are very essential schemes and projects which, if implemented, could benefit the people. But, without providing a machinery to implement them, the demands are placed and passed here. The appropriation is made and finally, we find that the amount could not be utilised.

It will be astounding to know that about Rs. 243 crores was the amount saved out of the budgetary allotment of a year. It is not a mean amount. Look at the deficit of Rs. 63 crores, and an annual saving of about Rs. 50 crores or Rs. 60 crores a year. Within five years, if you can save Rs. 240 crores, where is the deficit, and what is the necessity for new taxation?

Hence, what I want to impress upon the Finance Minister is, if the Ministry had taken cognisance of these criticisms and looked into the budgeting and made it a more proper and realistic budget, much of the burden need not have been imposed on the people.

K. K. Warior gave concrete instances culled from audit reports and said:

People understand that there are certain expenditures which are implemented in a very callous way. If proper estimates were prepared and if they were implemented properly, these would have been eliminated and much of the burden taken off the shoulders of the people.

Dealing next with the tax structure Warior said: It is not a question of paying as much money as the Govern-

ment wants for the development work and for administration; but, actually how is the tax structure built up? That is the main question. I will give a few figures.

The total annual tax revenue of the Central Government and the State Governments increased from Rs. 739 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 1,371 crores now. Even after making allowance for the high rate of population growth, this means that per capita tax load has increased from Rs. 20.5 to Rs. 31.1; an increase of 50 per cent.

What will be the position after the third Five Year Plan? The total of additional taxation put through in the course of a decade—1955-57 to 1965-66—will reach the staggering figure of 2,862 crores. It is a steep rise from Rs. 739 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 2,862 crores in 1965-66.

Everybody knows there are two aspects of taxation—direct taxes and indirect taxes. In 1950-51, the total tax revenue was Rs. 357 crores. In 1961-62 it was Rs. 768 crores, i.e., an increase of Rs. 411 crores.

Direct And Indirect Taxes

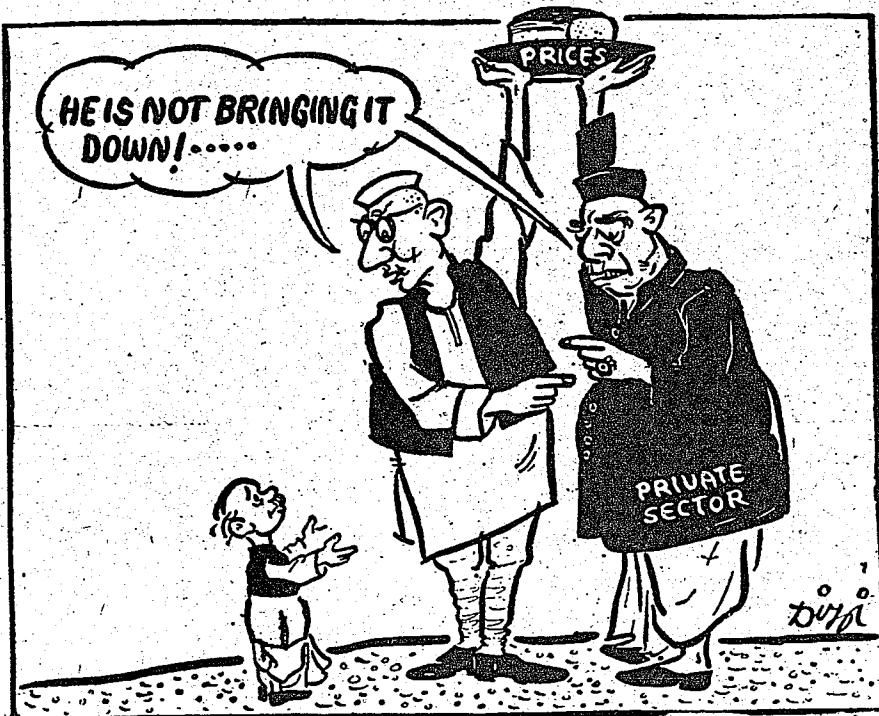
Direct taxes amounted to Rs. 130 crores in 1950-51 and to Rs. 206 crores in 1961-62, i.e., an increase of Rs. 76 crores. Indirect taxes amounted to Rs. 227 crores in 1950-51 and to Rs. 562 crores in 1961-62, i.e., an increase of Rs. 335 crores.

What is the proportion of the increase in direct taxes and what is the proportion of the increase in indirect taxes? Everybody knows that indirect tax is the real burden of the common people, who form the majority. This is the burden now and much more is yet to be expected. How can the toiling people bear such a burden? In his speech, the Finance Minister said that having paid all these taxes, even now the people have money left for meeting all the expenditure, because the price line has been held. It is true that the index of consumer goods has been held... for the last four months; it is remaining at 128. The Pay Commission recommended that if there is an increase of more than 10 points, Government must pay correspondingly more dearness allowance (DA). Now the index has gone up from 115 to 128. Will this increase of 13 points be met by the D.A.? At least after an increase of 10 points, according to the Pay Commission something must be done.

I will give certain figures to show how the indirect taxes have gone up at a very fast rate. If you compare the figures of collection of taxes for the years 1950-51 and 1961-62 you will know how much burden the people had to bear. In the case of Kerala, it was Rs. 23 lakhs in 1950-51 and Rs. 1,134

lakhs in 1961-62, an increase of Rs. 1,106 lakhs; in the case of sugar, the corresponding figures are Rs. 646 lakhs and Rs. 5,910 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 5,264 lakhs; for matches Rs. 807 lakhs and Rs. 1,903 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 996 lakhs; for tobacco Rs. 3,199 lakhs and Rs. 5,977 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 2,778 lakhs; for tea Rs. 336 lakhs and Rs. 963 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 627 lakhs; for pepper Rs. 268 lakhs and Rs. 1,117 lakhs and for vegetable non-essential oil Rs. 29 lakhs and Rs. 1,250 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 1,221 lakhs.

If we total up these figures, we will find what a staggering figure it comes to. This is beside the increase in railway freight which has gone up from Rs. 368 lakhs to Rs. 1,250 lakhs.



—Courtesy: FREE PRESS JOURNAL

early part of his speech is that the upward trend in the general level of prices in the second Five Year Plan has been arrested during the first year of the third Plan. I have the consumer price index for the working class during this year. The figure is 128, base 100 in 1949. This figure represents an increase over the preceding year.

Not only that, this increase is the highest during the last 10 years. It has never reached such a figure during any one of these 10 years.

When the third Plan was being formulated and debated, we were assured that the Government will see that there is no rise in the prices of the various necessities of life. Judging by the performance during this period of one year, I do not think there is any prospect of prices coming down during the remaining four years of the Plan period.

Not only that. The prices of various essential commodities, whose prices are statutorily controlled, have also been increased. For instance, the price of coal has been increased during the last year not once or twice, but thrice. Even as recently as December or January last, the selling price of coal was increased, because the royalty rates have been increased.

Referring to exports, Vittal Rao said, I doubt very much whether we would be in a position to achieve the plan target, viz. a total export of the order of Rs. 850 crores by 1965-66. With the U.K. becoming a member of the European Common Market, textile export is likely to be affected. I make this statement basing myself on the treatment meted out by the E.C.M. countries to us. Tea, which is not grown in the E.C.M. countries, is subject to high tariff.

Therefore, unless and until the flow of our trade undergoes a radical change and it is dispersed and there is increasing trade with West Asian countries, the newly liberated African countries and the socialist countries, I am afraid our

export target will not be achieved.

For our resources, in a planned economy, we should depend not so much on taxes, excise or otherwise, but on the surpluses that we get from the public sector undertakings. I have no doubt that some of our public sector undertakings have done very well. The Hindustan Machine Tools and some others have done very well.

But I am afraid the same cannot be said of certain other public sector undertakings. For instance, the working of the National Coal Development Corporation should be specially gone into. Last year, there was an underground explosion in one of its mines and there was a fire. These mines remain closed for more than one year. What does it cost to our country? One million tons of coal which this mine had to raise could not be raised because of this fire.

When one million tons of coal is lost to the country per year, even measured in terms of money, it is a big loss. Even now there is no prospect of this mine in Kurasia in Madhya Pradesh being opened. I was told a technical committee was appointed to go into this accident. Though the accident took place a year ago, the report of that technical committee has not been made public.

With regard to the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, I was surprised to find the other day that the Lodna colliery, which is raising coal in Jharia coalfields has been granted permission to increase its authorised capital. Increase in the authorised capital means, fresh lease has been given to this company and more mining areas have been given. This company is purely foreign-dominated. All its directors are Englishmen.

This is absolutely contrary to the Industrial Policy Reso-

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Tycoons Refuse To Move With Times

THE Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) held its thirty-fifth annual session in the capital this week, but judging from the type of resolutions it passed it might have as well not held this session at all.

For, all that these resolutions speak of is the same old chagrin at the growth of the public sector in India which has characterised the pronouncements of the FICCI ever since this sector came to occupy a significant position in our scheme of planning. The monopolist leaders of the FICCI felt restive even when the idea of this sector had merely been mooted during the formative stage of the Second Plan.

They had, however, acquiesced in it to a certain extent, because they had thought that it would confine itself largely to building "overheads" like power and transport. But, when, in course of time, it began to launch projects of industry proper, and these began yielding good results, their restiveness turned into open hostility.

It is this hostility which oozes out of every resolution which the FICCI has passed year after year, although for form's sake, and to be polite to the Prime Minister, who annually graces its inaugural sessions, it has invariably prefaced these resolutions with formal acceptance of need for planned development.

The FICCI passed, in all, four resolutions on economic problems, and through all these it directly or indirectly demanded a larger share for private sector in our schemes of development. In its resolution on "Impediments to Industrial Production and Expansion" the FICCI seized upon certain delays in the execution of some public sector projects to demand a revision of the industrial policy, which has earmarked certain industries for the public sector.

These delays are, no doubt inexcusable, but they should certainly not give any comfort to the FICCI, for the culprit in most cases, where they have occurred, has been the private sector. The

fact that the FICCI endorsed this proposal, in fact even reinforced it through its resolution, bespeaks of its leaders' utter unconcern even for building national industries, for what industry can be national if a substantial part of it is owned by foreign capitalists?

The FICCI also passed a resolution on "Economic Policy" in which it condescended to earmark certain lines for the public sector to develop. "The Govern-

ment" it said "must concentrate their full attention on augmenting rail transport capacity, power and services such as telephones and telegrams instead of dissipating their limited resources of personnel on a wider front". This "wider front" should naturally be left for the leaders of the FICCI to exploit, for, they, it seems, have unlimited resources of personnel. In the context of their zeal to collaborate with foreign monopolists, and the Government's readiness to oblige them very often, the mischievous character of this demand can be very well imagined.

For the rest, all this resolution speaks about is the need to promote productivity to check cost inflation, which in the absence of comparable increase in wages, can only result in a more intensive exploitation of the working class.

The FICCI's resolution on the working of the State Trading Corporation (STC) expresses concern at the progressive expansion of the activities of this important body. Seizing upon some obvious drawbacks in the functioning of the Corporation, it goes on to launch an all out attack against State Trading. Such attitude, in its view, has now encroached upon a sphere which legitimately belongs to private enterprise.

ECHO OF FOREIGN MASTERS

All that the STC should have done, according to the FICCI, was to "explore new markets" (obviously for private enterprise to enter), and "encourage exports in non-traditional items" (leaving the traditional items which bring in bulk of foreign exchange, and also profits, for the private sector). Additionally, it could deal with difficult markets and "generally function as an instrument to supplement the normal trade channels".

In other words, like the public sector in industry, which the FICCI leaders want to be confined only to "overheads", the role of state sector in trade too should have been limited only to that of a hand-maiden to private trading monopolies.

The resolution on STC also speaks derisively about the "barter and link deals

Heavy Electricals at Bhopal is notoriously behind schedule, so also are the Durgapur and Rourkela Steel Projects, but the responsibility for their poor performance has to be squarely placed at the door of the foreign private concerns collaborating in their setting up.

Contrasting with them has been the splendid performance of the Bhilai Steelworks, where a socialist collaborating partner has helped to bring into existence a plant which is the nation's pride.

This does not by any means absolve the functionaries of the public sector of their various acts of omission, which have created avoidable difficulties for certain projects, but to pull them and bring them to book is the prerogative of the Government and the people, and not of the leaders of the FICCI, whose friends abroad have been the worst culprits in this behalf.

Third Plan it has been specifically pointed out that they are defective. Whatever legislation is there, the implementation of such legislation is still worse.

NEW INTERMEDIARIES

Firstly, the land-reform legislations have said that the intermediaries should be abolished. In some states where the intermediaries have already been abolished, new intermediaries have been brought in. In Kerala, where there had been no intermediaries, a system of Melchharth has come. Thousands of acres

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and rupee-payment-agreements entered into by the STC". Apart from being unfair to our trading partners in rupee payment countries, who helped to give a much-needed boost to our exports at critical times, this "stricture" goes contrary even to the findings of the Ramaswami Mudalliar Committee, which gave a good chit to the STC, as well as rejected the contention that rupee agreements work contrary to India's interests.

The FICCI wants a joint Committee to review and assess the activities of the STC. Such an assessment is surely necessary to improve the functioning of the STC, and not to consider "whether it should continue to operate at all".

FREEDOM TO RAISE PRICES

The FICCI has also passed a resolution on "Price Policy", but if one were to assume that this resolution would put forth some suggestions to arrest the rising prices, he would be sadly mistaken. For, according to FICCI, the prices, which impinge on working people so much, are not at all high. They are rather low, a fact which makes the "producer" and the dealer shun the market, thus "causing hardship to the consumer both in respect of availability and prices".

In other words, whereas the people in general blame the Government, and the Tariff authorities, for not arresting the prices, the FICCI feels that these two bodies "in their anxiety to maintain the general price level are having unrealistic prices fixed which result in scarcity in some cases". What a hiatus between the thinking and experience of the masses, and that of the leaders of the FICCI! And yet, one of them, Tulsidas Kiliachand, had the audacity to say that the business community was "in complete agreement with the social goals and objectives laid down by the planners".

The fourth resolution adopted by the FICCI con-

cerned the "Production and Movement of Coal". This being a weak spot of the Government the speakers had lot of ammunition to fire their salvos at the various administrative agencies, charged with making this vital commodity available for our industries. But they exploited the occasion too for raising their off-repeated demand for "making the price structure more remunerative" and for adequate financial assistance for their expansion programmes.

They also urged a "re-appraisal of the existing Industrial Policy without ideological considerations coming in, so as to allow the private collieries to develop adjacent, contiguous or new areas". The partisan character of these demands is obvious, and yet, the FICCI claims to raise them for the sake of "the realisation of the very objectives of our National Plans".

Thus, from industrial growth to pricing, from state trading to production of coal, on every issue the FICCI, during its latest session, chose to plough its old furrow. Not once its leaders could come out of their narrow grooves to strike a new non-partisan national path.

By sticking to their old position, and turning a deaf ear to this wise counsel, the leaders of the FICCI have obviously not served even their own interests. As for their serving the interests of the nation, it is obvious that their ability and willingness in this behalf have been well-nigh exhausted.

So far as Kerala is concerned, when the Agrarian Relations Act had been passed and assented to by the President, several peasants went to the court and filed petitions for reducing their rent. At once the landlords stated that the lands do not belong to them for though the land had been in their possession for the last fifteen years they had no records of rights. In Kerala, especially, 70,000 people courted arrest and then the Government promised that they will try to make records.

Those records must be prepared immediately, Gopalan demanded.

even heed the warning of one of their own leaders, G. L. Mehta, that they and their system were "on probation more than ever". "How far and in what form it survives" he had told them "will depend mainly on how it acquits itself in changing conditions and serves the newer demands and finer needs of the people".

By sticking to their old position, and turning a deaf ear to this wise counsel, the leaders of the FICCI have obviously not served even their own interests. As for their serving the interests of the nation, it is obvious that their ability and willingness in this behalf have been well-nigh exhausted.

—ESSEN

March 27.

Gopalan Slates Govt.'s Agrarian Policy

SPEAKING in the debate on the President's address A. K. Gopalan in the Lok Sabha referred to some aspects of agrarian policy. He said:

For the development of agriculture, good seeds, good implements and fertilisers are necessary. But what about the agricultural labourers and peasants are concerned, what is it that has been done in order to encourage them?

There are two aspects. One is the land-reform legislation and its implementation. In all the States in India, today land-reform legislation has been completed. But in the

of land are leased to those intermediaries so that the peasants can be evicted at any time.

Then, government have failed to distribute all the fallow and surplus lands after the ceiling. In many states the surplus lands have not been distributed. In some states there are no surplus lands but even in those states the fallow lands have not been distributed.

Another aspect of the land legislation which does not enthrust the people of this country to work hard in their lands is eviction in the name of projects, in the name of preservation of forests, apart from

allowing the landlords to indulge in evictions. This is happening not only in Kerala, but in Punjab, Bengal and other parts of India. And this is happening not as one isolated case but in thousands.

There is absolutely no compensation, force is used, police is brought in and the peasants are driven away from the roads. I hope you all know that some months ago about 3,000 families were driven away from a place where they have been cultivating land for the last ten or fifteen years.

The Second Five Year Plan report says: "The maintenance of correct and up-to-date land records is a pre-requisite

for the implementation of land reform."

So far as Kerala is concerned, when the Agrarian Relations Act had been passed and assented to by the President, several peasants went to the court and filed petitions for reducing their rent. At once the landlords stated that the lands do not belong to them for though the land had been in their possession for the last fifteen years they had no records of rights. In Kerala, especially, 70,000 people courted arrest and then the Government promised that they will try to make records.

Those records must be prepared immediately, Gopalan demanded.

MAHARASHTRA ELECTION RESULTS ANALYSED

Text Of Resolution Adopted By State Council Of Communist Party

In the recently concluded general elections in Maharashtra, the progressive forces opposed to the Congress have suffered a big defeat and the Congress has scored brilliant successes. The Samiti and the Communist Party have secured a much smaller number of seats than even the lowest expectations and hence the results have given a rude shock to the people.

TAKING Maharashtra as a whole, the following will show how great this defeat is:

● In 1957, 130 candidates of the Congress were returned to the State legislature. Today this figure has risen to 215.

● In 1957, 130 candidates of the Samiti were elected to the State legislature. Today their number has dwindled to 32. The total strength of the opposition in a house of 264 today stands at 49 only.

● The Communist Party formerly had 19 MLAs; today the Party has only 6 MLAs.

● Leaders of the Samiti in almost all the regions have been defeated in the elections and the Samiti has lost its effective leadership in the State Assembly.

● In 1957, 22 candidates of the Samiti were returned to the Lok Sabha of whom 4 belonged to the Communist Party. 22 candidates of the Congress were returned to the Lok Sabha from Maharashtra. Today not a single candidate of the Samiti has been returned to the Lok Sabha.

● The Congress has secured 41 seats, the PSP one, and two seats have been won by the Nag Vidharbha Angolan Samiti.

● In a large number of constituencies, the Congress has defeated its opponents by very big margins; and in over 150 constituencies, its candidates have secured more than 50 per cent of the votes polled.

● Whereas in the whole of Maharashtra, in 1957, the Congress got 45.3 per cent of

the votes, today the same has gone up to 48.8 per cent. The percentage of votes polled by the Samiti has gone down from 50.25 in 1957 to 21.4 in 1962.

While this is the general picture, there are big differences in the election results in the different regions of the state and behind this lies the different political background of the regions.

Western Maharashtra and Bombay

The Samyukta Maharashtra movement was the strongest in this region and the Samiti won big successes in the 1957 elections here. In the 1962 elections, the reverses suffered by the Samiti are the biggest in this very region.

In the 1957 elections, in Western Maharashtra and Bombay City the Samiti had won 111 out of 157 seats and the Congress had got only 46 seats. Today the picture is reversed completely.

The Samiti has won only 12 seats in this region, while the Congress has secured 136 seats. The combined opposition has won 22 seats only. Votes polled by the Samiti in this region have come down from 53 per cent in 1957 to 19.3 per cent in 1962. The Congress polled 39 per cent of the votes in 1957 and today the percentage has gone up to 53.9.

Whereas in 1957 the Congress did not secure a single seat in four districts in Western Maharashtra, today the Samiti has not won a single seat in Nasik, Satara, Sangli, Jalgaon, Dhulia and Ratnagiri districts. There is also a big fall in the votes polled by the Samiti.



Ninety-five year old worker who insisted on being carried to the booth in Sewree, Bombay, to vote for S. A. Dange.

In the City of Bombay, in 1957 the Samiti candidates had polled 51.5 per cent of the votes and 11 of them had been returned to the State Assembly. The Congress at that time had secured 46.5 per cent of the votes and had won 12 seats.

In 1962, the votes polled by the Samiti have come down to 23.1 per cent and only two of its candidates have been successful. Votes polled by the Congress have gone up to 47.9 per cent and it has won 20 seats. Besides this, the Praja Socialist Party has won one seat.

Even in Central Bombay, where a large number of Marathi workers reside and where in 1957 the Samiti had scored big victories, the Samiti has suffered a big setback.

Marathwada

In 1957, the tide of the movement for Samyukta Maharashtra had not reached Marathwada. On the other hand, the people had the satisfaction that the state of Hyderabad had been dissolved and they had been joined with their Marathi brethren. Because of this, in the 1957 elections, the Congress won 35 of the 42 seats in this region and secured 53 per cent of the votes. The Samiti got 40 per cent of the votes and 7 seats.

In the 1962 elections, the Samiti has won 9 seats and the percentage of votes polled stands at 34.9. Even though the Samiti has won two seats more than last time, because of the defeat of its prominent leaders in this region and also because this success is far short of the high expectations they had, a sense of defeat prevails among people.

This time, there was a general increase in the poll percentage—a big part of this increase went to the Congress, while a smaller chunk came to the Samiti. Therefore, while there was an increase in the votes polled by the Samiti candidates as compared to 1957, the votes polled by the Congress jumped up much more than that of the Samiti and hence it won success in several places.

Vidarbha

The picture in Vidarbha is quite different from that obtaining in other places. In the 1957 elections, out of a total of 63 seats in the eight districts of this region, only 8

opposition candidates could succeed. Today this figure of opposition candidates elected to the State Assembly has gone up to 18. This includes 3 candidates officially sponsored by the Nag Vidharbha Andolan Samiti (NVAS); 2 candidates of the Advaiti Mahamandal elected with the support of the NVAS; 2 members of the PSP; one member of the FWP and 10 independents supported by the Samiti.

People of Vidarbha thus have the satisfaction of having given a stiff fight to the big guns of the Congress in the elections to the State As-

sembly and the Lok Sabha and dealt a big blow to its monopoly of power.

In 1957, the Congress had secured 53.3 per cent of the votes and won 55 seats. Today this percentage has come down to 41.8 and the number of seats has fallen from 55 to 45. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that the anti-Congress vote is not wholly democratic.



S. G. Patkar, C.P. Samiti candidate who won in Bombay.

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CAUSES FOR DEFEAT

1) In these elections, the ruling party made extensive use of money, pressure and official machinery. However, even while it is true that they resorted to all sorts of falsehoods and communal propaganda, it will be a big mistake to attribute the big defeats suffered by the Samiti and the entire opposition as being due to this. The main causes of the defeat suffered by the Samiti are political.

2) It would be completely wrong to think that the voter who did not bow down

before the inhuman repression launched by the Government in the days of 1955-57, changed sides because of these reasons.

In the elections of 1957 a national objective in the form of achievement of Samyukta Maharashtra was before the people very prominently. And that was why the Samiti won a majority. But since the formation of Maharashtra State, this objective is no longer there.

There were two aspects of the programme of the Samiti. One was the attainment of Samyukta Maharashtra and the other was the establishment of socialism. After the formation of the state of Maharashtra, the Samiti held a number of conferences wherein it propagated the goal of socialism and placed a programme before the people. But a faith and inspiration based on that programme has not gripped the minds of the people.

3) Yeshwant Rao Chavan (Chief Minister of Maharashtra) utilised this change in the political situation very cleverly. He upheld the feeling of pride for the newly formed Marathi State and also utilised it. In the new Government he did not have Morarji Desai as his partner and the new Ministry came before the people with a Marathi face.

He placed before them a programme of development of the state and called for co-operation from the proponents of Samyukta Maharashtra. Middle-class intelligentsia of the towns and rich peasantry in the countryside responded to this call in a big way and flowed back to Congress.

4) With the exit of the Praja Socialist Party from the Samiti after the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra State, the section of people following that party moved away from the Samiti. Not only that. This undermined the confidence in the people that had been created by the unity of the Samiti.

5) The Samiti and the Communist Party took note of the changes in the political situation that had come about with the formation of the state of Maharashtra and its repercussions on different sections of people. That was why they held seve-

W. Bengal Assembly Debates Budget

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

Some of the best speeches heard this week in the West Bengal Assembly came from the Opposition Benches. One of them was made by Communist leader Somnath Lahiri while he was initiating the debate on the State Government's Budget for 1962-63.

His 40-minute speech was marked by a careful marshalling of unassailable facts and figures coupled with sharp home-thrusts and devastating banter. But for an interruption on one occasion by Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy, he was heard in silence by the entire House.

When he was saying that socialist countries alone, like the Soviet Union and China, had solved the problem of unemployment Dr. Roy sarcastically remarked that he (Lahiri) should go away to those countries. Somnath Lahiri promptly retorted: "We have a lot of work to do here. We are not superannuated people."

The obvious reference was to the Chief Minister himself, who is 81 years old, and also to several of his cabinet colleagues who are over 65.

Referring to the speeches of some new Congress MLAs who had appealed for cooperation by the Opposition, Somnath Lahiri said that they did not know that their Government was not prepared to enlist such cooperation even after giving repeated assurance to that effect.

He cited two glaring instances—unwillingness of the Government to consult the Opposition before submitting its Memorandum to the Third Finance Commission despite a unanimous resolution of the State Assembly and the refusal of the Government to set up as yet an Estimates Committee on the lines of the Lok Sabha for preparing the Budget.

He also pointed out that the Government had not consulted the Opposition before submitting its Memorandum to the Third Finance Commission despite a unanimous resolution of the State Assembly and the refusal of the Government to set up as yet an Estimates Committee on the lines of the Lok Sabha for preparing the Budget.

Criticising the basic policy underlying the Budget, he said that it was one of building up capitalism by squeezing the poor. The result of such a policy would be that not only the conditions of the masses of people would steadily worsen; the pace of industrialisation also would be slow.

Regarding the poverty of the masses, he quoted the Reserve Bank Governor's speech to show that the per capita income in India in 1975 would be the same as that already achieved by Ceylon in 1960! Quoting a U.N. Survey, he pointed out that India was the worst fed country in the world.

He challenged Dr. Roy's claim that West Bengal had the highest per capita income in the country and said that the Chief Minister had not given the per capita expenditure, which was lower than in Assam, Punjab, Mysore and U.P. Where this extra income went, Pandit Nehru himself had made clear.

Yet the Chief Minister felt "thrilled" over the fact that the economic situation in the country was "satisfactory" and that his Government had drawn up a Rs. 293 crore Third Plan for West Bengal. Even if this entire amount was spent, there was no guarantee that it would be utilised for development purposes. About Rs. 47 crores or 32 per cent of the total expenditure under the State's Second Plan had been spent outside the Plan.

Somnath Lahiri further pointed out that between 1955-56 and 1962-63 the ex-

penditure for jails, police and judiciary had increased from Rs. 12.03 crores to Rs. 16.29 crores, of which the expenditure under the head "Police" alone had shot up from Rs. 6.81 crores to Rs. 9.84 crores. But the expenditure under Medical and Public Health had gone down by Rs. 4.17 crores in 1960-61 compared to that in 1957-58, while the expenditure under Agriculture, cooperation, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries had been Rs. 4.05 crores less.

Even if the entire amount earmarked for the Third Plan was spent, Somnath Lahiri emphasised, it would not even touch the fringe of the problems of poverty and unemployment. A much bigger Plan was, therefore, needed. And for this, adequate resources were required. But, in her Address the Governor had pleaded lack of resources.

How Funds Could Be Raised

But, he said, enough funds could be raised if corruption was stopped. He read from a book by Dr. Nabagopal Das, a former member of the I. C. S. who had been in charge of the state government's Anti-Corruption Department, to show how Ministers themselves took a hand in hushing up cases of corruption.

Somnath Lahiri further said that resources could be mobilised from the Kapti market, which transacted business amounting to several crores of rupees daily. The government could also get enough funds by nationalising the jute industry, the Calcutta Tramway Co. and the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, stopping payment of compensation to big landlords, enhancing agricultural income tax and imposing super-tax on tea gardens and plugging loopholes through which large-scale evasion of income tax and other taxes took place.

He sharply criticised the Government's role in relation to the jute millowners' policy last year in closing down the mills to deprive farmers of their due and workers of their wages, the curtailment of electric power by the British monopolist concern for increasing the profits and its decision to raise electricity charges, the strikes of dal and oil millers and mutton-sellers to raise the prices of these commodities, the soaring prices of fish, vegetables and rice and proposals to increase bus and tram fares.

Apart from being a silent observer, the Government had done nothing to arrest the spiralling prices. Little wonder that there was not a word in the Budget about the steps the Government proposed to take to check the rising prices, Somnath Lahiri added.

With bitterness in his tone, he further said that while the people of Calcutta were celebrating the birth centenary of Poet Tagore, Prime Minister Nehru came to the city to inaugurate the centenary of the

RELEASE LONG-TERM POLITICAL PRISONERS

SPEAKING on March 23 in the Rajya Sabha on the private member's bill he had moved proposing enhancement of the President's powers to commute or reduce sentences, Bhupesh Gupta made a forceful plea for release of long-term prisoners, still in jail. He said:

We are all very happy that the Members who spoke on this Bill all extended their support to the moral cause which I was sponsoring, namely, the release of the long-term political prisoners.

As you know, they are in Madras, West Bengal, Punjab and Bihar, mostly in Tamil Nad and Bengal. There are two persons in Andhra, and there are some absconding in Punjab. There are some prisoners in Bihar. And every Member who spoke, supported the idea of releasing them, especially in view of the fact that they had spent 10, 12, 13 years in prison—some even more if you take into account the under-trial period.

And many Members who spoke on my Bill also were of the view that the President should have the power of commutation of sentences in such cases. Now, many Members, while supporting that the prisoners should be released, said that we could try the states, why we should go to New Delhi or the President for this kind of thing. Normally this is understandable. We should certainly try the States; we should certainly approach the Governor. But then everybody knows that the Governor there is again bound by the advice given by his Council of Ministers and the Council of Ministers may not take a broad, generous view in this matter because of political considerations...

.....The matter was raised the other day in the West Bengal Assembly. The

brutally murdered with a gun while he was asleep. Was there no political conspiracy behind this murder, he asked. Why no one had been arrested so far in this connection? Why the police dogs were not taken to the spot in time? Why was it that one of the assassins, who had been identified by a certain witness, had not yet been taken into custody?

Was it not a fact that the Mandal Congress leader, Rabbin Bannerjee, had openly threatened to wreak vengeance? Was it not a fact that Dinabandhu Das (the Congress candidate who has been elected from the constituency—J.B.M.) had openly hinted at reprisals in his election speeches? Should the people infer from the Government's inaction that it was unable to maintain law and order and that they would have to protect themselves?

Harekrishna Konar further wanted to know from the police minister if his government would have adopted such a callous attitude if the victim had been a Congressman. He referred in this connection to

Chief Minister said that he was sympathetic to the cause. But then he brought forward the same old story of the charges against them, crime, murder, dacoity, arson and so on. Well, if these charges were not there, they would not have been convicted. Precisely because these charges were there they could be tried, and precisely because they were tried of such serious charges they were convicted, otherwise for minor charges you do not give life imprisonment or life transportation. That is obvious. Now, the question is whether in the changed conditions today we are viewing it from a different angle. This is the main question. Twelve, thirteen years they have spent in jail.

Bhupesh Gupta then dwelt at length with the case of Kangsari Balzar who was elected to the second Lok Sabha receiving record number of votes while he was absconding. He had to contest the recent election from jail and even then received 160,000 votes. Pleading for his release and of other long-term political prisoners Bhupesh further said:

This is not a great partisan question. We know that these views are shared even by Members opposite. Where are we to go then? It is extremely tragic that today these prisoners should have continued in prison not knowing what will happen to them. Dr. Roy was good enough the other day, just on the eve of the elections, to release seven of them on the ground that they are above 50 or 60. Now it is good that seven people have been released but what about the others? Are they to wait till they became old, 50 or 60 or 70 years or are they to be released so that they can dedicate themselves to the service of the country?

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the brutalities perpetrated by the police about two years ago on the peasants of six villages in Malda district for one murder (the murdered man was a Jotadar.—J.B.M.)

Who Spurns Cooperation?

Speaking about the Government's claims of achievements in different spheres, he showed with facts and figures that such claims had no basis in reality and that the rich were growing richer and the poor poorer. The main beneficiaries of the Government's development projects were a handful of vested interests.

Dr. Roy had talked of co-operation from the Opposition. But, Harekrishna Konar emphasised, the Communists would never cooperate with the Government in perpetuating the exploitation of farmers, workers, employees and other sections of the people. The Communists and other leftists had offered their co-operation in every construc-



Hand-written poster (on right) at Kripalani stand in North Bombay on poll day saying "China's 30 tanks rushed in Ladakh. Government has suppressed this fact". The ruse did not work.

COMMUNIST GAINS IN TRIPURA

★ by NRIPEN CHAKRAVORTI

Now that the Third General Election is over—all Party units must be very busy in making collective assessment of their gains and losses, so that the gains might be consolidated and the weakness overcome.

WITHOUT attempting to make such an assessment, some observations may be made here about the verdict of the electorate of Tripura which is a small Territory, on the Eastern border of India, an economically undeveloped area, dominated by a large number of Bengalee displaced persons who live side by side with a small backward tribal population.

Valid votes polled in Tripura total 3,15,010. Out of these the Communist Party, contesting both the Lok Sabha seats, polled 1,63,523 votes, which is 27,027 more than what the two Congress candidates polled. One Praja Socialist and two Tribal Union candidates polled only 19,876. Thus, the Communist Party not only won both the Lok Sabha seats, but secured 51 per cent of the total valid votes. A clear verdict was given by a majority of the electorate in favour of the Communist Party.

In the Territorial Council, the Communist Bloc contest-

ing all the 30 seats polled 1,46,745 votes, whereas the Congress candidates secured 1,36,889; and 11 Praja Socialists, 7 candidates of the Tribal Union and a good number of independent candidates all together got only 31,429 votes. But unfortunately, though in Territorial Council also, the Communist Party secured 46.5 per cent of the total valid votes, they got only 13 seats; whereas, the Congress candidates polling only 43.5 per cent of the valid votes, secured 17 seats. As expected, all except one of the Praja Socialist candidates lost their security deposits.

SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE

Compared with the election results of 1957, the Communist Party no doubt registered significant advance. In 1957, the Communist Party polled about 1,28,000 and 1,19,000 votes in a double member Lok Sabha Constituency. While

the Party won the general seat, it lost the Reserved seat to a Congress candidate. The total votes polled by the Congress candidates were about 11,000 more than what the Communist Party polled.

But in the Territorial Council, though the Communist Party, in 1957, secured about the same lead in number of votes, it got equal number of seats with the Congress. (Congress 15, Communist Party 15). In 1962 elections, the Communist Party was unseated in four Constituencies, whereas it could dislodge only two of the sitting Congress members. It needs to be mentioned that in no less than five places the Congress candidates escaped defeat, only getting marginal victories that varied from 50 to 250 votes.

There is no doubt that local issues dominated in Tripura throughout the election campaign. And it is here that the Congress leadership unmasked their reactionary political character. Though Jana Sangh contested one seat in the Territorial Council, it was no force which could be counted in Tripura's political life. There was another communal organisation among the Tribal people which called itself "The Tribal Union". Though it contested both the Lok Sabha seats and seven of the Territorial Council seats—it was common knowledge that it was an organisation almost openly patronised by the local Congress leadership to split the tribal vote that is generally cast in favour of the Communists. The central demand put forward by the Tribal Union was to get Tripura partitioned into tribal and non-tribal areas.

Neither in their speeches, nor in their literature, did the Congress leadership ever criticise this disruptive approach of the Tribal Union. So, the main communal reactionary forces of this territory were not outside, but were deep-seated inside the Congress itself. When the local Congress leadership found that their defeat in the poll was inevitable, they sought the cooperation of the communal leaders of the Scheduled Caste Association, offered them four seats in the Territorial Council and thus came to a sort of united front with them against the Communists.

During the election campaign, the main job of the Congress leaders was to spread communal venom against the minority tribal population, in the minds of the Bengalee refugees who are today no less than 70 per cent of the total population of Tripura. "Bengalees have been turned out from Assam by the Assamese, and they would again meet with the same fate in Tripura at the hands of the tribals if they vote for the Communist Party which is mostly composed of the tribal people"—this was the bogey raised by Congress hypocrites who swear by the National Code of Conduct and so often talk about national integration.

THREATS AND BRIBERY

Among the Muslims who are about one and half lakh in number, they threatened that if they did not vote Congress they would either face riots like that of Jabalpur and Allgarh, or be sent to Pakistan under the Foreigners Act. Innumerable leaflets were distributed to "prove" that the communists are against religion.

In 1957, the local Congress leadership had no hand in the Administration of the Territory, except that some of them were Advisors with no power. But during last five years, they with the help of two nominated members held the Territorial Council in their hands. Though the functions and powers of the Territorial Council were limited, it was fully utilised by them for election purposes.

Contracts worth lakhs of rupees were distributed wholly disregarding CPWD Codes, without calling tenders etc., to their pet contractors who formed the main core of the Congress Election Army. Congress minded employees were released on temporary leave so that they might engage themselves in election work throughout the Territory in favour of Congress.

New appointments were given only 15 days before the election with strict instructions that they should not be given any posting before the election was over, only to give them an opportunity to serve and save the Congress from this peril.

Tube wells and ringwells were set up near the houses of the village leaders in order to influence their vote.

New roads and bridges were constructed, and schools were upgraded and aided to benefit a select number of people only to draw them out from the clutches of the Communists.

The Chief Commissioner was also not sitting idle. The recently enacted Land Reforms and Land Revenue Act which led to innumerable evictions of tenants, which threatened enhancement of rent and revenue several times, and, which refused to offer right to the tenants on their own jote land—was the main target of attack for the Communists and other opposition candidates.

Naturally, the Chief Commissioner was approached by the Congress leaders as their last saviour. It was no surprise to find the Chief Commissioner holding a press conference in order to remove "misunderstandings" regarding thousands of notices of evictions and notices of enhancement of rent and revenue and calling the opposition press reports as "exaggerated".

The Congress leaders in thousands of leaflets and newspapers openly announced that the Chief Commissioner orally gave them assent to fell trees that grew on jote lands (which, of course, he could not do without making any Gazette notification). But strangely enough, in order to influence the voters in favour of Congress, the Chief Commissioner thought it prudent to keep silent over these bluffs of the Congress leaders.

This was not all. When lakhs of rupees collected from the corrupt contractors and black-marketeers could not purchase the democratic masses of Tripura, the Administration started setting up police camps in rural areas and making indiscriminate arrests of Communist cadres in order to terrorise the voters who were determined to vote Communists. This was done particularly in Khowai and Kallashahar Divisions to break up some of the Communist strongholds there.

So, it was not an easy job for the Communists to counteract all these reactionary forces, maintain their bases

* SEE PAGE 10

Congress-Communalists Gang-Up

CONTINUING THREAT IN KERALA

What are the 'firm conclusions' which Prime Minister Nehru told Parliament, he and his colleagues had arrived at on the post-election political situation in Kerala? One does not know. For, even though pressed by the leader of the Communist opposition group, he did not explain them.

But, if one were to judge the stand of the all-India Congress leadership by the resolution adopted by the KPCC Executive, one would feel justly apprehensive as to what was going to happen to this unfortunate State.

FOR, according to that resolution, the two-year-old Congress-PSP Coalition Ministry, which has been going from crisis to crisis, is to continue for three years more. Not merely because, constitutionally speaking, it need not vacate office on the ground of the result of Lok Sabha elections (as the Prime Minister himself claims), but also because—one is surprised to learn—the Congress has grown stronger and the Communist Party weaker!

Facts That Tell

In making this claim, the KPCC leaders go against all the facts and figures which are relevant to the question. For, the reality is that—

● The percentage of votes polled by the Communist Party and its allies has been steadily going up, being about 40 per cent in 1957, 44 per cent in 1960 and just over 49 per cent in 1962;

● As for the Congress and its allies their percentage did increase between 1957 and 1960, but it fell between 1960 and 1962. The Congress which was alone in 1957 secured less than 40 per cent of the votes polled; in 1960, it polled, together with the PSP and the Muslim League, about 54 per cent; while, in 1962, the Congress and the PSP together polled about 44 per cent;

● In 1957, when there was a three-cornered contest throughout the State (Congress, PSP-League, and the Communist Party), the Congress was able to come out as the first party in 43 Assembly constituencies. In 1962, however, the Congress together with the PSP was able to come out as the first party only in 42 State Legislature constituency areas.

In other words, the Congress-PSP alliance in 1962 got one Assembly seat less than the Congress alone did in 1957. Furthermore, the Congress-PSP alliance lost to the opposition in those constituencies from which seven of the eleven Ministers were returned in 1960.

In the face of these undeniable facts, the KPCC leaders do admit that they have suffered some losses. But, they claim, the losses are in the Malabar area and are to be accounted for by the uncompromising stand that they have taken against communalism. They have lost, they claim, because the Muslim League was incensed against the policy of secularism adopted by the Congress and made it a point to defeat the Congress-PSP alliance at any cost.

To this they add that the Communist-RSP-Independents alliance got more votes and seats because of its 'com-

promise and alliance' with the Muslim League.

How far these claims are from truth, can be seen if one examines the performance of the Communist and Congress candidates in the three constituencies where the Muslim League had set up its candidates.

The KPCC leaders had claimed that their candidates had better chance in the struggle against communalism in these three constituencies. Such being the case, they asked the Communist Party not to put up its own candidate and thus divide the forces of secularism, but to support the Congress candidates.

This claim of the Congress was challenged by the Communist Party even before the elections. It was pointed out to the KPCC leaders that it was not the Congress, but the Communist Party, that had better chance of defeating League candidates; hence, if the KPCC leaders were sincere in their proclaimed intention of putting up an effective fight against the League, they should have useful and business-like discussions with the Communist Party in order that agreements may be arrived at in regard to each of the three constituencies.

Responsibility For League Victories

Now that the election results are out, it is clear that the KPCC leaders were making false claims.

● For, in one of the three constituencies where the League had put up its candidate, the Communist candidate has won the seat, simultaneously defeating the Congress and League candidates.

● In a second constituency, the Muslim League had a margin of only 700 votes over his nearest Communist rival, while the margin between the League and the Congress candidates was about 15,000.

● In the third constituency too, the margin between the successful League candidate and his nearest Communist rival was 4,600 votes, while the margin between the League and the Congress candidates was about 47,000.

It will thus be clear that the responsibility for the victory of two Muslim League candidates should be squarely put on the shoulders of the leaders of the KPCC. If only they had taken a responsible and constructive attitude, if only they had accepted the suggestion of the Communist Party that the forces of secularism should take a joint stand against the forces of communalism, the Muslim League would not have been able to get the seats it got.

Even after this clear proof of the incorrectness of the stand that they had taken in relation to the Muslim League, the KPCC leaders do not appear to be repentant. They still take the stand that the Congress is the sole representative of secular forces in the country and that it is for other secular forces like the Communist Party to give unconditional support to the Congress in order that communalism may be defeated.

The President of the KPCC says that there is no question of Congress co-operating with the Communist Party even with a view to defeating the communal parties because, according to the Congress, Communists are as dangerous as the communal parties.

While the Congress thus refuses to join hands with other secular forces in the struggle against the Muslim League variant of communalism, it openly and shamelessly joins hands with other variants of communalism, such as, the open interference of the Chris-

tian clergy in political and administrative matters, caste-Hindu communalism represented by the Nair Service Society, etc.

In claiming that their major losses occurred in the areas where the Muslim League was the decisive force and that, therefore, their losses were due to their uncompromising stand against communalism, the KPCC leaders conceal the fact that their major gains were in areas where the influence of the Nair Service Society and the Christian clerical leaders is predominant. The southern one-third of the Trichur district and the major parts of Ernakulam and Kottayam districts, together with certain areas of the Alleppey district—such is the area where they were able to win all the six Parliamentary seats they got. It is precisely in this area that the Christian Churches, particularly the Catholic Church, and the Nair Service Society are strong.

The KPCC leaders and the various Congress and PSP candidates moved heaven and earth in order to bring the Church and the Nair leaders into active campaign for the Congress-PSP alliance.

Large sections of the Christian community (and some elements in the Nair community too) had started getting disillusioned and discontented against the Congress-PSP Government. They moved into action when several hundreds of peasants were driven out of the lands which they had been holding. They supported the demands advanced by the Kisan Sabha and expressed sympathy for the struggle launched by it.

These actions of the peasantry made the first breach in the anti-Communist Front that had been built up in 1959-60.

This change in the mood of

of this communal organisation. This action of the Davaswom Department and the Minister who is at the head of that Department has been rightly resented by large sections of people. A large number of MLAs belonging to the ruling party expressed the opinion that something should be done to allay the discontent caused by this action of the Department. The KPCC appointed a sub-committee in order to enquire into this complaint and to find a solution to the problem.

The Government, however, was not, and is still not, prepared to accept and implement the report of that sub-committee. Such is the hold which the leaders of the Nair Service Society have on the Government.

In return for these concessions given by the ruling parties, the leader of the NSS, Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, did actively campaign for the candidates of the Congress-PSP alliance.

It was because of the support provided by the leaders of the Christian clergy and of the Nair Service Society that the Congress-PSP candidates were able to secure the six seats they did. Had it not been for this support, they would have lost in parts of the Travancore-Cochin area as miserably as they did in the Malabar area.

This alliance of the Congress and PSP with the Christian and Nair communal leaders in order to win seats in the recent Lok Sabha election is proving as disastrous for Kerala as their previous alliance with the Muslim League did for the whole country. For, just as the previous alliance with the League streng-

thens, this alliance with the Christian and Nair communal leaders is bound to bring about a similar result. For, just as the previous alliance with the League streng-

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by E. M. S. Namboodiripad

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When saying this, we communists are not simply indulging in wishful thinking; we are guided, above all, by the objective laws of social development, by a sober assessment of the forces acting on the international arena, by a careful consideration of the trends of the world revolutionary process.

We have absolute faith in the capability of socialism to transform the world.

The rise of socialism, states the Programme of the CPSU, marks the advent of the era of emancipation of the oppressed peoples. The establishment of the world system of socialism—historically the number one phenomenon of our epoch—was marked by the collapse of the colonial system—the number two phenomenon of our time.

The conversion of socialism into a decisive factor of world development is characterised by the speeding up of the process of liquidating the left-overs of colonial exploitation, by the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American states for strengthening their political and achieving economic independence, for a non-capitalist road of development.

The successes of the national liberation movement arise in great measure from the victories of socialism, strengthening, at the same time, the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism* (N. S. Khrushchov).

Therefore, the national liberation movement, its destinies, tasks and prospects cannot be correctly comprehended apart from the tasks, destinies and prospects of world socialism. The events of our time once again confirm this irrefutable truth.

The Soviet Union has given effective material, moral and political support to Indonesia which is getting ready to free from colonial oppression an integral part of her territory—West Irian.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union and the whole of the socialist camp helps heroic Cuba to resist the onslaught of imperialism.

The peoples of Algeria, Laos, Angola, the Congo and many other countries see in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries a reliable bulwark in their fight against imperialism.

The Soviet Union is fully resolved to continue its many-sided assistance and support to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, for it knows how essential it is, how deep is the chasm the enslaved peoples have been plunged into through the fault of the colonialists.

Capitalism brought humanity many evils and much suffering, one of its most repellent crimes being the colonial system which it engendered. Hundreds of millions of people were deprived of freedom, elementary rights, hurled into the bottomless pit of poverty and degradation, turned into slaves of Western plutocracy.

It is possible to add up the millions of square kilometres which fell to British or French colonial rule in such and such a year, what profit they made from their possessions, but

in Kenya, Rhodesia and other possessions in East Africa; the Dutch colonialists are developing military action against the Indonesian patriots in West Irian, battling for reunification with their mother country.

American imperialism is playing an especially odious role in the struggle against the liberation movement and is today the chief pillar of colonialism. It is not only rendering direct assistance to the colonial powers but is seeking ideologically to disarm the peoples, to undermine their resolve to carry on the fight. Its advocates are trying hard to palm off the idea that the national liberation movement is losing all sense since only 2 per cent of the world's population is now under colonial rule and that the colonial powers will themselves grant independence to the remaining colonies.

However, they keep silent over the fact that the colonialists are granting the colonies independence only under pressure of the revolutionary struggle of the people. The hypocrisy of the U. S. policy in relation to the enslaved peoples is graphically evident in the Congo. The USA parsimoniously halted the liberation of the country while encouraging Belgium to suppress the Congolese liberation movement. It forced upon the Congo government the dispatch of UN forces for use, allegedly against the separatists, but actually employed these troops in support of the separatists against the lawful government and to do away with its leader, Patrice Lumumba.

Under the pretext of ending the bloodshed it checked the offensive of the UN troops against the puppet Tshombe and unhesitatingly used all its influence to provoke bloody incidents in Stanleyville, rout the patriotic forces and capture the Congo's great patriot, Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga. U.S. State Secretary Rusk has alleged that Gizenga's detention is justified since he was preparing a revolt against the lawful government, while the American press brazenly admits that the purpose of U.S. intervention in the Congo is to ensure the exploitation of the country by the monopolies.

The peoples who are throwing off the shackles of colonialism," states the Programme of the CPSU, "have attained different degrees of freedom. Many of them, having established national states, are striving for economic and durable political independence. The peoples of those formerly independent countries that in reality depend on foreign monopolies politically and economically are rising to fight against imperialism and reactionary pro-imperialist regimes."

Communists have always regarded the national liberation movement as a true ally, the brother of the international working-class movement. And that is quite natural for the working class and the oppressed peoples have one common enemy—imperialism, for they have common ideals, freedom and social progress. "...in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution," wrote V. I. Lenin, "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, which at first is directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play

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A very important feature of the present stage of development of the world revolutionary process is the juncture into a single stream of three of the basic revolutionary forces today: the world system of socialism, the international working class movement and the national liberation movement. The forces of world socialism have made a gaping breach in the dam of imperialism and having broken it upon a wide front, channeled the entire revolutionary energy of the subjugated peoples into it.

Working on the realization of the ideas of socialism and communism the working class in the socialist countries helps the peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

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the imperialist aggressors to retreat. "The joining of the efforts of the newly-free peoples and of the peoples of the socialist countries in the struggle against the war danger is a cardinal factor of world peace" (Programme of the CPSU).

Peaceful coexistence creates favourable conditions for the further development of the national liberation movement. Given these circumstances the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are able to give the national liberation movement extensive moral, political and material support.

In respect to the colonies fighting for national liberation this support is manifested in the tireless diplomatic struggle, in exposing the colonialists and rallying public

opinion in defence of the subjugated peoples. It was on the initiative of the Soviet Union that the 15th Session of the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples. The USSR posed the question at the 16th Session on the implementation of that Declaration.

At the close of last year the Soviet Union, using its right of veto, countered the attempt of the imperialist bloc to force through the joint draft resolution of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Turkey, condemning India and insisting that she withdraw her armed forces from Goa. In the face of the resolute stand of the Soviet Union, the United States and her allies had to abandon the idea of appealing to the General Assembly

ament presupposes not the disarmament of the armed liberation forces of the subjugated nations but first of all the dismantling of the monster military machines of the highly developed states.

The military potential of the underdeveloped countries is so negligible in the general alignment of armed forces in the world that in the settlement of the disarmament problem it can actually be left out of account, at least in the initial stage.

Notwithstanding some theories, disarmament does not weaken the forces fighting against colonialism but on the contrary strengthens their positions. Is it not clear that the national liberation movement stands only to gain from the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Asia and Africa, from the liquidation of all military bases and the elimination of all aggressive blocs? The recent events at Bizerte demonstrated that imperialist bases are a pistol pointed at the heart of the independent Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Or take the following example: had the Dutch colonialists not been the NATO allies of the United States would they have dared to act with such brazen audacity in relation to Indonesia which lawfully demands the return of West Irian?

General and complete disarmament will imply that the system of imperialist domination and control over the underdeveloped continents had been deprived of its military backbone.

Now that the socialist camp is exercising ever increasing influence on the course of world events, there is more chance for the national liberation revolutions to achieve their aims by peaceful means. The communists welcome this for, representing the most humane ideology, they have always desired to avert bloodshed whenever possible.

But the colonialists should bear in mind that any attempt on their part to hamper the national liberation of

the peoples by force of arms will be repelled by the peoples also. By force. India's action in relation to Goa and the favourable world reaction thus just act has evoked should serve as a serious warning to them.

Liberation wars of the peoples have always been just and sacred and have always met with wide support from democratic public opinion.

After shaking off the shackles of colonialism the countries will have to tackle an immensely important national task—in a historically brief space of time to bridge the gap in economic development and level up with the industrially developed countries. Experience shows that the young independent states cannot solve this task by following the capitalist way of development.

Nowadays, in view of the changed balance of forces on the world arena in favour of socialism and the prevailing possibility of obtaining ample support in the world socialist system, favourable internal and external premises arise for the recently freed peoples to take the way of non-capitalist development, to form independent states of national democracy.

A state of national democracy is one in which there is close co-operation of all

the progressive, patriotic forces involved in the national liberation movement. The establishment of a state of national democracy enables fully to utilize the revolutionary, anti-imperialist potentials of the national bourgeoisie in the common interests of the liberation movement. Hence, the slogan advanced by the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of struggle for the establishment of such a state is a revolutionary slogan.

"Proper application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the freed countries," N. S. Khrushchov pointed out, "means precisely finding ways of uniting all the wholesome forces of the nation with due consideration to the specific economic, political and cultural features in the life of the peoples, and ensuring the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle for resolutely rooting out imperialism and remnants of feudalism, for clearing the way for the ultimate advancement to socialism."

The national liberation movement can develop successfully only in conjunction with other components of the world revolutionary process. The struggle of the socialist camp against imperialism, for averting world war, for disarmament, the fight of the proletariat in the capitalist countries against the monopolies, the powerful movement of peace champions—all this undermines imperialism, paralyzes its aggressive designs and in a big way facilitates the

success of the liberation fight of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Any contraposing of the national liberation movement with other elements of the world revolutionary process would bring about a weakening of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and prove injurious to the whole of the anti-imperialist front. It would mean playing into the hands of the imperialists.

Along with other fraternal parties the CPSU is perseveringly working for greater friendship and solidarity with the peoples fighting for national independence. Reared in the spirit of internationalism Soviet people are deeply stirred by the heroic struggle of the Cuban people against the intrigues of American imperialism, by the tragedy of Antoine Gizenga and the efforts of the Indonesian patriots to free West Irian.

The mighty political and moral support of the Soviet Union gives fresh strength, instills courage and confidence of final victory in the participants of the great liberation movement.

The growing unity of the revolutionary forces of our time—world socialism, the international labour movement and the national liberation movement—augurs well for the fact that the vital problems facing humanity will be solved during the lifetime of the present generation, that war will forever be excluded from the life of society and colonialism will be dumped onto the rubbishheap of history. (Kommunist, No. 2, 1982)

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INTEGRAL PART OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

spreading ever more in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples are fighting for the liquidation of the last pillars of colonialism.

Against Economic Subjugation

However, the main feature of the national liberation movement in its present stage of development is that it spearheaded not only against colonial rule but also against such means of subordination as economic subjugation, the forcing upon these countries of military blocs and bases, puppet regimes and so on.

Hence, the only question today is the spread of the national liberation struggle, and not only in Africa, where in a number of countries colonial administrations still prevail, but also in Asia and Latin America.

"The peoples who are throwing off the shackles of colonialism," states the Programme of the CPSU, "have attained different degrees of freedom. Many of them, having established national states, are striving for economic and durable political independence. The peoples of those formerly independent countries that in reality depend on foreign monopolies politically and economically are rising to fight against imperialism and reactionary pro-imperialist regimes."

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AN ARTICLE FROM CPSU'S THEORETICAL JOURNAL KOMMUNIST

case in 1961 when the American venture against Cuba suffered fiasco.

The Soviet Union, all the socialist countries support national liberation revolutions in whatever part of the world they take place.

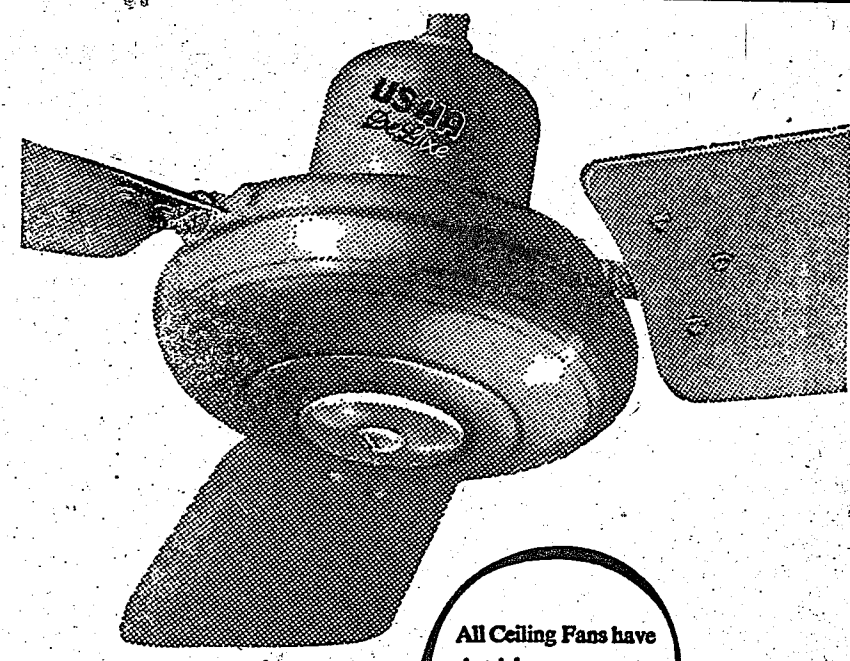
For the peoples fighting for national liberation and economic independence the struggle of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states for peace, for averting a new world war is of the utmost importance. That is why they come out in resolute defence of peace and are the natural allies of the socialist states in the fight for peace.

This all-powerful front of peace, uniting two thirds of mankind, can and must force

for they knew that there they would come up against a united rebuff from the socialist and Afro-Asian states.

The Soviet Union is dealing more and more heavy blows against the colonialists, weakening their positions and increasingly isolating them on the international arena.

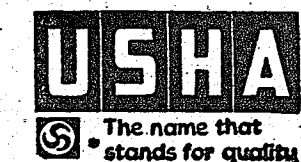
When it is a question of a country struggling for economic independence the support extended by the socialist camp takes the form of economic assistance, which is tremendously important for the radical reorganization of these countries' economies and the liquidation of their agrarian and colonial structure, for their national revival. In the



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FOR A DEMOCRATIC SETUP FOR GOA

HIREN MUKERJEE'S PLEA IN LOK SABHA

Hiren Mukerjee speaking on the Goa, Daman and Diu (Administration) Bill, on March 16 in Lok Sabha pointed out that it was not possible to accord to this Bill the same unqualified and happy welcome which he had given for the earlier Bill, the Constitution (Twelfth) Amendment Bill.

THIS is because I have an apprehension that Government has not applied its mind properly and has not made a serious effort to see that democratic processes are introduced in Goa in as full and comprehensive a manner as possible, he said.

We do not approve of the proposal to make Goa a Centrally administered territory, because the country's experience of these Centrally administered territories, is not particularly happy. I say that the Goan people must be given the fundamental right to

which have in some cases hardly any democratic institutions, and there are some like Tripura and Manipur which have certain forms of elected Territorial Councils, but these Councils, dominated by the Chief Commissioners who are directly responsible to the President of the Republic, have practically no powers, and are not responsible to their own electorate.

This is why there has been agitation in Tripura and Manipur in favour of some sort of an elective Assembly. They want to do away with the Territorial Councils, they want an Assembly having the same status as the Assemblies in the various States of the Indian Union.

My fear is that if Goa is kept a Centrally administered territory without even the provisions which seem to apply in the case of Tripura and Manipur and is not given an elected Assembly then the people are bound to feel dissatisfied. Already, as a matter of fact, on account of historical and other circumstances there are people who might try to fish in troubled waters.

This talk about Goa having a particular entity of her own is in some respects potentially dangerous. There might be people who would like very much to fish in troubled waters, and if Government allows them an opportunity to put before the people the idea that they are not going to have representative institutions, then danger might ensue.

Very soon they would come forward to express their dissatisfaction, and there might come to take place movements for the establishment of democratic institutions in Goa.

"I feel like saying that it is good that the Prime Minister succeeded in brushing aside certain obstacles which were put in his way. I cannot help remembering that as late as October, one of his senior colleagues in the Ministry, the Finance Minister, had said something in the Delhi Seminar on Portuguese colonialism which suggested that there might not be an operation to liberate Goa.

"Hypocritical and mischievous talks have taken place in regard to India's peaceful and non-violent approaches being in danger by the operation against Goa, and all kinds of things have been said in certain quarters about the Prime Minister spilling his own image before the peoples of the world. But we know that all that is abracadabra and our country has applauded the action which has led to the liberation of Goa.

"I do not wish to sound anything like a discordant note, but I would like the Prime Minister to take note of the fact that very responsible people like those who conduct the internationally well-known journal, the Economic Weekly of Bombay, have pointed out how, when Goa was liberated, the Indian embassy people got cold feet and the propaganda material put out by the Indian embassy (in Washington) was very late in coming and was very inadequate.

"We are very happy that at long last Portugal has been pushed out of our country and we do desire that democracy is maximised in these ex-world, notably the United States of America and Britain. I say this because it will not be easy to forget the sanctimonious sermons which were delivered by Mr. Adlai Stevenson in the United Nations. It will not be easy to forget the United States' effort to get the Security Council to stop India liberating a part of her own territory.

"It was seen also in the United Nations as to who were our friends and who were our enemies when the Soviet veto thwarted the Anglo-American move in support of their faithful ally, Portugal.

So, whether at the United Nations or in speeches made in India by accredited United States emissaries like Prof. Schlesinger, pillorying of India and of the Prime Minister, in particular, has gone on systematically, and in the North Bombay election, the anti-Nehru elements shamelessly took up the cry. However, in spite of the dog barking, the caravan has happily gone on, and Portuguese colonialism is today a thing of the bad old past in our country.

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PORTUGAL'S HEROIC COMMUNISTS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Alvaro Cunhal, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal, leader of the brave opposition to the Salazar regime and friend of India, the man who spent 13 years of his life in fascist prisons in his long suffering, oppressed land and made a daring escape from captivity—here he is before me.

HE is lean and thin and not want to be sent to the colonies. The Communist Party has been working in a big way in their midst.

The big revolt of the people of Angola continues, there are armed revolts here and there in Portuguese Guinea and national organisations in Mozambique and Timor have made advances and their stronger offensive is expected.

If stronger imperialisms had to give up their possessions, Salazar cannot hold out either, even with his help. Portugal also is a dependent country and for her real national freedom is not possible without freedom for the colonies.

In the United Nations, Salazar's representatives talk of no racial discrimination in colonies, but the Negro in Africa lives a dog's life and is shot like a dog. It is a most shameful story.

Today even among the ruling clique opposition to Salazar had increased, Cunhal said. Salazar is between two fires, the colonial liberation struggle and the democratic movement at home and his rule is tottering. Now all forces of opposition are united in the patriotic junta which has within it all trends and parties including the liberals, republicans, progressive Catholics, socialists and Communists.

Later Gomes had to migrate to South America. But people remembered his statements "and it is not only the Communists who recognise the right of colonies to self-determination", says Cunhal with emphasis. "If 14 years ago Gomes was one of the few now many representatives of different political trends share his views."

The Communist Party of Portugal had always stood for complete independence of the colonies and helped them in their struggle. "With great feeling we read Comrade Ghosh's last article in Pravda in which he recognised the contribution of the Communist Party of Portugal in the liberation of Goa. We are deeply satisfied and thank the people of Goa for the help they gave to the democratic movement in Portugal.

"We regret that as a result of Salazar's policies relations between India and Portugal became bad. But our people are friends and we hope that soon it will be possible to improve our relations."

"We Portuguese democrats are proud of the geographical discoveries of our explorers of the past. They played a big role in human progress as in those days the Portuguese bourgeoisie was still a revolutionary class. But we condemn the later use of these discoveries for robbery and oppression and inhuman exploitation in foreign lands."

Alvaro Cunhal declares that Salazar's colonial empire is doomed in spite of his demagoguery. The Portuguese soldiers do not want to fight and do

Central Organ Avante is published and besides there are special papers for the peasants, for industrial workers, youth, etc. Special Central Committee bulletins are published, handbills and brochures are circulated.

"And for the last 12 years, Salazar has not been able to unearth even a single Party Press," Cunhal says proudly.

The Party organisation is strong and well-disciplined and steered in battles under difficult conditions. The social composition of membership is such that the industrial proletariat occupies first place, then come the agricultural workers and intelligentsia. The Party is still weak among poor peasants. But in spite of this we are strong in the country-side.

Capitalist relations are highly developed in Portuguese agriculture and the agricultural proletariat is double the number of the poor peasants. The base among the agricultural workers is strong.

No party has suffered so much in the struggle as the Communist Party. Many have spent 15 and 20 years in prisons and illegality, many have been killed. But they carry on inside the country.

Pires Jorge spent 18 years in illegality, escaped from prison

in 1943, was now again in captivity. Americo Sousa escaped after long imprisonment, Carlos Costa escaped with Cunhal in 1960. Octavio Fato has worked for 18 years in the underground. As a matter of fact many have escaped from prisons at different times and the majority of the Central Committee has managed to liberate itself.

"The prison walls are not weak. Salazar's technique in this respect is perfect. But our people are determined to return to the Party and active work and the Party helps and organises these escapes. And the main thing is that the people are with us, otherwise all this mass work and prison breaks and illegal living will be impossible."

Cunhal himself has been in fascist prisons once for two years and last time for eleven. In January 1960, he escaped from Peniche prison with nine other Communists and a soldier among them, six being Central Committee members.

And not long ago, last December, eight Communists escaped from the prison fortress of Caxias, three were Central Committee members. This was a dramatic and daredevil escape. After repairing in secret and seizing a police armoured

(This interview was given by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal to the Moscow correspondent sometime about February 10 last. We regret the delay in its publication—Editor.)

NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

★ From S. BENSASSON

ROME, March 13. THE long foreseen investment, by the Chamber of Deputies of the new "left-centre" government, presided over by Mr. Fanfani, which the Senate is sure to confirm, no doubt, opens a new period in the Italian political scene, but does not, however, authorize one to speak of a real turn.

To use a military terminology, let us say, that it is a retreat of Italian big capital, which, obliged to abandon a line of defence, become untenable, that is the line of "centrist" conservative immobility, now tries a new and more defensible line, giving up, inevitably a part of the land which it occupied previously.

Conservatives Retreat

Whether it is a limited, purely practical and temporary retreat, or, on the contrary, a retreat of a certain opening, strategic and irreversible, depends, only up to a certain point, on the conservative circles which would certainly choose the first alternative if they had freedom of choice.

That will, on the contrary, depend, essentially, on the capacity of pressure and stimulus of the masses, and that is where the importance and the significance of the Communist opposition come in.

That this is not a real turn, became evident following the declarations of Fanfani on the programme, which were judged "moderate and acceptable" even by the foremost conservative press organ, the Corriere della Sera and which

ment and in the country, of the Republicans, the Social Democrats, the Socialists, the Communists and of a great part of the Christian Democratic Party.

The Party in power, on the other hand, has been obliged to admit the principle of nationalization as regards electric power. These two examples—and many others could be quoted—show that the intention of isolating the Communists really risks remaining purely an intention, as for a consequent realization of the government programme, limited as it may be, the Communist support, may, more than once, become determinative.

The isolation of the Communists appears even more illusory in foreign policy as, even the socialists have been obliged to maintain full freedom in this field, owing to the declarations of Fanfani who has not only pronounced himself in favour of the maintenance of American atomic bases on Italian soil, but also in favour of atomic armament of NATO, in other words, of Western Germany.

In brief, the new period opening up, is a period of struggles, in the domestic field, to pass from programmes to their realization.

And, through those first political and economic concessions, that the conservatives have been obliged to make, by the creation of the Fanfani government and its programme, one can already catch a glimpse of the advancement of popular masses on an "Italian Way to Socialism" which may be a way along which conservatism will not cease drawing back and losing ground in favour of those who will pursue it. In this pursuit the Communists could only be isolated by remaining in the rearguard, which, as everyone knows, is against their nature.

KERALA COMMUNALISM

* FROM PAGE 7

A few others who call themselves leaders and members of the so-called 'Hindu Mandalam' raved against the whole Christian community, and incited the Hindu masses against the Christian masses. This campaign of hatred against the Christian community as such is, of course, joined by the leaders of the Nair Service Society and their press organs.

It is in the face of these developments that the KPCC leaders shamelessly claim that they lost the Lok Sabha elections in the Malabar area because of their uncompromising stand against communalism. They are not honest enough to admit that their losses in Malabar as well as their gains in certain parts of the Travancore-Cochin area should be traced to the same origin—the changing balance of forces among the caste and communal organisations.

For, the reality is that they gained in the Travancore-Cochin area because of the support rendered by the Christian and Nair communal leaders while they lost in the Malabar area because of opposition from the Muslim League.

The question is whether the 'firm conclusions' arrived at by the Congress High Command, include the necessity to reverse this anti-national outlook of the Kerala leaders.

Will the Congress High Command direct its colleagues in Kerala that they should sever all connections with, and launch a powerful campaign against, all varieties of communalism, including those which supported the Congress in the recent Lok Sabha elections?

It will be idle to hope for such a development. For, the Prime Minister himself has made it clear that he does not propose to rise above partisan considerations: He was furious when A. K. Gopalan and Bhupesh Gupta suggested that the verdict of the people should be respected.

Is it not, therefore, to be feared that he will now try to find some new argument with which his colleagues in Kerala can continue what they are doing, as he found one argument in 1959 and a quite contradictory argument in 1962—the first to remove a Communist Government and the second to keep the Congress-PSP Government in office?

TRIPURA GAINS

* FROM PAGE 6

and win over new forces to their side. But this was done very successfully—particularly in some of the traditional Congress bases.

During 1957 elections, Congress not only gained all the four seats in the Territorial Council from Dharmanagar Division, but had a lead of 14,000 votes over the Communists. But, this time the Communists not only snatched one seat from the Congress but secured a small lead of votes in the Lok Sabha seat.

The blow that has been given to Congress cannot be measured only by counting numbers of votes and seats. The Congress press openly admits that the electorate of Tripura voted against Congress, and Congress had to conduct a "defensive battle", because the Congress house was completely in disorder. Many of its top leaders including two sitting MPs had to disappear from the election battle, mainly due to their internal feuds that have only intensified after the general elections.

While all other middle-of-the-way parties have been rejected, the electorate of Tripura decidedly turned towards the Communist Party for the solution of some of their vital problems.

And what are these problems? Tripura has no respon-

sible government with elected legislature for which the people have agitated for long. The recent statement of the Home Minister made on the floor of Lok Sabha on 7-11-61 on the future administrative set-up of the Union Territories was not worthy of acceptance.

Tripura has a chronic food deficit, her agricultural production is falling while cost of living is increasing daily; the number of unemployed is mounting whereas all rehabilitation schemes end in flop; it is a stagnant region—inaccessible, undeveloped and backward. But the autocratic regime of the Chief Commissioner, instead of taking note of these miseries of the people started evicting tenants and raising rent and revenue; their corruption, wastage and misrule have hardly any comparison.

The electorate of Tripura have voted Communists in the hope that they would clear up this agean stable, fight for a responsible government with elected legislature and get the Land Reforms Act amended in such a way that the tenants get all possible help and relief.

The general elections helped the Communists to gather more strength, to build up better fighting unity among the democratic masses and to prepare for big battles that are ahead.

LIBERATION HAILED

* FROM PAGE 6

"We welcome the Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Bill which the Prime Minister has now put forward because the whole country rejoices that Goa, long suffering Goa, has at last been liberated.

"The last colonial pimple on India's fair face have been eliminated by short and swift and almost entirely bloodless campaign which has been conducted by our forces. The European free booters who were the first to arrive on Indian soil and are now the last to leave—the Portuguese imperialists—are no longer to soil our country. Our prestige has risen in Asia and Africa and wherever colonialism is regarded to be the pest that it is, and all India, over this operation, has felt a new glow of consolidation.

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HUNGARY ON ROAD TO SOCIALISM



JANOS KADAR among his people.

SEVENTEEN YEARS SINCE LIBERATION

Each anniversary of the liberation of Hungary is a milestone also in the economic life of the country, for it is in the first three months of the year that the data of the results obtained in the previous year are summed up so that they may serve as a mine of experience for future work.

ACCORDING to the balance sheet drawn up last year—the first under Hungary's second Five Year Plan—Hungarian industry increased its production by 12 per cent and overfulfilled its plan by 3.5 per cent. It was for the first time that about 70 per cent of the surplus came from increased productivity.

Because of the extraordinary drought the agricultural situation was less favourable. Potato and corn fodder production fell below the target, but overall production was not very much down on the figures of the previous year.

FIRM FOUNDATIONS

Today the foundations of Hungarian economic life cannot be shaken even by unexpected difficulties or elemental calamities. The small private farms have united into parcels of thousands of acres, and so a unity of forces and mutual assistance prevail everywhere in the country's life.

The resources of industry are greater than ever before. Since Liberation 65 large-scale industrial works have been established and all the old ones have been enlarged. New mines have been opened up, modern coal cutters, stackers, and combined cutter-loaders have been put into operation. At the great centres of metallurgy blast furnaces of 700 cubic metre capacity, 180-ton open-hearth furnaces, modern roughing-rolls and thin-sheet rolling mills have been built. In what formerly were deserted regions, six socialist towns have been established: Dunaujvaros, Komlo, Kazincbarcika, Oroslany, Varpolota, and Ajka, which produce iron, chemicals, and electric energy.

The industrial production of Hungary is at present almost four times as much as

tion was capable of reducing last year's serious drought damage. Now the economic strengthening of the farmers' cooperatives is the order of the day; it means that the management has to be improved, labour discipline strengthened, the countryside given more machines and chemical fertilisers, and irrigation organised over large areas.

At present there are about 2,500,000 tractors and implements in Hungarian agriculture and the machine park will be further increased in years to come. The existing means, too, can bring about a considerable increase, and in 1962 crop results are expected to exceed those of last year by 9-10 per cent.

Owing to industrial and agricultural development, this year the national income will increase by about 9 per cent and the consumption of goods will exceed last year's figures by four per cent.

The growth of consumption is due not only to the increase in wages but also to the fact that more and more people are working in Hungary. In the thirties every 100 working people had to sustain 117 non-working persons, but since unemployment was eliminated it is only the children, the aged and the invalids that do not work. At present 100 working people sustain only 88 dependents.

In 1938, the factories produce goods worth 18 thousand million forints, i.e. over 750 million dollars a month.

Industrial production is to go on increasing according to plan: this year it will be about 8 per cent up on last year. Now, however, the most important task is to transform the structure of production. Taking into account the country's possibilities, telecommunications and instrument industries will be developed to an extent considerably above the average.

Instead of obsolete steam engines and ships only diesel-engined vehicles will be made, besides the most up to date nuclear, surgical and textile industry instruments, which are already produced on mass basis; and at one of the greatest plants of Hungary, the Beloiannis Telecommunications Factory, the production of micro-wave installations is just being introduced. Some other enterprises have engaged in the mass production of semi-conductors, and transistors and diodes are already used not only for wireless sets, but also for high capacity heavy current installations.

The transformation of Hungarian industry and the rise in the technological standards owe very much to the other socialist countries. In exchange for Hungarian products the country yearly receives a million tons of coking coal, two million tons of crude oil, 200 million cubic metres of natural gas, and one million tons of blast-furnace coke from the friendly countries.

Its socialist reorganisation once completed Hungarian agriculture is now beyond difficult period. About 95 per cent of the country's arable land is farmed by farmers' co-operatives and state farms, and the peasants' coopera-

GROWING TRADE WITH INDIA

REGULAR trade between independent India and liberated Hungary, beginning on a very modest scale, started only in 1949, when the first trade agreement after the war was concluded between the two countries.

It is however only since India's Second Plan began that Hungary's share in Indian trade has shown a conspicuous increase, as is shown by the following figures:

TRADE WITH INDIA (in million forints)				
	1957	1959	1959	1960
Imports	8.7	18.2	49.9	75.5
Exports	33.9	36.8	57.1	78.6

Finally in 1960 a long term agreement, covering a period of three-and-a-half years was signed. The commodity lists were settled for 18 months only, thus leaving the door open to renew them or to include new items after 18 months, as the need may arise.

This agreement provides also for most favoured nation treatment of the contracting parties. Therein is also the offer of a long-term, government sponsored credit to India on a low, 2 1/2 per cent per annum interest basis.

The commodities delivered by Hungary are now playing a role of some importance in India's economic planning and constitute a modest, but useful contribution to the attainment of the plan targets.

POWER PLANTS FOR KASHMIR

In this connection one must mention the construction of two hydraulic power plants in Kashmir. The plans for these plants were drawn up by Hungarian engineers, they are built with Hungarian machinery and material and the construction work is directed by Hungarian engineers and craftsmen on the spot.

The work is proceeding well, although Hungarian skill and craftsmanship had to overcome countless difficulties. Not a minor one was the problem of transportation of the material across the Himalayan passes.

The delivery of 40 steam locomotives was also an important item in the present phase of our relations. India also bought cablemaking factories, a factory for the production of glass fibre, spring washer factories, a centered safety glass factory and the blueprints for a wagon factory and a flour mill.

Measured by Indian standards these deliveries are only a small fraction of Indian industrialisation, but they

represent a useful contribution on the road towards industrial independence.

Almost all the other commodities Hungary is delivering to India can be regarded as essential. India is receiving from Hungary rolled steel, dumpers, conveyors, machine tools, instruments, electric supply meters, cranes, mining equipment, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, tyres and a number of other items. All these goods correspond to the needs of economy in transformation directed towards the exploitation of her own vast natural resources.

HELPING INDUSTRIALISATION

Within the limits of her possibilities, Hungary is also helping India to become a producer of machinery and instruments. This co-operation will help India to produce by herself theodolites, fluorescent tubes, acid-resistant, chemical machinery, electricity supply meters, electronic instruments and other commodities. These plants are built partly in co-operation, partly in collaboration with Hungarian experts.

Transfer of Hungarian know-how and technical equipment in many cases, will help India to make herself independent of imports in some of the items mentioned above. No strings of any kind are attached to this assistance. The industries created with Hungarian co-operation—when completed will be free to operate as they think fit.

Simultaneously with the increase of exports, Hungary seeks also to step up imports from India. She does not wish to embarrass her Indian friends with an unbalanced trade and an unbalanced clearing account.

In spite of difficult transport problems, which have to be overcome, Hungary is a regular buyer of India's ore. They are also continuous importers of jute bags, hessian, mica, pepper, coffee, shellac and also of skins. They are importing quantities of groundnut exporters and are always on the lookout for further Indian commodities to include among their imports.

Needless to say, these efforts to increase Hungarian supplies from India serve the interests of both parties. Thus India can increase her purchases in Hungary and avail herself of essential goods without resorting to expenditure in free currency.

To establish contacts at the highest level, an Indian invitation a Hungarian Government delegation visited India in 1961. The cordial reception extended to this delegation, the sincere and friendly atmosphere in which talks were conducted, augur well for the future development of Indian-Hungarian trade relations.

MAHARASHTRA DEFEAT

FROM PAGE FOUR

ral meetings and conferences and through their declarations, manifestoes and programme announced their new policy.

While the Congress leaders using the traditional national bourgeois influence, their state power and economic promises held out by the five-year plans were rapidly drawing towards themselves sections and classes following the Samiti, the Samiti could not fight this disruption effectively to the same extent by rousing the sections and classes following it and bringing them into action.

In the Thana Conference of our Party, we discussed all these questions at the Party level and took note of the change in the situation. It was stressed that the neglect of the work of building up class organisations should be put an end to. We cannot, however, say that at that time we were fully aware of the urgency of this decision.

In carrying the waves of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement to the remote villages, as also in bringing about the great successes of the Samiti candidates in the last general elections, the rich peasants, who are the traditional leaders of the countryside, played a big part. After the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra State, this section started moving away from the Samiti, we did not realise the urgent need for building our independent base among the poor and middle peasantry and workers who are genuinely drawn towards social justice and socialism.

Had we realised this the direction of our work would have changed. We would have devoted more attention in taking up their problems and building their class organisations. Had this been done, by the time of these elections, our Party and the Samiti would have found at least to some extent new support in the rural areas.

Since this was not done, right in the midst of the election battle not only did we find the rich peasant moving away from us like the slipping sand; but we also saw large chunks from other sections of people under his influence in the villages moving towards the Congress, along with him.

From a class standpoint, it was quite natural that after the achievement of the national demand for the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra, the rich peasantry and the middle-classes should turn to the Congress. But even large chunks of poor peasants and agricultural labourers, as also to a certain extent even the working class, went back to the Congress. After four years of association with them in the period of struggle, these sections to whose class interests the programme of the Samiti is very near, could not be retained by us on the side of the Samiti.

This was because, in the last four years, with the influence of the Samiti over them, we did not take up their economic and social problems and sharpen their class consciousness and in this way make firm our hold over them. This was not done to the extent it should have been done.

We did not create for ourselves an independent social

base among them. The Samiti gave encouragement to the formation of trade unions and the establishment of powerful unions like the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. It adopted resolutions supporting the strike of the Central Government employees and rendered it active support.

Despite all this, it is a fact that among workers and peasants persistent work was not done with enthusiasm and clear understanding of the new programme of the Samiti. And, therefore, we could not build an independent social base in these sections of people.

It was quite possible for us to expose the true character of the capitalist planning of this government by taking up issues like prices of agricultural products, loot of the market, etc., and in this way disillusion the rich peasantry which was leaning towards the Congress. It was necessary also to organise the middle-classes suffering under rising prices and growing unemployment on the basis of our new programme.

Leave aside the question as to how much we could have done in this regard in the short time that was available to us, how far was this in our consciousness and how far did we try to put into practice that this was our main job? We did not look at the various things from this angle nor did we take the necessary steps and give directions to the activists of our Party. We should admit that the urgency of this work was not reflected in their consciousness.

In the days of agitation for Samyukta Maharashtra, the Samiti won majorities in a number of municipalities and district and local Boards. Because of Samiti-majority in these bodies, in several places the demands of the workers and middle-classes were met to a large measure and there was improvement in their condition.

However, in some other places, even under the regime of the Samiti these bodies continued to work as before as they had been under Congress rule and in these places the Samiti did not fulfil the expectations of the people.

Not only that. In some places, the Samiti was affected with the disease of corruption in a Congress-style. Some members of our Party also have been corrupted in this way in certain places.

How did the minorities act in these elections is also an important question. The Gujarati, Rajasthani, Parsi and Christian communities, as in 1957, voted in their traditional way for the Congress. Moneyed sections of the Gujarati community and their followers opposed the break-up of the bilingual and even though the common Gujarati folk had grave suspicions about the slogans of the Samiti, it is a matter of pride for the Samiti and our Party and the people of Bombay that in this entire period neither in the City of Bombay nor elsewhere there was any clash between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis nor was there any tension between these two communities.

Our Party occupies a good position in the Muslim community—particularly among workers. The Samiti also derived some benefit from this. But in the recent elections,

the Samiti could not draw as many votes of this community as it should have done. In some places their votes went to the Muslim League, while in others they went to the Congress.

In the minority communities, where there are workers, the Samiti and the Party should work with a class and democratic approach. This was not done.

The Malayalee and Telugu communities, however, largely stood by the Samiti. A majority of them belongs to the working class and middle classes and in the province from which they have come, the influence of our Party, class organisations and progressive ideas is very great. The Samiti derived benefit from this. But that was not the case with other communities and the Congress gained from it.

WHAT DID WE GAIN IN THE ELECTIONS?

1) On the whole, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and our Party suffered a big defeat in these elections. As shown above, in the eight districts of Vidarbha, the forces opposed to the Congress have made advance. Among the people of Vidarbha today, there has arisen once again a force which can confidently challenge the Congress monopoly. The elections have cleared the path for those who want to take the democratic forces forward.

2) In Marathwada, even though the Samiti and the Party have not secured big gains, the progressive forces have stood their ground against the great tide which

swept the whole of Maharashtra. With this as the basis, the movement of the people will go forward.

3) Even though the Samiti has suffered a big defeat, in the whole of Maharashtra it is the Samiti alone which is the alternative to the Congress in power not only because it has secured a larger number of seats than any other opposition party but because this has become a part and parcel of the consciousness of the overwhelming majority of the people. People look to the Samiti as an organisation which brings together all progressive forces opposed to the Congress.

4) Because of the important work carried on by the Samiti in the political life of Maharashtra since 1955, the anti-Congress discontent of the masses is in the main centred round the Samiti. Hence in the elections, people of Maharashtra did not give any place for parties of reaction like the Swatantra, Jana Sangh, etc. This is a big achievement.

5) The elections have put a check on the Nag Vidarbha movement and the feeling for a separate Vidarbha State.

6) The PSP and the Kamble Group (of dissident Republicans) who went out of the Samiti carried on a vicious anti-Samiti and particularly anti-Communist campaign. People have rejected their disruptive and blind anti-Communist politics.

Even though 9 candidates of the PSP have been elected to the State legislature, in several districts that party has been wiped out. This defeat of

theirs will help the process of rethinking in their ranks.

7) In the elections, not only the Samiti but the Party also has gained hundreds of new workers in the various places where we fought the elections. The elections have given our Party a new force which can help the growth of the Party and mass organisations.

8) This time, in a number of places, new forces outside the Samiti and some individuals opposed to the policies of the Congress appeared in the field. There is a possibility of relations of cooperation with one such anti-Congress group with progressive policies.

TASKS BEFORE US

From the election battle our Party and the Samiti have come out with several injuries. Thousands of activists and people who follow our Party and the Samiti are greatly disappointed. It is our urgent duty to dispel this and create new confidence in them.

Perhaps, today it may not be possible to answer many questions cropping out of the elections in the minds of the people. But because of this, it will not do to leave aside the urgent work.

In one sense, the direction of our future work is quite clear. To strengthen the unity of the Samiti and take it forward as the democratic front of the people, today it is very essential that we take up immediately the work of strengthening our Party, class and mass organisations.

(Translated from Marathi Yugantar)

MADHYA PRADESH ELECTIONS REVIEWED

THE M.P. State Executive Committee of Communist Party met at Bhopal on March 16 and 17 to review the election and plan work for the future. It adopted the following resolution:

"The State Committee feels that the sharp decline in Congress votes and seats and its failure to get a majority in the Vidhan Sabha is of its own making and Congress has only to bless itself for this situation. The Congress in the state has been consistently following an anti-people policy. The state government has been adopting repressive measures against the people who were struggling for the improvement in their living conditions but has given complete liberty to its officers in the administration and the communal and reactionary elements outside for the filthiest and dirtiest propaganda. It is no more a secret that the agents of communal elements have also penetrated deep in the administration. Thus it has been permitting the grass to grow under its feet and having sown the seed it has to reap its 'debacle'."

"The Committee notes that these anti-people policies of the Government have caused very deep discontent and resentment among the people, deeper than the Party imagined. This along with grave and open factional fight between the organisational and the ministerial wings has led to their complete rout.

"The Committee however views with grave concern the emergence of fascist, communal and reactionary forces as a major force in the politics

of the state. Jana Sangh bagging 41 seats and the great influence that rajas and feudal chieftains command over the people in certain areas pose a danger to secular, democratic set up of the state.

"While the policies of the Katju government and the open help rendered to these forces by quarrelling wings of the Congress are important factors in their victory, the committee feels that it would be wrong to underestimate the strength of these forces of dark reaction and communalism. It is these forces who have directed the mass discontent against the Congress policies into wrong channels by rousing communal and religious sentiments in rural areas mainly."

"The weakness of the Party. While the Party has polled almost double the votes than in 1957 election, it has failed to strengthen the democratic opposition. Two senior leaders of the Party have won the election and some Independents supported by the Party have also come out with flying colours, but on the whole the Party has not made the headway that was necessary. This stagnation of the Party has to be fought determinedly and firmly so that the Party is able to unite secular and democratic forces, dislodge communal and feudal reaction from their present position and pose a democratic alternative before the people."

"It is also noteworthy that the Party has not permitted communal reaction to penetrate in areas where it is an active force. It is

mainly the areas where Communist Party or other Left Parties had been weak or non-existent that the Jana Sangh and such other forces have been able to emerge as a force against Congress. It would be dangerous, however, to permit these forces to fill the vacuum and it is incumbent on the secular and democratic forces to rise to the occasion and unite and root out the forces of communal reaction.

"The Committee feels that it is all the more necessary for all units to take up people's issues and unite secular democratic forces in the process of struggle."

"The Executive also passed a resolution on Ministry making in M.P. in which it said that the Congress in M.P. has refused to learn lessons from its utter defeat in the general elections.

"The new cabinet under the leadership of Sri Mandloi inherits all the evils of the old one in a more dangerous background", it said.

"The Committee also opposed the move for the formation of Upper House in Madhya Pradesh. It called it a tactics of the Congress to appease the dissatisfied elements in the organisation. The Party urged upon all the secular forces to take steps for the implementation of the national integration conference resolutions.

"The Executive Committee also adopted a resolution on H.E.L. affairs and decided to hold schools in the last week of March and first week of April at Indore and Bhopal.

At the 18th Session of the U. N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) which met at Tokyo in March, the WFTU representative, K. B. Panikkar, sharply criticised the "narrow-minded approach and inclinations of a profit-hunting investor" exhibited in the Economic Survey for 1961 presented to the session by the ECAFE Secretariat.

HE pointed out that the authors of the Survey, on all vital aspects of development, showed limited vision and strong partiality in defence of the interests of the monopolies.

The Survey, in essence, opposed land reform measures, glorified the functions of the moneylender, etc. On page 185, it stated: "In some countries, a socialist orientation, calling for government-directed and dominated development overburdens administration while simultaneously the human resources outside government remain under-utilized."

Such evidently erroneous and biased conclusions are not in keeping with the role of the ECAFE.

On p. 358 it advocates bigger incentives and concessions to private capital; on pp. 354, 355 and 387 it extolls private sector while belittling public sector and even the development of basic industries.

Following are some extracts from the speech of K. B. Panikkar:

While the main effort for economic development should come from within the countries; he said, aid from advanced countries could stimulate and accelerate such de-

WFTU Delegate Denounces ECAFE Report

velopment. But such aid should really be conducive for the independent development of the economies of the countries.

Aid coupled with military obligations and stipulations only jeopardizes the economies of the recipient countries. Even the Survey notes that "undoubtedly immediate political and strategic, rather than long-term economic, considerations have dominated the distribution, not only of military but also of economic assistance from abroad."

In their anxiety to get some external resources, some countries are yielding to the increasing pressure of foreign monopolies. In most of the countries of the region, mainly due to their colonial past, the most lucrative sectors of economy are in the hands of foreign monopolies. This is particularly so in industries such as tea, rubber, oil, mining, etc.

When private foreign monopolies begin to feel insecure over their investments due to the increasing national strength of the countries, they do not shrink from applying even non-economic pressures endangering the independence of the countries.

The investing countries have too big a stake to be reconciled to the growing aspirations of the developing countries. It is to be noted that the foreign investments of the American monopolies in 1960 stood at 71.4 billion dollars; that of the British at \$1000 million and even that of the newcomer, in the field, West Germany, at 2,928 million DM.

The enormous profits squeezed out of the countries from such investments can be seen from just one example. In Indonesia, on US investments of 178 million dollars in 1960, the profit was 70 million dollars—a profit rate of 39 per cent.

In 1960, the profits of the American investments amounted to 3500 million dollars or a little less than double the national income of Thailand.

The British-controlled companies in India during the period 1956 to 1959 profited Rs. 1,247 million as against, out of which a sum of Rs. 861 million rupees was repatriated to U.K.

Aid from external sources should be real aid which should strengthen the economy of the recipient coun-

tries, not by seeking opportunity for investments for profits but by providing credits at low interest rates and on easy payment terms. Such aid should be accompanied by technology and skill in sectors and destinations which are basic and vital for economic development, as the socialist countries are providing...

In spite of the gains in production and productivity the workers have not gained any appreciable improvement in their working and living standards, in the countries of the region.

At the same time, giving examples, K. B. Panikkar said, the monopolies were being given a free hand to mop up the fruits of national toll.

Thus once again we wish to focus the attention of the Commission on the need for readjustment of social policies by which the gains of economic development result in alleviating the conditions of the mass of the people, he said.

licies and programmes designed to raise the standard of living of the broad masses of the people, assumes added importance.

The trade situation for 1960 and 1961, once again, underlines the unfavourable position of the primary exporting countries of the region.

The resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 19, 1961, stressed that "the developing and under-developed countries have in recent years suffered from their unfavourable terms of trade with the industrialized countries and that this trend has resulted in a declining share of the developing and under-developed countries in the gains from international trade and in a chronic gap between their export earnings and import requirements for development."

UNFAVOURABLE TRADE

There is no need to be reminded of the warning of the 1959 ECAFE Survey that "hardly any country in the region can look forward to an economic development in which the growth of exports of primary products to industrial countries plays the leading role."

The fall in prices of several important primary commodities has considerably reduced the export earnings of many countries including Malaysia, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc.

In the later part of 1960, the overall level of prices of primary commodities was about 8 per cent lower than at the beginning of the year. This trend also continued for most of 1961.

This fall in prices is not accidental but arises from the deliberate policy of the monopolies who control the main channel of such trade. In the wake of this lower export earnings, the growing import requirement has made the balance of payment situation still worse for most of the countries of the region.

These difficulties are further accentuated by the creation of trade barriers due to such integration as the European Common Market, discriminatory and unfair ocean freight rates, etc.

The expansion of trade both in terms of regional expansion and increased world trade being very important for the countries of the region, the Commission should emphasise the need to develop trade with all nations without discrimination.

In the context of present international trade relations, the WFTU has been continuously stressing the importance of long-term bilateral trade arrangements. The beneficial influence of such arrangements and the relief they are able to provide to the trade of some countries are quite evident from the expanding trend of such arrangements with many socialist countries.

In this connection, we would also wish to stress the increasing role and importance of State Trading Organisations. The Commission should stress these aspects both in relation to the expansion of trade and on the stabilisation of the prices of primary commodities.

U. S. Communists Spearhead Fight Against New McCarthyite Wave

From Our Correspondent

NEW YORK, March 23. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, and Benjamin Davis, National Secretary, were arrested on March 15 at the headquarters of the Communist Party for refusing to register the Party under the provisions of the infamous McCarran Act.

THESE are the first arrests under this law which incorporates the fascist slander that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power and commits acts of espionage, sabotage, deceit, trickery and seeks the violent overthrow of the government. Registration not only requires subscription to such falsehoods but also the submission of the names and addresses of all members and supporters with possible arrests and imprisonment under federal and state law and other forms of oppression.

The two Communist leaders were released on \$5,000 bail pending trial on charges which could mean 30 years in prison and \$60,000 in fines. Trial date has not yet been set.

A Federal Grand Jury meeting in Washington, D.C. last December had brought an indictment against the Communist Party as such for refusing to register. This is the first time in US history that a political party has been indicted and brought into court. Trial date of the Communist Party had first been set for February, then was postponed and at present is indefinite.

The Grand Jury has subpoenaed to Washington hearings about 50 persons, including editors and staff of the Worker, Political Affairs and Mainstream, office workers, political leaders from various neighbourhoods, and Communist leaders from New York, Baltimore and Chicago.

The admitted effort is to get indictments and convictions under all the provisions of the McCarran law and thus make this law fully operative for future application of its draconian concentration camp provisions.

A major part of the McCarran Act as passed under the lash of McCarthyism in 1950 is the concentration camp section.

Concentration Camps Ready

Gus Hall, in a press interview on March 17 warned that what is involved in the arrests "is an attempt to replace the First Amendment of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech, press, and assembly with a series of concentration camps." He pointed out that the McCarran Act makes provision for such camps and that "those camps were established in the 1950's and are maintained today within the prison system for future use."

He made specific reference to the Pennsylvania and Arizona camps and declared, "these camps are too big to be filled with Communists alone. The real target of the McCarran law is the American people." Hall called the law "a draconian law intended to fill the concentration camps without trial."

Under the McCarran definition of a Communist, a person need not have been a Party member at any time to be labelled a Communist member and to be subject to all the penalties of the law. A series of 14 points are put in the law to determine "membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization". This provides the basis for dragnet arrests under pressure of ultra-Right fascists. This method of determining "membership or participation" has been upheld by the Supreme Court.

The wide scope of the McCarran law is also indicated by the sections applying to "Communist Front" and "Communist infiltrated" organizations which applies to mass popular organizations and trade unions.

The notorious House Un-American Activities Committee which wrote the major part of the McCarran Act at the time of its passage has just issued a report listing 622 organizations which they classify as Communist fronts over the past years. The apparent purpose of the publication is to extend the application of the McCarran Act beyond those organizations now under attack by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

At the present time, the mass organizations facing the brunt of the attack are the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship and the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. These organizations are now in the Courts. Actions are also pending against 12 other popular organizations.

Under the category of "Communist infiltrated", the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—one of the oldest and most militant unions of this country—has been "found guilty" by the McCarran Board and is now in the courts.

The full threat of this law to the people was emphasized by Benjamin J. Davis who pointed out at the March 17 press interview that Senator Strom Thurmond, fascist Senator from South Carolina has charged that the "sit-in" struggles of the Negro people are "Communist-inspired." That is a lie, said Davis, but Senator Thurmond "is so powerful that if this law is upheld, the Subversive Activities Control Board could move against this movement."

In the past two weeks two leading Communists—Phil Bart and James Jackson (Editor of The Worker) have been sentenced to six months imprisonment for refusing to act as informers and provide information which would help the government convict the Communist Party, its press as well as individual Communists and progressives. They did so on the ground of the

Fifth Amendment of the Constitution which declares that "no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself."

To get around the Constitution applied the Immunity Act of 1954 known as the Compulsory Testimony Act (Stoolpigeon law) which gives the government the right to offer immunity to witnesses in exchange for testimony. This is in cases involving national security. In the present proceedings national security is not affected. At the proceedings, both Bart and Jackson declared they refused to be informers.

Press Protests

Jackson has issued an appeal to the press of the country against the danger of the loss of press liberties as a result of the action against him and The Worker. The Washington Post, New York Post and other liberal papers have editorially denounced the proceedings.

It is also expected that in the next few days the Attorney General will order the government-appointed five-man Subversive Activities Control Board to start hearings against individual members for failure to register.

The Grand Jury has also been inquiring into the matter

of "labelling" in the case of The Worker, Political Affairs as well as Mainstream, the latter of which is a left progressive publication. If they decide that the "labelling" provision of the McCarran Act has been violated, indictments against these publications will follow. New Century and New Era Distributors, which publish and distribute Communist and progressive pamphlets; have also been called to the inquisition.

On top of these attacks has come another from the government which has re-introduced a suit demanding \$500,000 in taxes from the Communist Party on the ground that Congress has declared in the 1954 that the Communist Party is not a legal political party. They demand that the C.P. pay taxes which go back to 1950.

The Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis case together with the Communist Party case are decisive in determining the legal and political fate of the McCarran Act. With the possible victory in this case, all other cases under this law will also be determined. Protests are being sent to President John Kennedy at the White House and to Attorney General Robert Kennedy at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. urging that the indictments against Hall and Davis and the Communist Party be dropped and de-

nouncing the application of the fascist McCarran Act.

These protests are being expressed by prominent citizens and many civil liberties organizations. The Kennedy Administration has also been somewhat sobered by the expressions of religious and academic bodies, of various writers, political figures and trade unionists against the menace of the fascist elements of the ultra-Right in this country.

Freedom Will Win

Observers of developments in Washington give most credit to the mass expressions of protest and concern from people in other countries as halting the threat of immediate mass arrests which were threatened last June. The Kennedy Administration is sensitive to popular expression from other countries, although Robert Kennedy repeatedly tried to dismiss protests and to assert American claims to "freedom" during his recent world tour.

Every protest, every demonstration or delegation has registered some results—and Americans of all political beliefs are deeply grateful for the concern expressed in other lands for the preservation of democracy in the United States.

Sensational New GDR Proposal For West Berlin Access

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN, March 25.

WALTER Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, has made new proposals for solving the question of access to and from West Berlin. The question was supposed to have deadlocked progress of Geneva disarmament talks.

The State Council Chairman and First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party told the concluding session of the Central Committee meeting that GDR was willing to accept an international arbitration commission to assist GDR in ensuring access to and from West Berlin which is now under the joint occupation of the USA, Britain and France.

Regarding the Berlin question Ulbricht made these important proposals: 1) GDR to guarantee full access to West Berlin, 2) An international Commission consisting of 52 countries who are guarantor nations of a German peace treaty to arbitrate, act as a tribunal in case of difference of opinion on peaceful traffic to West Berlin, between GDR on one hand and the occupation powers on the other side, and

3) Complaints of traffic problems could be taken up with USSR, a

member in the Commission.

Ulbricht's peaceful access plan also proposes the end of occupation regime in the Western part of the city, withdrawal of all occupation forces from West Berlin.

Ulbricht agreed that symbolic troop contingents of neutral nations could be stationed in West Berlin as a guarantee.

His plan also included proposals for a disarmed Germany as part of a nuclear free zone in Europe and peaceful coexistence of two German states.

The contents of Ulbricht's new proposals were handed over to Dean Rusk last Monday by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Western views on access to West Berlin are now met more than half way by these new proposals of Ulbricht. A solution to this problem was held to be a precondition for disarmament in the speeches of Western diplomats in Geneva.

President Kennedy had recently asked for "an internationalised corridor between West Germany and Berlin handled by four powers, the U.N. or other body, but it must be acceptable to both sides". Kennedy had also told Izvestia editor last November that no assurance had been forthcoming from GDR

West German sources have promptly reacted these proposals like all earlier ones, advancing again the excuse that any consideration of these would amount to virtual recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

T.B. VITTAL RAO ON CENTRE'S INTERIM BUDGET

★ FROM PAGE TWO

it was 6.00 million tons of unfinished steel and 4.5 million tons of finished steel. Now after one year of the Third Plan period we are nowhere near the target.

If this is the rate at which we are going, I am afraid we shall never, never be able to reach our target of 10.5 million tons of steel by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. The position can be saved only if energetic steps are taken and our steel plants are made to work to their full capacity.

Similarly the Air Corporation Amending Bill is being brought forward, giving permission to a private operator to run air services. It is now being done mainly with a view to giving a new line from Bombay to Baroda to Kalinga Airlines. Today the Indian Airlines Corporation has got a good fleet of dakotas. Dakotas have not become out of date; they may not be useful in the turbulent weather of Assam, but even today there are 2,000 dakotas flying all over the world.

We have got this fleet and this could have been utilised for running a new service from Bombay to Baroda. I cannot understand why it has been given to Kalinga Airlines. That is also contrary to the Industrial Policy Resolution.

Unfulfilled Steel Target

A special mention was made of the production of steel in the Finance Minister's speech. He said that the production of steel has been increased from 2.2 million tons in 1960 to 2.9 million tons in 1961. But these figures are to be compared with the targets we have laid for ourselves during the Second Plan period. The original target before the formulation of the Second Plan was 6.00 million tons, but subsequently it was said that

agreed that not only a 125 megawatts thermal plant but a one million kilowatts plant could be set up at this place because of the nearness of coal and various other factors. The prospects are there, but the plant is not coming up. One year of the Third Five Year Plan is coming to an end. I do not know whether within the next four years this plant will be fully commissioned or not.

For the Nagarjunasagar Dam the Government of Andhra Pradesh has been urging for more funds so that it could be expeditiously completed. If it is completed quickly we can raise the production of rice and other foodgrains and thereby cut down the imports under PL 480.

With regard to internal resources, a mention of which has been made, the question of increasing the rate of provident fund contribution from 6% per cent to 8-1/3 per cent by the industrialists has not yet been decided. This question could

Power Shortage

In my State of Andhra Pradesh for the first time we have started resorting to power cuts. Though there was shortage of power as a whole, we never resorted to any power cuts before. Now because of these power cuts several industries are being affected. Coal is a scarce commodity in the southern region, where goods trains are being cancelled for want of coal. Even in the coal mines these power cuts have been enforced with the result that the development of coal mines in this area has been greatly affected.

What is happening? During the Third Five Year Plan it was decided to have a thermal plant with a capacity of 125 megawatts in Kothagudem in Andhra Pradesh. The first year of the Third Five Year Plan is coming to an end, but not even the foundation-stone for that has been laid, not even the land has been acquired for the setting up of this thermal plant.

Month after month we receive some World Bank officials and discuss things. Sometimes officials of the Export-Import Bank come and have discussions. After that we are told that some technical experts are coming. But all these people are

have been decided at the very beginning of the Second Five Year Plan itself. Then the Planning Minister, Sri Nanda, told us not to press this question at that stage—that is, in 1956—as he was thinking of imposing a levy for housing on the industrialists at the end of five years. It has not been done.

Take, for example, the coal industry. There are four lakh miners.... The coal industry itself would give us Rs. 1,50,00,000.

This question of increasing the rate was not gone into once or twice but three committees have gone into this question and recommended that it should be increased. The committee on social security has also said that there is a case for immediate increase. But it has not been done.

Vittal Rao concluded by demanding an increase forthwith in the dearness allowance to Central Government employees as the cost of living index had risen by much more than ten points.

W. BENGAL

FROM PAGE 5

tive work undertaken by the Government for the welfare of the people. There was none on this side of the House to refuse cooperation in such matters.

But, strangely enough, it was the Government that had refused such cooperation. Even the suggestion made by the Opposition to the Government that the representatives of all parties should be included in Relief Committees had been turned down.

Referring to the vituperative remarks of Dr. Pratap Chandra Chander, a Congress member, against the Soviet Union on the previous day, Harekrishna Konar said that the Congress legislator had

the temerity to criticise the Soviet Union in order to sing hymns of praise to the West Bengal Government, the balance-sheet of whose record was a tottering agrarian economy and a limping industrial structure. The Congress member should have borne in mind that the Soviet Union was the only country which was going to create in the next 20 years breath-taking plenty and abundance, unprecedented in the annals of the world. Even Pandit Nehru had hailed this colossal effort.

The attempt to compare West Bengal's "progress" with that in the Soviet Union reminded one of the desire of a cockroach to become a bird, Harekrishna Konar concluded.

WORLD-WIDE PREPARATIONS FOR DISARMAMENT CONGRESS

BY ROMESH CHANDRA

"FOR all nations, whether great or small, the arms race is an economic burden, a bar to progress, a hindrance to true national independence. It holds all mankind under the threat of destruction.

"A great surge of feeling and action for disarmament has risen all over the world. It has brought the statesmen together at the Disarmament Conference now begun in Geneva. But if agreements are to be reached, the peoples must take a hand."

These words of the Appeal unanimously adopted by the participants, sum up the understanding at which the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace arrived at its meeting at Vienna on March 17 and 18. And it is this understanding which permeates the preparations now being made all over the continents for the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, to be held in Moscow from July 9 to 14 this year.

The peoples must take a hand! And all the days between now and July, it will be the effort of the supporters of the Congress, to ensure that in every country on the broadest possible scale, the peoples speak and act for disarmament.

It was a business-like meeting at Vienna, and from the very opening remarks of the Chairman, Professor J. D. Bernal, the Presidential Committee got down to practical work. Reports from the 20 Presidents or their representatives gave a picture of the most varied forms of activity in preparation for the World Congress.

The most significant feature of this activity is the response which the call for the Congress is receiving from organisations and sections of opinion which have remained thus far at a dis-

tance from the World Council of Peace.

Peace Surge in U.S.A.

The representatives from the U.S.A. gave graphic accounts of the great new campaigns—participated in by thousands, in their country—particularly the magnificent demonstrations, walks, strikes by women. And these new American peace groups would be represented at Moscow making the discussions there of so much greater import and significance.

In Europe, Asia, Australia and Latin America, Congresses, national and regional, were being held to prepare for the Moscow Session. The Committee discussed special steps to bring large and representative delegations from Africa.

There was universal interest in the efforts being made in India—particularly because of the outstanding role which our country has already begun to play at Geneva and which it would have, to play all through the negotiations in the 17-nation Disarmament Committee.

As the discussions proceeded, the picture of the World Congress became clearer. It is expected to be the biggest and broadest Congress ever initiated by the World Council of Peace. Over 2,000 delegates are expected. All forces which stand for disarmament are to be invited not only to attend the Congress, but to participate in the Committee of the Congress, which will have the political responsibility for conducting the Congress.

In the Commissions and meetings of the Congress, everyone will be able to express his viewpoint on the different aspects of general disarmament: political, economic, scientific and legal problems, the recrudescence of fascism and neo-fascism,

etc. Problems of the struggle for national independence will be the theme of profound discussions.

Pamphlets will be published on the questions to be discussed at Moscow. Posters, art emblems and other publicity material will be brought out. A film is being produced on the peace movement. Seminars will be organised on the economic, legal and other aspects of disarmament.

Each national delegation should reflect the broad unity of the country concerned in favour of disarmament. A real effort will be made to ensure the fullest discussions at Moscow.

The immediate issue round which the campaign for the World Congress is to proceed is the Geneva 17-Nation Conference. The Presidential Committee itself sent a delegation to Geneva, headed by Prof. Bernal, to present a memorandum to all the participants in the Conference.

Special emphasis is laid in this memorandum on the tremendous importance of the Geneva meeting and on the great duties which lie on the shoulders of those taking part in these negotiations. The fact of the participation of non-aligned countries for the first time in disarmament negotiations has been highlighted, together with the possibility that they "can act disinterestedly to counsel agreement."

The memorandum emphasises the dangers of the nuclear race and calls for an end to mutual suspicions which hold up agreement, as well as vigilance against mistrust being used to hide "unacknowledged interests in armament manufacture and in maintaining the positions of domination and exploitation of whole peoples which the world has known for centuries in the colonial system, now reaching its end."

The Appeal for the World

HEAVY ELECTRICALS DEADLOCK

WHILE the 28-day-old strike at the Heavy Electricals plant at Bhopal was called off on March 12, following negotiations between the Chairman of the project and S. M. Banerjee, MP, the atmosphere for amicable resolution of the disputes has been complicated by the strange attitude of the Madhya Pradesh Labour Court.

According to the settlement reached between the management and the workers, it was agreed by the management that steps would be taken to withdraw the cases pending against the workers under the M. P. Industrial Relations Act, 1960. But when the management approached the Labour Court on March 19, the Court rejected the application for withdrawal of cases.

The Court argued that "their orders are being flouted" and that "the disobedience was not only a disobedience of the court order but it was almost a state of lawlessness."

This was strange indeed, because one would have thou-

ght that normally the primary duty of labour courts was to bring about industrial peace rather than become instrumental in keeping industrial unrest alive.

The striking employees decided to go back to work after they had considered certain assurances given by the management on the points of dispute and also a message from the Prime Minister asking them to end the strike.

The union assured the Prime Minister of more production and demanded "a judicial inquiry into the police excesses during the strike period and recognition of the Heavy Electrical Servants Trade Union as a representative union."

The Prime Minister in a message to Shakhir Ali Khan, M.L.A. who had earlier submitted a memorandum, had said: "Please inform the workers' representative that I advise him to call off the strike immediately. Such grievances as they have will certainly be looked into and I shall myself take some interest in the matter."

The management assured that all workers and trainees

will be allowed to resume work and that no action will be taken. It was also assured that absence during the period of strike will not be construed as a break in the continuity of a service.

The demands relating to formation of a grievance-settlement committee and a joint management council would be referred to the Central and State Labour Ministers.

It was also assured that other demands relating to leave rules, wages, dearness allowance, house-rent allowance, etc., would be considered by the Board shortly.

With regard to the demands of A grade artisans, it was agreed by the Chairman of the HEL that he would consider the question of promotion of 60 A grade artisans to charge-hands, in case they agreed in principle to work under the charge-hands.

The workers on their part are making every possible effort to make up the loss in production suffered by the Project during the strike period. But somebody will have to do something to resolve the deadlock that has now been created.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR DECORATED



SOVIET Ambassador to India, Ivan Benediktov.

who celebrated his 60th birthday on March 24, was on this happy occasion decorated by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with the Red Banner of Labour for distinguished services on the diplomatic post.

He became his country's ambassador to India, for a second time, in April 1959. Worthy representative of India's most sincere friend in the world, the great and mighty Soviet Union, Ambassador Benediktov's tenure has been extremely fruitful in the unprecedented, all-round, strengthening of Indo-Soviet ties.

Congress ends with the slogans:

"To stop the Arms race—

"To end nuclear weapons tests—

"To remove the threat of nuclear war—

"Get together and send your representatives to the Congress for General Disarmament and Peace—

"Make 1962 the year of Disarmament."

Round these slogans, the widest and most widespread disarmament campaign has been launched. In India, following a series of meetings held in different parts of the country in support of the Geneva Conference, an All-India Congress for General Disarmament and Peace takes place in Delhi from April 6 to 8.

Already a very large number of eminent representative individuals from different parts of the country—very many of them from outside the Peace Council—have agreed to be among the sponsors of the Congress. The Disarmament issue is one in which every patriotic Indian is deeply interested.

The Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, at its Vienna meeting, also adopted important resolutions on the cease-fire in Algeria and on the international developments since the last session of the Council in December. These stressed the questions of Germany, Cuba, Laos, Congo, South Viet-Nam, Angola, West Irian etc.

FARIDABAD . . . From Front Page

decided to approach the Government officer and other agencies. An application was signed by almost all workers unitedly.

This was the beginning of the present struggle, for though the management seemed to come to terms, agreed to treat the period of fifteen days of dismissal as lay-off, agreed to give all workers work from March 1, yet actually when the workers came to the factory gates, instead of being given glass tubes to work they were given brooms and pails and asked to wash factory floors and lavatories.

Indignant at this treatment the 84 women workers in consultation with the Ekta Mazdoor Union, struck work and are still continuing their strike.

Faridabad workers have given a glorious example of workers' solidarity. Not only did the workers of other factories wear black badges in sympathy for the striking women and organised meetings and demonstrations, but the Ekta Union also organised a workers' kitchen for the strikers. Daily the striking women were given tea and food and even for those who were the sole breadwinners, food was sent to their children at home.

The Japanese Engineer could not stomach this defiance on the part of Indian women. At a meeting he tried to push off the platform Bibi Veeran, leader of the women's struggle and a veteran worker of the Punjab Lok Stri Sabha. Again, he tried to molest a woman striker. When the workers protested this bully ran off and sent frantic telegrams to the Japanese Embassy stating that his life and property were in danger. The Embassy is said to have

approached the Government of India which in turn referred the matter to the Punjab Government and one fine morning the Police officials arrived on the scene to find a disciplined batch of strikers waiting in a queue at the gate of the factory to receive their morning meal!

Now the management is trying other means. Posters and handbills appear mysteriously maligning, abusing and trying to blackmail the striking women, scandals are attempted to be spread about young girls taking part in the struggle.

The reply of the workers to this insidious attack was indeed a glorious one. Eleven unions of Faridabad including such influential units as Bata, Hindustan Electrics, and others, decided to start a token hunger strike and at the gate of each factory. Shamianas were put up where two to three leading workers started their hunger strike of protest.

March 24 was the culmination of this act. From every factory groups of workers with flags flying and drums beating and led by the workers on hunger strike joined the procession headed by the women workers of the Indo-Japan factory. A huge rally was held in Market No. 1 addressed by the Delhi trade union leader A. C. Nanda and by Hajrah Begum. Representatives of various unions once again pledged their full support to the cause of the striking women.

The next step now being planned is a deputation of the strikers to Delhi to meet the Labour Minister, the Prime Minister and to present their protest to the Japanese Embassy.