

6 JUN 7 - 1961
Cont Copy

WELCOME!

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. IX, NO. 13

MARCH 26, 1961

25 nP.

INDIA won the respect of the world through its long-drawn struggle for national liberation from the yoke of British imperialism. After the achievement of independence, India won worldwide popularity in still wider circles, for its tireless championship of world peace and fraternal solidarity with all nations fighting against colonial enslavement.

This week it is India's privilege to play the host to the partisans of peace and patriotic fighters from all the corners, and the various continents of the world, when they come together in our capital city to attend the session of the World Peace Council.

now faced with the great responsibility of helping humanity achieve its hitherto greatest triumph—a world without arms, and rid of the scourge of colonialism.

WORLD WITHOUT ARMS

The World Peace Council was among the first to advance and popularise the slogan of disarmament as the most effective practical guarantee against war and for peace. Today total and general disarmament has been accepted by the UN and become the most live international issue on the agenda of the day.

The Indian people and our Government are ardent supporters of such disarmament. We have no doubt that the deliberations of the Council will make a big contribution to advance the struggle for disarmament.

There can be no peace in the world on the basis of colonial domination of weaker nations. In our own time, it has been dramatically demonstrated over and over again

We greet the World Peace Council whose pioneering work has made the peace movement a non-partisan powerful mass movement which has won recognition as a vital force for the preservation of peace and the prevention of war.

LEADING FIGURES

We welcome the members of the World Peace Council, famous names in the world of science, arts and literature, leading statesmen and social workers, respected men and women in the various walks of life in their own countries and beyond.

We have no doubt that our countrymen and the Government will do what they can to make them feel at home, and render all help, in the common cause.

by **P. C. JOSHI**

Men of goodwill the world over earnestly demand peace. The remaining enslaved nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America are actively fighting for freedom. The moral superiority and greater strength of the forces of peace and anticolonialism has been demonstrated, by event after event, and year after year it has grown.

IMPERIALISTS DESPERATE

Yet the forces of war and colonialism refuse to read the sign of the new times and listen to the voice of reason. They are, however, neither blind nor deaf. They are planning new international manoeuvres to lull the gullible and split the resurgent peace forces. They are indulging in unprecedented gangsterism wherever their colonial hold is threatened. They are panicky and desperate because theirs is a losing battle.

The World Peace Council represents the ascendant forces of peace and anti-colonialism which are scoring triumph after triumph, it is

that the national struggle of the enslaved is integrally connected with the world struggle for peace and gives it new strength and unprecedented momentum.

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM

The leaders of the World Peace Council and specially those from the Western countries were wise enough to early grasp the significance of this new historic phenomenon, and saw it as their duty to their own nation and the cause of peace to welcome and support the liberation struggle of the colonial countries.

Today the situation in Congo, Algeria, Laos is critical. Cuba is not out of danger. Africa is in great ferment. Latin American countries, under US thralldom, denied democratic rights, are restless. The puppet regimes in Asian countries are shaky. All this demands worldwide solidarity and a stern warning to the colonialist powers.

We welcome the comrades-



Drawing by eminent U. S. artist, Anton Refregier, member of the World Peace Council.

in-arms of Patrice Lumumba and hope that they will be assured such support as will lead to the speedy fulfilment of Lumumba's mission.

We greet the Algerian fighters for freedom who have fought so determinedly and heroically as to compel de Gaulle to talk peace in terms of their self-determination. Worldwide support will help make the negotiations fruitful.

Leaders of Laos must be pledged all support for the successful end of the civil war which the SEATO powers have kindled and are keeping aflame.

Patriots from Goa, our own countrymen, will plead support against Portuguese occupation.

The Pakistan delegates will

find that the sentiments of good neighbourliness await them.

The delegates of the mightiest peace power of the world, the Soviet Union, will find ready response for every forward-moving proposal from the biggest non-aligned peace power, our country.

The delegates from China will find that, despite our unfortunate differences, there is willingness to work together in the common cause of anti-imperialist solidarity, Asian and world peace.

It is only men of evil intent who will seek to excite passions over the border dispute. Good neighbours can only go on seeking every opportunity to arrive at a common understanding, based on the Panch Sheel.

It is therefore natural that

the session in New Delhi is welcomed by the Indian people. The All India Peace Council had decided to do its best to popularise the issues before the session of the WCP throughout the country in as many ways as possible. Broad and wide support for the WCP meeting is considered to be an essential aspect of the success of this session. The AIPC had therefore decided to hold provincial conventions and conferences preceding the WCP session. Leaders of the WCP have already been invited to tour the different parts of the country, take part in the many meetings and conferences. Apart from holding provincial gatherings the AIPC is planning to hold series of meetings—big and small—all over the country.

HONOURED GUESTS

We have no doubt that our honoured guests, mature leaders of goodwill, along with the Indian delegation, will formulate wise and reasonable proposals and suggest worldwide mass campaign that will advance the noble cause of peace on our earth and freedom for every nation.

It is not an accident that the World Peace Council decided to have India as the venue for the WCP session at a time when the international situation is both favourable and difficult for the work of Peace.

The World Peace Council since its inception popularised the idea of peaceful coexistence, the idea of negotiation as the best way for solving the disputes among nations; the World Peace Council opposed the policy of military blocks and military pacts, supported the liberation of colonial people and ceaselessly campaigned against the test and manufacture of nuclear weapons and for disarmament. All these issues have found echo in the hearts of Indians.

India's past tradition, India's independent foreign policy, India's national interest all ensure an atmosphere of warmth and comradeship to the leaders of the World Peace Movement.

May their tireless and united efforts be crowned with greater-than-ever success on our native soil, the ancient land of peace, tolerance and goodwill towards mankind.

World Peace Leaders

SPLENDID VICTORY

THE "voluntary withdrawal", or irresistible pushing out, of South Africa from the Commonwealth is an event that has very dramatically and picturesquely highlighted, even for the blind, the uplifting and forward-moving nature of the epoch in which we live and work. The shameless champion of apartheid was beaten down to the point of quitting the arena.

The disputants were highly respectable. Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries, not one of them anywhere near being a Communist. The place was Lancaster House, with its Imperial associations. The host was all in favour of retaining and helping Dr. Verwoerd. Nothing, however, saved Dr. Verwoerd.

The decaying forces of the past were roundly vanquished by the rising forces of the present. The representatives of the resurgent Afro-Asian nations won and the spokesman of white racialism lost.

The isolation of the South Africa is so naked and complete that even imperialist circles are compelled to recognise it. The very sedate London Times, March 17, states, "By withdrawing from the Commonwealth, South Africa is more than ever isolated. Places as remote geographically and politically as Washington, Singapore and Madrid and Moscow agree in this conclusion, if on little else".

The Washington Post, March 16, editorially comments, "It is impossible to conceal a pang of sorrow for South Africa—stubborn, recalcitrant but now left broken in a terrible solitude".

The New York Herald Tribune, editorialising the same day on the same subject wrote, "It is particularly disheartening to find the South African Government taking one more step along the road which leads to isolation not only from the other nations but from the principles and beliefs towards which men of goodwill have been struggling for generations".

The moral-political position of racialist South Africa was such that before the united onslaught of Afro-Asian Prime Ministers it crumbled. Even the traditional organs of Anglo-American imperialism could not publicly justify its position.

Macmillan's Tears

It is not that South Africa had no defenders. Britain's Macmillan did his best to keep him in but failed and in the process damned himself as well, in the esteem of enlightened and liberal opinion within his own country. The New Statesman has exposed Macmillan's role in frank and biting words. "The British Government has no cause to congratulate itself. Macmillan has behaved deplorably throughout."

"Indeed, during the closing stages of the debate, Macmillan seems to have lost control of the Conference watching passive and impotent while the issue was fought to finish by the others. Hence for the first time in the Commonwealth history, Britain has ceased to be the dominant force in shaping its decisions. There is both justice and irony in this".

Macmillan's widely reported tears were symbolic of the loss of face, and pres-

tige of British imperialism right inside the Conference itself. The choice before him was the hardest imaginable, to retain South Africa or to see the Commonwealth break-up, the Afro-Asian Premiers stood together supported by Canada and thus white racialism stood relentlessly opposed by a multi-racial group inside the Commonwealth Conference itself.

Britain agreed to part company with South Africa only to be able to retain the Commonwealth as an entity. Britain minus the Commonwealth ceases being a major world power.

This aspect is also candidly though regrettably recognised by the Anglo-American press. The Washington Post states, "In the end the departure of South Africa may have been the price of the preservation for the Commonwealth". The New York Times observed, "The Commonwealth will survive and some day South Africa will come back".

The London Economist stated that "the mood of Asia and Africa left no other choice" if the Commonwealth as "a bridge between the Asian African world and Western one" was to be kept intact and added, "The achievement of the hard and the bitter week is that the bridge still stands". The Times headlines its editorial itself as "Commonwealth Preserved".

Tory Reaction

The die-hard Tory press has taken the decision with bad grace and their words express their evil intent. The Daily Telegraph after stating that apartheid could not be condoned stresses that moral test was out of place for the Commonwealth membership and argues, "Are there no other policies which may alarm the purists? What of the form of 'democracy' affected by Ghana?"

"The liberal Nehru has not succeeded in stamping out caste-system in India. These, with the rigid migration laws of Canada, Australia and New Zealand might well provide a fruitful material for attempts at future purges, if the principle of moral test is allowed to prevail".

The Daily Express, the loudest champion of racialist South Africa screamed "Certainly there will be no short-cuts of pretexts if new campaigns for expulsions are prepared. "Mr. Nehru occupies Kashmir against the will of its people. Nkrumah puts in jail more than thirty members of domestic servants. "Australia excludes the Japanese. "There is not a member of the Commonwealth that cannot be criticised on one ground or another".

Bitter and vindictive is the reaction of British Tories. It is not enough to have

NOTES OF THE WEEK

a laugh at it. We must also exercise sharp national vigilance against their mischief. The reference to Kashmir is ominous.

It is true that Verwoerd's disgrace will make the white Tories desperate, in the political fields of Britain as also Africa, but it is still more true that it will give new courage and heart to the vast struggling masses of Africa to step up their struggle for liberation, and to liberated Asian nations to express and accord solidarity in the epic struggle where the long despised black man is coming into his own and battling heroically against white colonialism.

The world press reports that Prime Minister Nehru helped to give the final push to get South Africa out. India has been out-spoken against South African racialism and has tirelessly acted both inside Commonwealth and the UN to get South Africa reverse its reactionary barbarous policy.

Sweep of Freedom

Nobody ever doubted that India's Prime Minister will speak up once again against the continuance of apartheid, in this Commonwealth Conference as well. The press and also responsible circles in New Delhi, however reported that Nehru's position was non-committal on the actual issue of South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth, before he left for London.

The campaign against racialism and for throwing the unshamed champion of apartheid out of Commonwealth went on gathering momentum. A flow of fervent appeals came from the leaders and spokesmen of the various African national movements. A joint delegation of African and Indian leaders from South Africa had already met Nehru before his departure. While the Commonwealth Conference was on, the Chief Minister Neyerere of Tanganyika announced after independence, next year, his Government will not join the Commonwealth if racialist South Africa was allowed to stay in.

The impact of the all-sweeping African liberation movement proved irresistible. All hesitation vanished. Ghana's Nkrumah and India's Nehru worked shoulder to shoulder and the first demand of all Africans as well as Indians settled in South Africa and fighting together against racialism was realised.

The battle has not ended. It has been strengthened and in a big way. We have no doubt that India will step up its solidarity more firmly, fervently and actively. Thus the dawn of African freedom will shed new lustre on the crown of Indian freedom itself and colonialism pushed to its doom.

KENNEDY'S MAN IN INDIA

RESIDENT Kennedy's Ambassador - at large Averill Harriman is in India, to size up, the biggest uncommitted nation of the world. We are behind none in wishing that the Kennedy administration follow a different

policy in the world and also vis-a-vis our country than did Truman or Eisenhower. But bitter experience has taught us that wishes do not become facts without waging a hard struggle.

Kennedy's representative began like a satrap of old by stating that he "might prolong his stay" to be able to meet Nehru. He has, of course, stayed on and the few days in New Delhi have been enough to teach him, though not quite enough, that India is just not waiting to fall into his arms. Later he announced himself more humbly as carrying a letter from his President to our Prime Minister stressing friendly relations and common aims and to persuade Pandit Nehru to visit the US and have face-to-face talks.

The India Press Agency has summarized what is being talked about in US diplomatic and Indian official circles in New Delhi as the main purpose of the Harriman Mission, to obtain "first hand" information about basic considerations in India's policy on such major issues as Congo, disarmament, India's economic plans and the United Nations. A topic of special interest is likely to be the extent to which India might have been affected by the quarrel with China on the border issues".

All this is not only a frank recognition of the world role of India but also of the evil interest to fish in the troubled waters of India-China relations. Eisenhower also came to play the same game.

Goa Statement

Harriman tried to win a big Indian press build up for himself, through his after-dinner speech on March 17, by talking differently than Dulles, on Goa, an issue which stirs every Indian passionately. Dulles had declared that Goa Daman Diu were Portuguese provinces. Harriman stated that US supported the demand for self-determination in these areas and that the Portuguese Government should "take steps for advancement... in brief towards self-determination".

Wordly support to the principle of self-determination and leaving it to the colonial power itself to implement it makes no sense, in the Afro-Asian world, in the year 1961, and Indian national opinion is not that gullible.

All talk of exercising self-determination while the reins remain in Portuguese hands can only be a mockery of the sacred right.

We have no doubt Prime Minister Nehru will pin down Ambassador Harriman to clarify the US position. Anglo-American visiting dignitaries flatter us no end while in our country but they show their true imperialist colours when they reach Pakistan. Eisenhower did it. The British Queen did the same. And Harriman is no exception. The Pak rulers were greatly worried that renewed wooing of India by the Kennedy administration may lead to the let-down of Pakistan and slow-down of the US aid.

Harriman went there "to apprise Pakistan President

and other members of his Government of the policies of the new US administration". He assured Pak pressmen in Karachi that the Kennedy administration would "continue economic and military aid to 'friends and allies'".

Neo-Colonialist Threat

The same day Harriman was announcing the above in Karachi a Congressional Committee in Washington disclosed the location of a 65 million dollar army camp at Kharian, West Pakistan, near the Indian border.

The camp was fitted up to suit the US soldiers and not the way Pakistan soldiers are used to. The criticism of the US Congressional Committee is that this US financed camp is not on Soviet but Indian border.

The anti-deluvian US Congressmen do not realise that all talk of "Soviet menace" is propaganda bluff to work for the realisation of imposing neo-colonialism over newly liberated countries like India. A US base in Pakistan is most useful as a pressure point against India and hence it is on Indian border and US funds spent on it. This began before and it continues under Kennedy.

And this is not all. No US dignitary's visit to India and Pakistan is complete without some play with the Pandora's box—Kashmir. While in Delhi on March 13, an Indian pressman asked him if he would discuss the Kashmir question if it was raised either by Prime Minister Nehru or President Ayub. Harriman replied amidst a burst of laughter: "As President Roosevelt used to say, it is a very 'fifty' question. It means there is a very big if to that question. I cannot naturally discuss that." (Hindustan Times, March 20)

While in Karachi next day, AFP reported him singing a completely different tune. "He said the US would be willing, if asked to bring about settlement of various outstanding problems. He cited the settlement of the canal waters question between the two countries as an instance of political cooperation and hoped this cooperation would increase".

Obviously following a well-administered Indian snub he made a third statement. According to a PTI message of March 21, Mr. Harriman is understood to have told the Pakistan Government firmly that the United States would under no circumstances intervene in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

To impress India, he made plentiful promises of economic 'aid' in words, words and words, but nothing concrete, here and now when it is only a few days left for formally launching our Third Plan. The promise of economic "aid" was only used as the traditional carrot by Harriman. But India is no donkey though the "friends of America" in the country may go on braying like that breed for "US aid". Harriman's visit and statements should help to stir (a new India's national self-respect and self-reliance

—P. C. JOSHI

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION — KERALA COALITION CHARGED

From Our Correspondent

ONE year's quiet in the Kerala Assembly was broken rather dramatically when a member of the ruling PSP, followed by members of the Opposition, rose during the current budget session to point accusing fingers at the Treasury Benches and, with the support of facts and figures, indicted some of the Ministers with corruption, bribery, nepotism and jobbery.

One could see the accused squirming in their seats, their efforts to prevent the disclosures with technicalities, their futile attempts to brush aside the charges but when the challenge rang out in the house not once but many times: are you prepared to institute an enquiry, the Chief Minister did not have the guts to meet the challenge.

The PSP member, C. G. Janardanan, speaking during the budget debate, levelled three charges:

● A Minister had organised a regular agency with a hotel in Kozhikode as headquarters to collect bribes, at fixed rates, for promotions and transfers of officers.

● The wife of another Minister had started a fund in the name of Indira Gandhi and three lakhs of rupees had already been collected.

● In the Public Works Department, a file was sent up to the PSP Minister recommending promotion of an engineer. Disregarding the Promotion Council's recommendation, the Minister ruled that the promotion should go to another officer. The Department Secretary wrote that such decisions could only be taken by the Cabinet. The Chief Minister intervened in favour of the Minister's recommendation.

Patton Exposed

This was just the first shot, its significance was that it had come from a member of one of the ruling parties. More was to follow when Communist member N. Gopala Kurup spoke and charged.

The tender called for building the wall around the Kottarakara hospital compound was cancelled and a tender was called so as to give it to a PSP worker. The FWD Minister changed the specification to give the contractor more money. And the Minister has got this PSP contractor to build a wall around his house also.

Revenue Minister Chandrashekar (PSP) had said in the Assembly that no MLAs or MPs of the ruling parties had encroached on forest land. This was not true. Congress MLA Bhaskaran Nair had encroached on 300 acres, the brother of Congress MLA George Joseph Podippara on 500 acres, Congress MP Kottukapally, of Palai Bank notoriety, on 500 acres. Another 500 acres in a nearby area kept for a harijan colony had been occupied by Police Minister Chacko's relatives.

Chief Minister Patton Thanu Pillai considers himself to be an enemy of all corruption. But the Swiss firm which supplied the

printing machinery to the Government Press in Shornur gave a printing machine to the Chief Minister's son-in-law who runs the PSP's unofficial organ Kerala Janata.

The PWD Minister who made public speeches in favour of prohibition was giving protection to illicit distillers. Communist members E. P. Gopalan and T. K. Ramakrishnan concentrated fire on Police Minister Chacko.

Chacko's Misdeeds

Through a special organisation in the Police Department, the Police Minister had monopolised all appointments to the public services.

— A rubber plantation belonging to a Jacobite priest was wrecked by some of Chacko's relatives.

— Their next target of attack was a tea shop in the area.

— A young woman living alone in her house was raped. The same gangsters were responsible.

— They attacked a meeting in the Congress Committee office itself and assaulted its President.

— In short, Chacko's brothers and relatives had become a State within the State in that area and the police saw to it that they were not involved in any cases.

Plenty of other charges were to follow:

● In colonies in Alleppey and Shertalal, the claims of the occupants had been ignored and those who belonged to the ruling parties had been given concessions.

● In the Malampuzha area, hundreds of acres of land had been allotted to the favourites of the ruling parties and cutting of trees here was endangering the Malampuzha Project itself.

● The Private Secretary of the Chief Minister was given undeserved promotion and taken into the secretariat staff.

● The Police Minister was opening letters written by MLAs from the MLA quarters to their constituencies.

Not only Communists, there were Congress members also who charged that corruption had increased in the PSP Ministers' Public Works Department.

All the time these charges were being made there were attempts to prevent the members from speaking with points of order and technical objections.

The Chief Minister and other Ministers demanded that details be presented to the House. They forgot that the Legislative Assembly

was not an enquiry committee. The answer was: You appoint a committee. We have evidence for every single charge we have made and we will prove them. C. G. Janardanan challenged the Chief Minister that he was prepared to resign his Assembly membership and retire from politics if he could not prove his charges. He refused to meet the challenge.

But the Chief Minister who is also Chairman of the State PSP has been swift in getting action taken against C. G. Janardanan. He has been suspended from the PSP Parliamentary Party and asked to show cause why he should not be expelled.

On March 16, after question time in the Assembly, the Deputy Speaker asked Janardanan to occupy his seat along with the Independents.

When he began making a statement the Chief Minister objected saying only Ministers had the right to make such statements. There was regular pandemonium when Janardanan continued to make his statement amidst the uproar created by PSP members.

The Deputy Speaker asked him to go out of the House and expunged his statement from the proceedings. The opposition walked out for two minutes in protest against the denial of the right of a member to make a personal explanation.

Speaking later to Pressmen, Janardanan explained that his struggle was not against the PSP but against corruption which the Chief Minister was shielding. He

said that he was placing all the material before PSP Chairman Asoka Mehta and if he also acquiesced in this corruption, "I will make my appeal to the people of the State".

The Kerala Press is full of how all this will affect the Coalition's future. There was already a powerful section in the Congress which was working to break the Congress-PSP Coalition. The PSP Press is worried that this section will utilise all these charges to press ahead its scheme.

Activities in these Congress circles have only confirmed the PSP's worst fears. KPCC President C. K. Govindan Nair has said that the charges cannot be dismissed as "silly" and that no one is happy about them.

Reports current in Trivandrum say that Deputy Chief Minister R. Sankar's present visit to Delhi, ostensibly to make representations about the banking crisis, is really to present a charge-sheet against the Coalition and demand its dissolution.

One can hear certain Congress circles here bragging that they will get the PSP Ministers out of the Cabinet within two months.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party has demanded a public enquiry into the charges of corruption.

The statement of the Party says that a prominent member of the ruling party has himself raised corruption charges concerning the Chief Minister, PWD Minister, etc. He has also said that if he is not able to prove the charges he will resign his Assembly

membership and retire from politics.

Later N. Gopala Kurup raised a number of charges and said he was prepared to give evidence before an enquiry.

The Government has the moral responsibility to institute such an enquiry, but it has shown no readiness to do so. Instead action has been taken against the PSP member who has levelled the charges. Though disciplinary action is the internal affair of a party, this action has only gone to confirm the suspicions in the minds of the people.

There have been other occasions when charges of corruption have been levelled against a Minister by a member of his own party—for instance, Forzza Gandhi's exposure of the Mundhra scandal. The Congress did not take action against him. An enquiry was instituted and it was T. T. Krishnamachari who had to resign.

This should have been accepted as a precedent. A public enquiry should have been ordered and if the member had not been able to prove the charges, disciplinary action could have been considered. That, however, is a matter for their party to decide.

What the people want to know is whether the charges are correct or not. They cannot be satisfied by attempts to silence members of their own party by disciplinary action or by threats to Opposition members that they would be prosecuted if they repeated the charges outside the Assembly. The only way to satisfy them is by instituting a public enquiry.

March 21.

W. Bengal Women's March

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

CALCUTTA witnessed an impressive demonstration of over 600 women on March 8, the International Women's Day. Organised by the West Bengal branch of the National Federation of Women, the demonstration went towards the Assembly demanding more educational facilities and employment opportunities. It was held up near the Assembly by a cordon of women police.

The demonstrators then squatted on the road, and Manikuntala Sen, MLA, and Sudha Roy went in a deputation to hand over a Memorandum, signed by over 45,000 women, to Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy.

The demands made in the Memorandum included free primary education for children of the age group 6-11 years during the Third Plan period; extension of facilities for free education of girls up to Class VII in urban areas; establishment of cheap hostels for women; facilities for training of women in polytechnics and technological institutions; stoppage of retrenchment of

women in cotton textile and jute industries; influencing the management to employ more women in various industries and the opening of work centres in rural areas for unemployed women.

Reference to the demonstration was made in the Assembly by Jyoti Basu, who said that the Deputy Speaker, who was then presiding, should allow the women to come to the Assembly to place their demands before the Chief Minister.

The Deputy Speaker having rejected his demand, Jyoti Basu and other Opposition leaders went out to meet the demonstrators.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

A united rally of the West Bengal employees, held in Calcutta on March 11, urged upon the State Government to fix the minimum pay at Rs. 125 per month in accordance with the unanimous recommendations of the Fifteenth Labour Conference.

They demanded that they be granted interim D.A. pending the Pay Committee's re-

commendations, that the orders of discharge served on leading workers of the employees' Associations be cancelled and all other disciplinary measures withdrawn, alternative employment for surplus employees arranged and a permanent machinery for settling the different problems of the employees through negotiations set up.

The main resolution said that for having taken part in the Statewide demonstration of the West Bengal Government employees on May 6, 1960, thirteen leading workers were temporarily discharged, and explanation was called for from seven others.

The discharge orders and charge sheets against eight and four workers respectively had not yet been withdrawn. Meanwhile another employee had been discharged. In the case of two temporarily discharged employees, the investigating officer had recommended their reinstatement. But explanation had been called for from them for the second time.

It should be noted in this connection that the Government has conceded, though very partially, some of the employees' demands because of their movement. A Pay Committee to revise the existing pay structure of the employees has been appointed.

ASIAN DESIRE FOR RAPID ADVANCE

From Ziaul Haq

THE economic situation in Asia during the past year and the prospects ahead were reviewed at the Seventeenth Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) held in New Delhi from March 8 to 20.

U. Nyun, the Executive Secretary of the ECAFE called it the Economic Parliament of Asia and with the exclusion of the Socialist countries of Asia—the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Mongolian People's Republic—entire Asia (leaving out the Middle East) was represented at the session, besides USA, USSR, Britain and other countries from West and East Europe.

The basis of the discussion was the Economic Survey for 1960 and other reports prepared by the Secretariat.

The session, as noted by the Executive Secretary in his concluding remarks, was marked by the high level of discussions on the part of the Asian participants surpassing at times the level of discussion in the parent body, the ECOSOC.

The whole session was marked by the earnest desire of Asian countries to rapidly emerge out of the backwardness left behind by the colonial era. The economic policies, particularly in the sphere of trade, of the advanced Western capitalist countries stood out as the most severe handicap at the moment in the path of the achievement of that goal.

The countries of Asia now need not only more aid but more trade, declared U. Nyun, in the context of the emerging effects on Asia of the economic groupings like the ECM and the EFTA in the

West. The collective voice of Asia was powerfully raised at the session, U Nyun pointed out, demanding of the West "not to discriminate against our goods".

The impact of the economic situation in Western capitalist countries and their policies on Asia during the last year was brought out in the Survey and in the opening statement of M. Philipp de Seynes, Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs. While the global indices for 1960 showed record levels of production, income and trade, he said, the trends were far from satisfactory. The economic upswing which had appeared to be taking shape in 1959, de Seynes said, had lost its momentum.

"The contraction of demand in the United States, insufficiently offset by economic expansion in Europe, where the rate of acceleration was tending to decline, was being felt in the underdeveloped countries, where the index of average prices of primary commodities had again started to fall and the terms of trade were again deteriorating. Moreover, the effectiveness of counter-cyclical measures was being severely tested by the present pressure on the dollar."

He further emphasised that "the vicissitudes of the United States economy and the uncertainties with regard to corrective policies were a matter of concern to the countries of the region".

The ECAFE region's trade

deficit, he pointed out, "had risen from less than \$1,000 million in the first three quarters of 1959 to almost \$1,600 million in the corresponding period of 1960".

The various delegates too posed the question sharply from the angle of their respective countries and the region. But as U Nyun said at the conclusion of the session, the representatives of the advanced Western capitalist countries came and explained their position, saying that they had done nothing. They only disowned their responsibility and "renewed their assurances".

This basic handicap in the path of advance of non-socialist Asian countries emanating from their traditional link with the imperialist world market is still there. On the other hand, in the case of the Socialist countries of Asia, this handicap has been decisively overcome.

This is testified by the figures given by the Survey. Table 7 of Part I of the Survey shows that in 1959 while imports to "Centrally Planned economies of Asia" from "Eastern Europe" stood at 1,590 million dollars, the exports from the "Centrally Planned economies of Asia" to "Eastern Europe" stood at 1,485 million dollars. (Corresponding figures for 1957: 1,010 million dollars and 1,115 million dollars; for 1958: 1,210 million and 1,270 million dollars.)

Despite this massive handicap the non-Socialist Asian countries, thanks to their own efforts, have made notable progress. The Survey notes that "the growth of industrial (mining and manufacturing) output in the private enterprise economies of the region, which slackened in 1958, has since resumed its upward movement; in the first half of

1960, it was 11 per cent over the level in the second half of 1959....

"The weight distribution in the regional index of industrial production as it stands is such that production in Japan accounts for somewhat less than a half and in India somewhat less than a third".

The Committee on Industry and Natural Resources noted that "for the region as a whole, industrial development in 1959-60 had recorded a comparatively high rate of growth". (However, the whole of the region including China, India and Japan, still accounts for only about five per cent of the world output of manufactured goods.)

The Committee further notes that, "the entry into operation of a number of key industries had broadened the industrial base, thus paving the way for speedier development in the next few years".

The Commission, however, expressed concern that in 1960 the rate of growth had slowed down in agriculture. "As compared with the pre-war period, consumption levels had shown only a modest increase made possible only by larger imports; per capita food production had not yet caught up with pre-war levels".

The USA which earlier would not countenance any reference to it later agreed to the following: "The view was expressed that the reaching of an agreement on the problem of disarmament would release considerable resources which could be used to promote the economic development of countries of the region".

not be expected to be achieved by the efforts of a community development organisation alone". Among the necessary measures listed was one laying down "that land tenure conditions should be equitable so as to provide incentive to cultivators".

India's achievements in the sphere of planning and development of the public sector were genuinely lauded by other Asian countries and recognised in the official documents of the session, although B. Gopala Reddy had to take issue with the drafters of the Survey who had charged Indian authorities of discriminating against the private sector.

The Executive Secretary at the end claimed with pride that all resolutions at the session had been adopted unanimously and there was no deadlock at any stage.

Even on the issue of disarmament regarding which divergent views had been expressed in the open debate, by delegates of USA and the Soviet Union an agreed draft for inclusion in the final report was ultimately worked out.

The USA which earlier would not countenance any reference to it later agreed to the following: "The view was expressed that the reaching of an agreement on the problem of disarmament would release considerable resources which could be used to promote the economic development of countries of the region".

ASSAM'S UNSETTLED PROBLEMS —

From Madhusudhan Bhattacharya

THE four day debate on the Governor's address to the State Assembly that met here for the Budget session on February 23 concluded on March 3 with the reply of the Chief Minister to the debate.

The Governor in his address giving a survey of Government work during the previous year touched upon a wide range of subjects. The address opens with a reference to the last July's "widespread disturbances" in the State and notes that "there are encouraging signs that during the period since the disturbance, there has been a great deal of introspection" and expresses the hope that "it has been firmly realised that in a democratic society which we have today, violence is not the way to achieve any desirable end".

There is an admission that "the disturbances also brought to sharp focus certain weaknesses of the administrative machinery".

Sino-Indian Border Dispute

The address also touched on the Sino-Indian border problem as also the problem posed by the Naga rebels in the areas of the State bordering the Naga Hills. Over the question of the Sino-Indian border, it has been said in the address that "there were no serious incidents" and refers to the President's address to the Parliament which, it said, gave "an indication of future policy".

Regarding the activities of the rebel Nagas it was hoped that after the new administrative set up has started functioning, "it would be possible for the Naga people to participate whole-heartedly in the nation-building efforts and rendering the hostilities ineffective with the passage of time".

In the sphere of development activities, it has been said that "the most important of the activities under the Plan in a State like ours is obviously agriculture". And the address reveals that the "increased target of 3,32 lakh tons of additional food production envisaged in the Second Plan is expected to be fulfilled to the extent of nearly 68 per cent by the end of the current Plan period".

In conclusion it adds "As we look around, forces of disintegration appear to be raising their head. These have to be firmly dealt with and discouraged. It is the duty of all of us to bring good influence to bear upon such trends and convert them to those of consolidation and national harmony".

As many as 49 members participated in the debate that followed. The motion of thanks was moved by a tribal Congress member from Mikir Hills. It may be mentioned here that at present only the tribal Congress members from Mikir Hills are with the Government and other tribal Congress members, though they have not formally broken away, yet seem to have very little in common with the Government even since the language controversy began.

Those tribal members who

won the election with the ticket of the Eastern India Tribal Union, but subsequently joined the Congress Parliamentary Party as "associated members" have one and all parted company in October last when the Official Language Bill was brought forward.

This being the last pre-election full scale Budget session many members who participated in the debate naturally focussed attention to the problems of their respective constituency. "Quite a few, however, touched on general problems of the State referred to by the Governor."

The question of the Sino-Indian border was raised by a number of members; but it is significant that by and large the reference was marked by sobriety and almost everyone expressed the hope that a peaceful solution would be eventually found. There was hardly anybody who suggested any course other than negotiations for the solution of the problem. Even the PSP leader did not think it worth his while to let out some of his steam against the Com-

Blow To Democracy

In these letters the reference to Deveswar Sharma have been made in terms none too complimentary to him. So Sharma had personal accounts, to settle with this officer. But apart from the personal considerations, he raised certain

basic questions that should be of concern to all who are concerned about the fate of democracy in this country.

He asked whether an officer attached to a State Government should write direct to the Union Government or its officers over the head of the State Government and whether, if there were any rule permitting such correspondence, it should not be abrogated. He expressed the view that if this was allowed, it might mean saying goodbye to democracy.

Some amount of national or chauvinist consideration might becloud the vision of some so that they might not fully appreciate the point. But even before the disturbances, certain activities and utterances of the officer as the chief of the police raised serious questions. It was then the Communists who raised these questions and the Congressmen either did not speak out their mind or put up a defence of the said officer.

The Chief Minister, while stating that under the existing rule, the State police chief was permitted to enter into such correspondence with the Director of Central Intelligence Bureau, however, added that it was for the Central Government to consider whether this rule did not require any modification.

The leader of the PSP group in the House maintained that the Chief Minister was very friendly towards this officer and that is the reason why he harboured a soft attitude towards him. But what is stressed here in political circle is that it was the ruling

clique in the Congress that for its factional interest utilised the services of this officer and gave him scope to behave "more like a politician than a public servant".

The main responsibility for this, therefore, lies with the Congress and its factionalism.

The Communist members, participating in the discussion raised fundamental points regarding the economic and political policies of the Government. Communist Party's State Council Secretary Phani Bora said that the Governor's address gave "a rosy picture of the State".

He wanted to know why the address did not try to analyse the root cause of the last year's July disturbances which he characterised as "most shameful episode". Phani Bora who initiated the debate from the Opposition said that there were only "advice and sermons" in the address instead of an attempt to assess the basic causes of that ghastly chapter. But this alone, he said, would not be able to eradicate the possibility of recurrence of similar shameful episode.

He pointed out that it was the division on the basis of caste and religion and community in the ruling party that was dividing and disrupting the people in the same way and cited as an instance the contradictory statements that the Government of West Bengal and

Government. He said that

NEW DANGERS LOOM AHEAD

without solving the problems of the minority people talk of unity would be only empty phrases.

He suggested the following immediate steps for earning the confidence of the minorities in Cachar: (i) Due place should be given to the Bengali language; (ii) the Silchar Medical College meant for Cachar which is now located at Gauhati should be shifted to Cachar; (iii) one university for the minorities should be established in Cachar; (iv) one Engineering College on a regional basis should be set up in Cachar; (v) there should be a clear declaration that the factories proposed for Cachar will not be shifted from there after the election.

The legislative proceedings apart, very disquieting reports which have been coming from Cachar, the Bengali speaking district of Assam, for some time past. There was an agitation in that district over the language issue. The official language Bill which has since become an Act, could not satisfy the people of that district.

Of late it is learnt that systematic attempts are being made by certain agencies to push Assamese in that district by various methods. It is alleged that other minorities in that district are now sought to be utilised for "championing" the use of Assamese there.

The religious minorities, a large number of whom are poor and landless peasants, are being "induced" to open night-schools which are as-

NATIONAL CONVENTION ON GOA

From Bertha Braganza

WITH the birth of the National Campaign Committee for Goa at the Third National Conference of the Afro-Asian Solidarity a new phase has been reached in the long protracted and lonely fight of the Goan people for liberation of the Indian territories still under foreign colonial domination...

The Committee has roused great response and enthusiasm among the people of the various States toured by its delegates and has received the unanimous support of all political parties. In fact, the tours have only demonstrated how exactly the people of India feel about the matter and their impatience over the long delay in solving the problem of the completion of India's national independence.

Therefore, the National Convention (meeting in New Delhi on March 25 and 26) which is the culminating point of the first part of the Committee's programme is of significance. For, it is expected that the next part of its programme will be such as will expedite the final liquidation of the colonial challenge and arrogance that the people of

India have been made to tolerate to this day. In order to have an efficient programme, it is, however, necessary for the Convention to be aware of the causes which have made, for the inordinate delay.

The reason officially put forth is that the problem has not been solved in order to avoid "international complications" and because of India's policy of peace. What the "international complications" are that India must fear and how they can come about has, however, so far been left unsaid. It has never been found convenient to say that the "international complications" are no other than those who claim and proclaim to be India's friends, champions of democracy and leaders of the so-called "free world".

As for the "peace" policy, how it is compatible with the tolerance of the most primitive colonial regime and fascism is something that few will understand.

Anyway, what is important to know is what has been done in order to save India from "international complications" and to safeguard her peace policy and what has been the result?

The problem of the completion of India's territorial

integrity and independence has been tied to the crushing machinery of red-tape, corruption, nepotism and all the rest that goes with such departments.

To what a miserable condition the problem of the liberation of the Portuguese colonies has been reduced may be seen from the situation which prevails under the same bureaucrats in the liberated territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli for over six years after the Portuguese were made to quit.

The two liberated enclaves have been transformed into bureaucratic camps and as though reserved for the preservation of the feudal conditions that are the characteristic of the Portuguese colonial regime, by shelving the programme of agrarian reforms, which was the first and main preoccupation of the new administration set up after the territories were liberated.

Since the aim of the National Campaign Committee for Goa is to intensify the demand for more effective action by the Government of India, it is imperative that the National Committee demand the outright and urgent overhaul of the policy of treating the political problems of the magnitude of Goa as a routine affair.

Jamshedpur Leader On Hunger-Strike

KEDAR Das, MLA, President, Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and Vice-President of the AITUC, commenced his hunger strike at 6.30 in the morning of March 20, amidst a large gathering of workers, in the Golmuri Branch office of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

Before commencing the hunger strike Kedar Das was examined by the doctors and garlanded by Sunil Mukherjee, Vice-President, Bihar State Trade Union Congress, followed by other workers representing different factories in Jamshedpur. The TELCO workers garlanded Kedar Das with 101 rupee notes.

Speaking to the assembly of workers, Sunil Mukherjee said Kedar Das was undertaking the hunger strike to vindicate the basic trade union and democratic rights of the workers by securing the reinstatement of 360 dismissed TISCO workers. He exhorted the gathering to develop a powerful campaign and mobilisation of workers and the general public to force the Bihar Government, which has hitherto remained callous and indifferent to the issues, to move for a solution of the dispute.

Kedar Das, before entering the place of the hunger strike, declared amidst the shouting of slogans that his hunger strike was

part of a general struggle by the workers to reinstate the dismissed workers who are without employment since May 1958.

Earlier, on the evening of March 19, a huge torch-light procession, commencing from Sakchi office of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union paraded the main streets here and terminated at the Golmuri branch office.

Since the hunger-strike commenced yesterday, thousands of workers from TISCO, TELCO, Tin-plate Co., Tatanagar Foundry Co. and other factories are visiting Kedar Das, coming straight from their work and signing postcards addressed to the Chief Minister, Bihar, expressing concern over the hunger-strike and requesting immediate intervention. Till March 19 about 4,000 postcards have already been posted.

The Central Executive Committee of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union at its meeting on March 20 decided to allow two TISCO dismissed workers, Godavari Appal Narasayya and Jehangir Galsara, to join Kedar Das in the hunger strike from the morning of March 23 and 24 respectively. Appal Narasayya, aged 60 years and who served the TISCO for 46 years, is among those dismissed for participating in the one-day protest strike in the TISCO in May 1958.

Approach To General Education

From Our Correspondent

A seminar on general education was held at the University College, Tirupati, on February 23, 24 and 25, 1961. The Principals of all-affiliated Colleges of the Sri Venkateswara University, with two other representatives from each college attended as delegates.

Dr. Hans Simons, Advisor to the University Grants Commission on General Education, inaugurated the Seminar with a brief address on the objectives of general education and how it has become a movement in the United States of America. He said, among other things that the Prime Minister, who had a partiality for technology and specialisation, was also inclined favourably towards General Education.

Dr. Purushotham, Principal of the University College, and President of the General Education Committee at the S. V. University, invited the principals of the affiliated colleges to report on their experiments in regard to General Education in their respective colleges.

The American Professor and the organizers of the Seminar were surprised to hear the principals state that they had no particular report to offer, as General Education was regarded by students and teachers as just another paper adding to the workload of students and teachers and that General Education has not at all captured the imagination of teachers in general.

They, however, suggested that the experiment is worth continuing with the object of discovering new methods of teaching and evaluation and to enthuse the generality of teachers to explore fresh fields of knowledge.

Discordant Breeze

There was a spell of confusion and a little discordant breeze when one of the principals told the organisers that the professors at the University College, making use of their privileged position should not dictate policy to the affiliated colleges, but should allow them to make individual contributions to the experiment in General Education now being tried at the University College.

One of the principals demanded that the Three Year Degree class students of the affiliated colleges should not be subjected to the rigours of the University examination in General Education on the basis of two prescribed text books (while the students of the University college are now exempted from the University Examination in General Education on the ground that they have no prescribed text books, but only attend a series of extension lectures delivered by Professors).

If such is the case, why should the students of the University College be given the same degree as their counterparts in affiliated colleges? asked one principal. The question embarrassed the organisers in the University.

A critical note was sounded by M. Pattabhi Rama Reddy, Principal of Kavali College who read a comprehensive paper on General Education, profusely documented, but rejecting the philosophical foundation of the American educational

3. General education need not make a student a walking encyclopaedia but it should enable him to develop a well rounded personality through a knowledge of his heritage, an understanding of human relationships as they are to-day, and a confidence in the future of our civilization. This should be marked by the same humanism, and a practical social outlook.

A knowledge of our heritage need not necessarily lead him to resurrect from the historical debris the writer of corrupt metaphysics, and to salvage a golden dream, an enchanting utopia, from the broken relics of the sheltered village system and to reconstruct a decaying drama out of the dead remains of a vanished Ramarajya.

A spirit of pragmatism tempered by a missionary zeal for the reconstitution of our society on the basis of egalitarian principles of liberty, equality and fraternity should be the fabric of his ideology. The student of General Education should be imbued with the idea that the atom is solely for construction and not for destruction, science for him should become the handmaid of progress, not for its own sake.

That he belongs to the human family, not only to his village, town or country, and that he should make his own the joys and sorrows of millions that inhabit this planet should become the fabric of his ideology.

Sensitivity To Fellowmen

These should be the major objectives of a sound education. The ultimate goals of knowledge would be defeated if General Education cannot pluck out from the heart of man cynical indifference to the sufferings of fellowmen, and inhuman exploitation of his kind.

Neither the Discovery of India, nor Story of Mankind can rectify the criteria laid down for general education. A common syllabus for both science and arts students suffers from the limitation of avoidable repetition and overloading of the quantum of curriculum.

—Every teacher in the college may have to participate in the imparting of General Education through tutorials and seminars.

—Every affiliated College must make its own experiment in devising courses in general education, and must have the ultimate responsibility for assessment and evaluation of the students' work in General Education, the University confining itself to laying down the broad policy and coordinating the activities of the various experiments from time to time.

—The University examination in General Education must be immediately abolished, with a view to serving the best objectives of General Education itself.

—Unless we stop sitting on the two horns of a dilemma in the matter of the medium of instruction, the purposes of General Education cannot be adequately fulfilled.

—A decent course of General education has to be devised for pre-University students on the above lines.

SCRAP-BOOK

Disillusioned General

K. M. Cariappa, former Commander-in-Chief is an active man. For the present, he is busy in forging links with the leaders of the younger generation in our country. Round about a year back, he had praised the RSS. About the same time, a self-styled student leader of Delhi had received his blessings and a "go ahead" signal for demanding the setting up of a National Defence Committee.

Recently Cariappa visited two important University towns in U. P.—Lucknow and Allahabad. He addressed a meeting of U.P. legislators in Tilak Hall (Council Hall) in Lucknow on March 6 and declared that he was on a "pilgrimage to meet the leaders of tomorrow—the youth of today."

Refuting the charge of indiscipline among students, he said that the Indian youth were the finest in the world. They were like uncut gems, once properly cut, they would shine with a lustre that would illuminate the country.

Fine words, indeed! But what does Cariappa expect from the youth? He said that India required millions of youth leaders in all walks of life, particularly in military service.

A General himself, I can understand his stress on military service. He wants "only one youth movement" in the country and feels that private agencies should not be allowed to interfere with the development of children.

Cariappa may have queer notions of democracy in which only "one movement" develops. But what was significant in his speech at Lucknow came later on. Here is what he said: "Referring to the RSS, the General said that while giving physical training to the children, it was also indulging in political indoctrination and thus 'turning their heads'."

It certainly is a change for the better. Cariappa has obviously been disillusioned by some of his recent friends! What about his old chum Dictator Ayub? Cariappa has not yet given up his original idea of a defence pact between India and Pakistan.

Congress And Communalism

SANJEEVA Reddi is, after all, a very good speaker. Very passionate, too. Recently he was in Madhya Pradesh. After visiting Jabalpur and Saugor, he addressed a meeting of the Congress Assembly Party in Bhopal. He was shocked by the role of the majority of Congressmen in the riot torn cities.

Very few Congressmen—not more than six—in those towns had worked actively for communal harmony during the riot period, said

the Congress President and prattled: "Let us lose an election but remain firm over secularism. Let us sacrifice one or two State Governments but stop communalism!"

Brave words, indeed! Sanjeeva Reddy! All honest and secular minded Indians would have congratulated you for your heart-warming declaration had they not experienced something different during the recent years.

What happened in Kerala? Despite the disgust of hundreds of secular-minded Congress workers all over the country, the Congress High Command sanctioned an unholy alliance with the Muslim League there just for capturing power through a Coalition Ministry.

If you are serious about your declarations, first cleanse the Congress organisation itself of the communal elements!

American Pin-Pricks

AVERILL Harriman is in the Indian capital now on what they call a mission for evolving a Kennedy line on Asia. What he will do here as the U. S. President's roving Ambassador will become known in due course. But what else is being done and planned in the United States vis-a-vis India is already pinching us. Here are a few examples:

According to a Reuters report, Indian Ambassador to Washington, M. C. Chagla complained that the American Press had not done justice to Rajeshwar Dayal.

Steven Derounian is an American Congressman who came to India to attend the World Health Assembly. Back in the US he accused Indian businessmen of "having made millions of dollars from the free wheat shipped to India by the USA during the last three years."

A spokesman of the Food and Agriculture Ministry of the Government of India had to refute this baseless allegation for everybody knows that the wheat being supplied to India is a loan which we are not paying in dollars just now but which after all has to be paid back anyway.

An A.F.P. message from Johannesburg reported the American writer and Naval expert, Anthony Harrigan, predicting that within 18 months the USA would have an Indian Ocean fleet.

Harrigan, according to the report, said that the nuclear aircraft carrier "Enterprise" and the nuclear cruiser "Long Beach" still under construction, would probably form the nucleus of the fleet, which would be organised along the same lines as the US Mediterranean Sixth Fleet.

At present Harrigan said the Indian Ocean formed a "power vacuum."

STATE OF NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

NEW CONCEPT

From NOVO VREME, Sofia

We print below extracts from the editorial of Novo Vreme, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

THE Statement gives a theoretical analysis of the new problems of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. It contains new theoretical conclusions on this question, which make an important contribution to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and which are of important practical significance.

It has been pointed out in the Statement that "the breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system." The powerful sweep of the national liberation revolutions after the Second World War led to the formation of about 40 new sovereign states in Asia and Africa, while the Cuban revolution gave a powerful stimulus to the struggle of the Latin American peoples for complete national freedom.

Historic Advance

As a result of all this, hundreds of millions of people, who were previously oppressed and deprived of the opportunity of deciding social and political problems, have started to take an active part in resolving the problems of their own countries and also of international politics. This is of tremendous historical significance, and ushers in a new historical period in the life of mankind and greatly accelerates the progress of history.

The developments and successes of the national liberation revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries are inseparably connected with the development and successes of the world socialist revolution. The October Revolution aroused the East and

the basis of a broad national front.

The behaviour of the national bourgeoisie also depends, to a great extent, upon the strength of the unity of the working class and the peasantry. The Statement points out that "in present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries, unconnected with Imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and, therefore, retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism."

The victory of the USSR in the Second World War, the victory of the Chinese socialist revolution and the socialist revolution in the People's Democratic countries and the formation of the world socialist system hastened, to a great extent, the development of the national-liberation movement. The national-liberation movement of the colonial and dependent countries found in the world socialist system a trustworthy shield and support against imperialism.

The international working class movement renders great support to the national liberation movement. The working class of the colonial and dependent countries has played and is playing an important role in the struggle for national liberation.

The working class is the most consistent fighter for completing the national, anti-imperialist and democratic revolution against the efforts of the reactionary forces to retard social progress.

But the revolution in these countries, like every true revolution, has its own objective logic, its own stages of development, which the working class is bound to observe. The primary task of revolution in these countries is to solve the peasant question, which involves the immediate interest of the huge majority of the population, to carry out radical agrarian reforms, to proot the feudal elements and to create and develop industry in particular, on the democratic basis of the public sector.

Worker-Peasant Unity

The chief condition for realising these reforms and generally for the consistent carrying out of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution in these countries is the unity of the working class with the peasantry, which is destined to be

ment—the path of consistent and radical social reforms in the interest of the broad masses, the path of the consistent development of democracy.

By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete international and internal conditions of the countries which have been freed from colonial slavery and dependence on imperialism, the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties pointed out "the national democratic state" as a new form of the non-capitalist path of development.

This is "a state, which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, fights against the establishment of military bases on its own territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and against the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government, a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, meetings, demonstrations, formation of political parties and social organisations); the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and

The instability and inclination of the national bourgeoisie towards collaborating with internal reaction and imperialism is particularly accentuated after national independence is won, when international social problems and contradictions and the problems of abolishing the exploitation and misery of the masses of workers and peasants come to the forefront, when the question comes of raising their living standard, which can only be solved through the non-capitalist path of development.

REVOLUTIONARY FORMULA

By HERMAN MATERN

THE proposal made in the draft of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about the formation of National Democratic States led to a lengthy discussion in the drafting commission of 26 Communist Parties, in October 1960.

In the beginning the Brazilian and the Cuban comrades raised objections against this new formulation. The Brazilian comrade pointed out that the conditions in the countries for which, according to the draft the path of National Democracy is prescribed, are extremely varied.

It is undoubtedly correct to say that the republic of Cuba is the prototype of a such a national democratic state in which the tasks of the democratic revolution as well as of national emancipation have already been completed.

In contrast, we have the United Arab Republic, which while it has asserted its national independence in the political field against French and British imperialism, is still bound up with American capital and with West German imperialism and inside the country it represents the autocratic rule of the Nasser regime as against the democratic forces of the Egyptian and Syrian population.

In Brazil again the situation is quite different in as much as the working class there has won more democratic liberties than, for instance, in the USA but on the other hand its dependence on American capital politically,

social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy".

The national democratic state is not socialist state. It is a new type of democratic state—state supported by the broadest possible masses of the people which permit the masses to advance along the path of social progress towards higher forms of social life, to liquidate all remnants of colonial dependence and actively participate in the struggle for peace, against imperialist aggression and war and against colonial slavery in all its forms.

The thesis on the state of national democracy is yet another proof of the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism. It arms the Communist and Workers' parties, the workers and the peasant masses and all progressive forces in the colonial and dependent countries and countries liberated from colonial slavery, with a clear historic aim, and shows the path of achieving the same. It is yet another proof, that Marxism-Leninism is a guide for the action of the oppressed and exploited masses, of the revolutionary movements in all countries for democracy and social progress, against all forms of social and national oppression.

ence, which has an anti-imperialist character and partially an anti-feudal character, and the democratic revolution which means the restriction, the suppression and, finally, the elimination of the native exploiting class.

For many states of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the slogan of national freedom and independence represents the first and the most important anti-imperialist action, therefore, for such countries the application of such a formulation as People's Democracy would be wrong and unsuitable.

Despite all the differences which exist between Cuba, Brazil, Chile, UAR, Algeria, India, Indonesia—and these differences are considerable—the concept of a National Democratic State understood in the sense explained above, must be considered valid for them. Similarly the concept of People's Democracy was successfully applied in the case of a number of European and Asiatic states having very different economic and political levels of development.

On the basis of the exposition outlined here all the delegates of the drafting commission expressed themselves in agreement with formulating a National Democratic State.

(Extract from the speech of Herman Matern, a member of the Polit Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic at the December 18, 1960 meeting of its Central Committee.)

TO INDIA COME PEACE PILGRIMS, FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Britain Opposes U. S. Bases

By GORDON SCHAFER

THE meeting of the World Peace Council in New Delhi comes at a time when the struggle in Britain against nuclear armaments and the whole policy of cold war military alliances is reaching a climax. The moves by the Government to instal Polaris submarine depot ships in Holy Loch, Scotland, and to hand over training grounds to West German Panzer divisions, has brought home to millions the stark reality of nuclear war.

No one attempts to deny that these would bring Britain into the front line if war should break out anywhere, nor that this island is utterly indefensible. The argument still used by the Government and the right wing leaders of the Labour Party that they are a "deterrent" against threats of aggression from the Soviet Union does not impress anybody.

The danger of an American military commander or a Polaris submarine commander running amok after some scare on the radar screen (as happened in Greenland) and inviting retribution on the British bases is regarded with much more anxiety.

As for the West German troops, the refusal of Mr. Wilkinson, the Minister of Defence even to give a pledge that they would not be commanded by ex-Nazi officers or that they would be forbidden nuclear weapons shocked the country.

Not only was it an insult to those who died in the struggle against Nazism, it was an affront to the peoples who suffered under Nazi occupation. It also makes more difficult the easing of relations with the Soviet Union and her allies if genuine discussions on disarmament are to begin.

Inevitably, the immediate struggle has been pin-pointed on these two threats. The campaign against the Polaris has created the most united movement in Scottish history. Although the leader of the Labour Party, Hugh Gaitskell,

and his group of right wing supporters committed themselves to the American Polaris strategy, the whole of Scotland repudiated them.

The Scottish T.U.C. the Scottish Labour Party, the Scottish Cooperative Party, the Trades Councils (i.e., the local branches of the trade unions) in all the main towns and cities all-voiced official opposition.

An influential group of Churchmen, led by a former head of the Church of Scotland, formed a committee to fight against the base and are pressing for an official protest by the Church Assembly of Scotland.

Many town councils, some with Conservative majorities, have joined the protest movement. Attempts are being made to win support among the people near to Holy Loch by stories of the dollars the Americans will bring into the town, but only a minority has fallen for this propaganda. The general view is that if the base is allowed, tourists will be driven away from this Scottish beauty spot.

The fact that periodic inspections are to be made in Holy Loch of the effect of radioactive waste is causing widespread alarm. Clydeside, the industrial centre near the Loch, is our busiest ship-building centre and the local leaders of the principal ship-building union has called for a protest strike.

In the rest of Britain, the movement is not so widespread but the sitdown pro-

test outside the Ministry of Defence in London, organised by (Earl) Bertrand Russell and an imposing group of public personalities broke through the barrier of silence about the peace movement imposed by the newspapers and the television and radio services.

Sir Herbert Read, historian and art critic, one of the leaders of this protest movement, summed it up in this way: "The more people feel they must act against the nuclear peril the more dramatic will be our form of protest to arouse the individual conscience to action against the authority of Government".

Two thousand people signed a statement, declaring their readiness to join in a non-violent protest and to go to jail in support of their principles.

The South Wales miners, who have a record of generations of struggle behind them, took the lead in the protest against the West German training bases. The possibility of strike action is being discussed. Progressive Labour M.P.s have tabled a motion in the House of Commons and the movement is gathering support all over the country.

But the most significant struggle is in the Trade Unions and the Labour Party. The work of the British Peace Committee, with its proud record of participation in the world peace movement since its formation, contributed to the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which aroused the nation in the great Aldermaston marches.

Since then the battle has been to insist on these policies against the active opposition of Mr. Gaitskell and his right wing minority. This is in fact a struggle of the people for democratic rights; for there can be no democracy if the electors can be chosen only between two parties, both supporting nuclear armaments and the cold war.

The peace movement in Britain has always sought to unite all those who oppose war preparations and policies threatening war. Some of its supporters have been businessmen, who, although opposed to Socialism are anxious for trade with Socialist countries and accept the necessity for peaceful coexistence and the inalienable right of all peoples to strive for the social system of their choice.

When the Conservative Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan visited Moscow and signed the joint statement with Mr. Khrushchev, he was given a full measure of support. But the hard facts must be faced that the present policies of the British Government are hostile to peace.

The British Government and the right wing Labour Party leaders: do not believe their own propaganda about the military danger from the Soviet Union and her allies.

They fear the success of Socialism. That is the motive force for their policies.

And of course, the attempts to hold back the struggles for liberation of the colonial peoples is part of this policy. The shameful support given to the forces encouraging the return of Belgian troops who murdered Prime Minister Lumumba is one aspect. The attempt to retain white domination in South and North Rhodesia and Nyasaland is another. The H bomb bases in Singapore and Cyprus are part of the same picture. These little men seek to hold back the river of history and they cannot succeed.

The task of the peace movement in every country, and it will gain new inspiration from the Delhi meeting, is to see that the weapons which could destroy civilisation are taken from their hands. The peace movement has always realised that victory depends on the balance of power between the great majority who seek peace and the tiny minority which prepares war or bases its policy on the threat of war.

We know, from the farewell speech of President Eisenhower that even he realised the extent to which the US Government was dominated by the military leaders and the vast interests linked with the arms expenditure on which economies of the capitalist countries increasingly depend.

An official US opinion poll last summer showed that despite all the propaganda 46 per cent of the British people were "neutralist"; in other words they repudiated the arms race and the cold war.

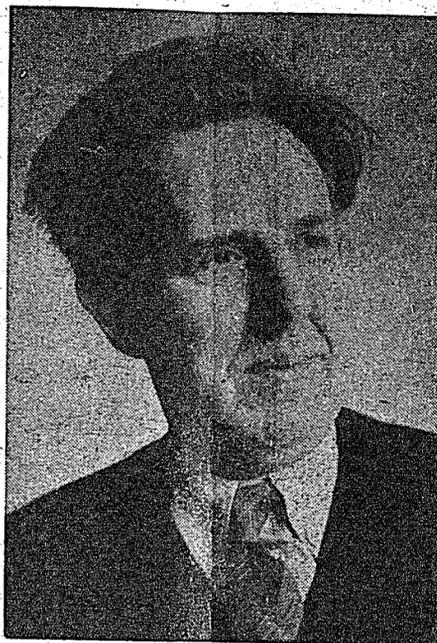
Will President Kennedy and his new administration have the courage to stand to these powerful interests and honestly seek disarmament and genuine solutions to international differences? We have to admit frankly that so far there are few reasons for optimism.

As far as we in Britain are concerned, we must admit that although the peace forces are stronger our own Government is acting against peace and is taking decisions which will make the tasks of peace making more difficult.

Allow me to greet the millions in India who are playing so great a part in this struggle. One of my proudest memories is of the work progressive British people and Indians carried out together in the fight for India's independence.

Many times as we spoke together at public meetings and organised demonstrations, it seemed as if the forces opposing us (the same forces which today support the cold war) were invincible. But it was we who were invincible. The spirit of Gandhi was invincible.

With such a proud record, the Indian people are inevitably in the forefront of the peace struggle.



PROF. J. D. BERNAL, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

FOLLOWING the demise of Prof. F. Joliot-Curie, first President of the World Peace Council, Prof. J. D. Bernal, one of Great Britain's leading scientists, was elected his successor.

J. D. Bernal was born on May 10, 1901 at Nenagh (Ireland). He studied in Stonyhurst, Bedford and Cambridge. The first scientific success, he won was in the field of the analysis of the structural composition of crystals by means of X-Rays. His further research work contributed towards clarifying the structure of metals, graphite, hormones, vitamins, albumen and viruses.

In 1935 Bernal participated in the setting up of the group "Scientists Against War" in Cambridge. The same year he made friends with Frederic Joliot-Curie and the latter's teacher, Paul Langevin, the outstanding French physicist and fighter for peace.

In 1937, the highest scientific distinction that Great Britain has bestowed on him—membership of the Royal Society. In 1945 he received the Gold Medal, the highest award of the Royal Society.

During World War II, he was the Scientific Adviser of the British Security Ministry from 1939 to 1942 while from 1942 to 1945 he was scientific adviser of the Allied Supreme Command. He was one of the founders of the World Federation of Scientists and was elected its Vice-President.

Outstanding was also his share in initiating the British Peace Movement as well as the World Peace Movement. He became Vice-President of World Peace Council at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950. In 1953 he was honoured by the Lenin Peace Prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Nations".

Besides his scientific research work, J. D. Bernal is chiefly interested in social and political questions with which he has dealt in a number of books and articles published. One of his latest works is the book *A World Without War* which deals with the problems and prospects of disarmament.

J. D. Bernal is not only one of the most outstanding scientists of the world but also one of the most consistent and brilliant fighters for peace. The World Peace Council is fortunate, indeed, in its President.

BELGIAN PATRIOT SPEAKS FOR CONGO'S FREEDOM

By ISABELLE BLUME
(Member of the Belgian Parliament)

FOR the first time, I will not participate in the meeting of the World Council of Peace. I regret this very much for two reasons, firstly because it will be an important one, secondly because I wanted so much to express my sympathy to our Congolese brothers.

The meeting will be an important one and the conclusions you arrive at will be heard throughout the world. I want to give as example what is happening now in a mining district in Belgium, my country where we are preparing for the elections.

When I came here to work with my friends, after the strike, and started the campaign, I was told "Please speak only of our bad situation. The men here are not at all interested in the international situation"—I gave no direct answer but said:

"The country has nearly collapsed, 19 mine pits have been closed. In eight years, 23,000 workers have been put out of jobs. This year five more will be closed. It is the result of the agreement by the Belgian Government to setting up of the Coal and Steel pool, which has been created to strengthen the Nato." At once, the workers understood and Nato is one of the most-hated words among the workers here.

In the recent months, when the Government proposed to put new purchase taxes on the people, the workers became aware that it was to pay for armaments—much too much and wasteful for our country. The Ministry of National Defence is ready to buy for 10 billion Belgian francs out-of-date airplane from the USA, taking the money out of the pockets of all the working people.

We had in this country the biggest strike in our national history. Everybody began to realise that a link existed between the taxes, the arms race and the policy of support to the Nato and "Little Europe".

Now the workers from this remote distressed area—the Borinage—begin to understand that it goes even further than this.

And we could go on and on showing how big capital organises itself all over the world, to stop the liberation of Afro-Asian people.

From now on, for every part of the world the questions of disarmament and liberation of the people under colonialist or semi-colonialist oppression will be linked. It is good that the meeting at New Delhi will discuss them altogether frankly—the European people and our brothers from Asia and Africa.

It is not only Afro-Asian solidarity which is necessary but also the solidarity of the world as we are facing the same difficulties.

I want to end in dealing with one of the biggest problems of all, Congo, for which my Government is responsible.

The world must know that the Belgian people don't approve of their Government. We fight for the recall of the Belgian troops and men from Congo. One must do one's best to put back in power the legal Government of Lumumba, to put an end to the civil war; to compel the U.N.O. to enforce the decision of the Security Council, to expel the Belgian capitalists who have spread misery, assassination and war to the Congo. To solve all those problems the atmosphere of India will be good.

LUMUMBA CALLS TO AFRICA!

For a thousand years you, Negro, suffered like a beast, your ashes strewn to the wind that roams the desert. Your tyrants built the Justrous, magic temples to preserve your soul, preserve your suffering. Barbaric right to fist and the white right to a whip, you had the right to die, you also could weep. In your totem they carved endless hunger, endless bonds, and even in the cover of the woods a ghastly cruel death watching, snaky, crawling to you like branches from the soles and heads of trees, embraced your body and your ailing soul. Then they put a treacherous big viper on your chest; on your neck they laid the yoke of fire-water, they took your sweet wife for the glitter of cheap pearls,

your incredible riches that nobody could measure. From your hut, the tom-toms sounded into the dark of night, carrying cruel laments up mighty black rivers about abused girls streams of tears and blood about chips that sailed to the country where the little man wallows in an ant-hill and where dollar is the king, to that damned land which they called a motherland.

There your child, your wife were ground day and night by frightful, merciless mill, crushing them in dreadful pain. You are man like others. They preach you to believe that that good white god will reconcile all men at last.

By fire you grieved and sang the moaning songs of homeless beggar that sings at stranger's doors,

And when a craze possessed you and your blood boiled through the night you danced, you moaned,

Like the fury of a storm to lyrics of a manly tune, a strength burst out of you for a thousand years of misery in metallic voice of jazz, in uncovered outcry that thunders through the continent in gigantic surf

The whole world, surprised, woke up in panic to the violent rhythm of blood, to the violent rhythm of jazz, the white man turning pallid over this new song that carries torch of purple through the dark of night.

The drawn is here my brother, dawn! Look in our faces, a new morning breaks in our old Africa. Ours only will now be the land, the water, the mighty rivers which the poor Negro was surrendering for a thousand years. And hard torches of the sun will shine for us again

A free and gallant Congo will arise from the black soil, a free and gallant Congo—the black blossom, the black seed!

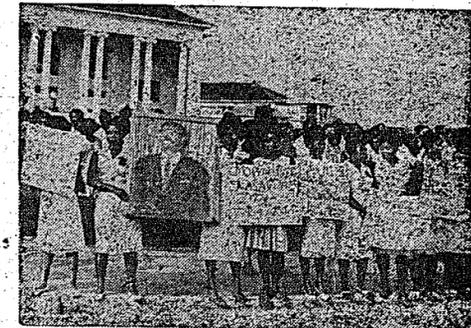
(With acknowledgements to 'Kultumey Zivot' (Czechoslovakia) for the translation of Lumumba's poem)



Sit-down satyagraha in front of the Defence Ministry, London.



Demonstration in front of the Belgian Embassy in Djakarta, Indonesia.



Demonstration in Accra, Ghana, protesting Lumumba's murder.

People's Plays From Kerala

★ by Arif Naqvi

WE all talk of realism in art and culture but our way of thinking and approach is romantic and that keeps us far from realism. We do talk of the importance of the people's theatre, but how few among us really know what a people's theatre should be.

In New Delhi on March 3, 4 and 5 we got an eye full of it when the famous Kerala People's Art Club (KPAC) staged three of their best known plays under the auspices of the Delhi IPTA.

Earlier on March 2 a special show of New Sky, New Earth for invitees was attended by Vice-President Radhakrishnan, Prime Minister Nehru, Lok Sabha Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyengar, Defence Minister Krishna Menon, Railway Minister Jagjivan Ram, representatives of most of the cultural organisations in the capital, and members of the diplomatic corps. Most of those present did not understand the language but that did not prevent them from enjoying the play.

"New Sky New Earth"

Language, of course, plays a great part in drama, but if acting is perfect, every movement, every gesture and expression of the actor becomes a language, familiar to the audience. I myself do not understand Malayalam. But I felt no difficulty in understanding the play. Of course, it was the genius of the director and the wonderful talent of the actors that every gesture and expression was speaking.

New Sky, New Earth was staged again the next day. This play written in 1959 by Thoppil Bhasi had been acclaimed by all circles in Kerala and had won the State Sahitya Akademi awards. But the Government refused to send it to the Drama Festival in Delhi. The result was that no play from Kerala could participate in the Festival because the Kerala Government could not have sent any play for competition bypassing it. Playwright Bhasi weaves this drama around an old

and had later changed his ways when the good in him had been brought out by the love and sympathy shown by the Harijan agricultural workers.

Closely interwoven with the story of this family is the struggle waged by the agricultural workers for their wages and other demands.

You Made Me A Communist is Bhasi's first and still most popular play. It was written in 1951 when he was underground. Banned immediately afterwards, this play was staged first in 1953 and since then it has already been staged for about 1,500 times. This play depicts the struggle of the landless and untouchables against the landlords, the story of an orthodox peasant who turns to the path of this struggle.

Folk Dramas

Khwaja Ahmad Abbas has said: "Combining a topical theme with a Marxist interpretation of social reality and a complete folk-spirit medium of expression (colloquial dialogue and popular songs in folk tunes), it fired the imagination of the common people of Kerala as nothing else in their living experience had ever done before."

All the three plays of Bhasi are successful and highly polished. Acting is of a very high standard. Team work is excellent.

The KPAC artistes have solved a rather difficult problem. And that is whether an artiste should specialise in one type of role or he should take different types of roles. Most of the artistes successfully appeared in the different types of roles.

But above all, Vijay Laxmi has done a wonderful job. A grown up woman with three children, she appeared as an old lady in New Sky, New Earth and as teen-aged girl in You Made Me A Communist and in both she was successful.

KPAC has yet to learn a lot in technique. Their technique of stage and light is weak and still at a primitive level. Their actors are not familiar with the big stage. One can understand this, because the KPAC does not perform on a permanent stage but travels from village to village with their equipment.

One legitimate complaint is that the plays are too long, about four-and-a-half hours each. There are too many scenes—Prodigal Son has 15, You Made Me A Communist 14. What I think should be done is to cut down the number of scenes and increase the duration of each. The songs are also too many although the tunes are impressive and the voices melodious.

Bhasi himself told me that he was aware of the weakness in the KPAC and their modesty. They are great artistes but they are not proud. They are hardworking and still wish to learn more. Above all, they work with a will for a shining ideal.

SPOTLIGHT

JAN SANGH GANGSTERS

THERE is a political party in India which is prepared to condone even the most heinous crime if those involved in it belong to the same community but which gets a fit of epilepsy, starts foaming at the mouth and begins throwing about all its limbs the moment an outrage is perpetrated involving two opposite communities.

Such a party is our Jan Sangh with its banner of "Hindu" fascism and its avowed cult of Muslim-baiting. Real "nationalism" is Hindu communalism and only the Hindus are really the sons of Bharat while the other communities—the Muslim, naturally, foremost among them—are, as the great Gurus Golwalkar avers, aliens and traitors.

It follows inexorably as night follows day that the greatest patriotic act would be to keep up a fusillade against the "traitors" and take the first opportunity to organise pogroms against the "alien" minorities.

If you read the writings and speeches of Jan Sangh leaders and publicists, as I closely do, no doubt will be left in your mind about this role of the Jan Sangh which is out to pervert Indian democracy. I have never seen its mouthpiece in Delhi protesting against the cases of dastardly murders so often reported in the columns of our daily press.

This tabloid has not uttered a word against even such a horrifyingly uncommon crime as the slaying of eight school boys at Dholpur, after unnatural offences had been committed against them. And, of course, it has never published an apology in its columns on behalf of the Hindus for a Hindu goondas' outrage against a victim belonging to the minority community.

I was, therefore, amazed at its impudence in pleading in justification of the Jabalpur riots that "the community to which these rascals (the goondas who committed the rape on a Hindu girl—G) belonged did not condemn their crime but remained criminally silent."

If this is not communalism, rank communalism, what else is? To drag a whole community into the dock for the crime of some goondas, rouse passions and organise an orgy of communal rioting is precisely what the Jan Sangh has done at Jabalpur. And now its journals and leaders are brazenly justifying the same; in fact, they are doing it so openly that I begin to wonder what has happened to the flag of nationalism and secularism which the Indian people have so zealously held aloft. Jan Sanghite mouthpiece the Organiser wrote editorially on February 27:

"That Jabalpur should have reacted strongly to the rape of an innocent

girl showed that our people are basically in good health. Had they failed to organise a hartal and quietly pocketed the insult, it would have been a case of social ill-health. It is only healthy bodies which react. It is really reassuring to find that the people are quite awake, Panditji's anaesthetics notwithstanding."

Could impudence go further? The Jabalpur riots thus are a sign of good health for India, according to the Jan Sangh.

Carrying the impudence several steps further, Jan Sangh General Secretary, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya makes it a grievance that "abnormal anxiety" was being shown about Jabalpur. Very coolly he states: "The fact is that if there is abnormality, it is due to the speeches and perorations by the Prime Minister."

He is also mortally afraid of the public exposure of his party's criminal role in Jabalpur. Crying wolf, he pleads—"The political parties should take their hands off Jabalpur—that is the need of the hour."

Is all this not tantamount to the stand that the Jabalpur riots were a correct thing, that the Jan Sangh is proud of its incendiary role there and now the matter should be hushed up so that further action of this kind might not be jeopardised?

This, to say the least, is the height of brazenness. Incidentally, I do not know whether the dense-headed fascists of the Jan Sangh realise that they have by these defiantly impudent pleas provided the most conclusive evidence of their criminal role at Jabalpur? They have also revealed their gangsterist schemes for the future. Will they be curbed before they go further?

—GARUDA

EXPANSION OF DEFENCE INDUSTRY

BY S. M. BANERJEE, M.P.

IN September 1956, nearly 6,000 unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers belonging to various Ordnance factories lost their jobs because there was no work for them. Almost all the Ordnance factories at that time were suffering terribly because of lack of work and a sense of insecurity prevailed among all sections of workers, whether industrial or non-industrial.

Strikes took place as a protest against this retrenchment and the workers rallied round one central slogan "Ordnance Factories are capable of manufacturing all items either for the civilian or for the services".

This gave courage and confidence to the workers and their leaders and in 1959 nearly 153 unions affiliated to AIDEF passed resolutions supporting the expansion programme initiated by the Defence Minister.

The Defence Ministry, including the then Defence Minister, never took this slogan seriously and rejected this suggestion of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation (AIDEF) as a suggestion coming from non-technical people.

Countrywide agitation, representations and mass demonstrations brought the desired effect in 1957, when the present Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, declared at various places his intention to utilise the idle capacity of the Ordnance factories and other industrial units under the Defence Ministry.

New Period

It is an admitted fact that the period of reversion and reduction which was seen in 1956 was changed to a period of promotion and recruitment in 1959. The following figures will reveal that the production in Ordnance factories has increased by 40 per cent and nearly 1,500 to 2,000 workers have been recruited in all the Ordnance factories.

It is also an admitted fact that about 3,000 workers who faced reversion during 1956 have again been promoted.

private companies robbed the Ministry of nearly four crores of rupees by charging high prices on the grounds that these trucks were made for a specialised job. The production of trucks by the Ordnance Factories has not only solved the urgent need of our armed forces, but also saved a big amount for our exchequer.

The price of tractors manufactured in the Ordnance Factory is, I am told, less than the price quoted by the foreign companies including the Caterpillar.

Rapid Expansion

Nearly 4,000 workers of the Hosley and Saddlery Factory, Kanpur who were desirous of establishing a boot plant since 1947, were also extremely happy when two years back the Defence Minister announced during the centenary celebrations of the Factory, that a final decision has been taken to establish a boot plant in that factory.

In 1946, when this slogan was raised by the union, the British bosses of M/s Cooper Allen & Co, Kanpur, with the help of small units in private sector, protested against it. This proposal was then shelved and it was only in 1957 that things were brought to light. Today the boot plant has become a reality and the required machinery has already arrived from Czechoslovakia and production is likely to start in 1961 itself.

It may be interesting to note that the cost of trucks and tractors manufactured in Ordnance Factories is less by several thousands of rupees than those supplied to the Defence Ministry by the private sector.

A spokesman of the Defence Ministry told me that these

Efforts are also being made to manufacture tanks in India. It is said that the proposed tank factory is to be located at a place where steel is readily available. This will be another landmark in the history of defence industry.

The recent announcement of the Defence Minister to have a special alloy steel plant in the Defence sector has been hailed by all sections of the people. The steel plants at Ichapur and Kanpur are being modernised for the production of special alloy steel.

No one can shut his eyes to the fact that the 19 Ordnance Factories which were suffering for want of work in 1956 are now running overtime to cope up with the increased work. There is a sense of security among the employees and they are absolutely optimistic about the future of the Ordnance Factories and their own.

I am extremely happy to see that in Ordnance Factory, Katni, the Extrusion Plant for non-ferrous metal, which was almost idle during 1955 and 1956 is now moving so fast and production has increased nearly 20 to 30 times. Some of the metal roller workers who were reverted during 1956, told me smilingly that they have got back their promotions in 1960.

Aircraft Manufacture

Aircraft Manufacturing Depot in Kanpur is currently manufacturing AVRO 748. In July 1961, the first aircraft manufactured in this depot will take off. The establishment of this plant in Kanpur has foiled the attempts of Lockheed who wanted to monopolise the production of aircraft in India.

Civilian technicians and airmen are working day in and day out, side by side, shoulder to shoulder, to see that this does happen on schedule. The other aircraft made the Hindustan Aircraft Factory is an eye-opener to those who still feel that nothing could be done in the public sector.

Defence employees—nearly 2,53,000 in number—throughout the country belonging to Ordnance factories, technical development establishments, Ordnance vehicle depots, Army workshops, MES, Naval and Air Force establishments, are to-day busy in the expansion work and try to do their best to translate the dreams of the Defence Minister into reality. The recent announcement of the Defence Ministry that 80 per cent of the civilian workers will be made permanent has further enthused them.

Victimisation Continues

Having said all this, I must express my disappointment the way some trade union workers in Defence establishments have been treated after the general strike of 1960. Nearly 52 active trade union workers in Kirkee, Ichapur, Jabalpur, Kankinara, Panagarh and Khamera have either been

removed, dismissed, downgraded or still facing disciplinary proceedings.

I was surprised to see that the active trade union workers who supported the expansion programme of the Defence Ministry, who addressed hundreds of meetings to enthuse the workers to support the expansion programme to counteract the offensive launched by the private sector, are now rotting on the streets.

Six union workers of IAF Chakeri (Kanpur) who are well-known for their technical skill and efficiency are starving for the last eight months. I can never imagine that these employees who actively supported the expansion programme of the Defence Ministry should be treated like this only because they obeyed the directive of their Federation and participated in the strike.

Worker's Unity

A sense of frustration and disappointment prevails among the Defence employees and some of the old trade union workers told me in tears "Please tell Menon Sahib on our behalf to save our brothers from starvation".

I could never tell them that I was in close touch with Menon Sahib, regarding this and it is for Menon Sahib to react to their sincere and earnest wishes and save these workers. My hats off to those victimised workers who face starvation today but worked relentlessly for the success of the expansion plans of the defence departments. Their fellow workers will not rest till they are back at their jobs.

WORLD WITHOUT ARMS WORLD WITHOUT WARS

This collection of Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov's speeches and statements presents a lucid exposition of Soviet foreign policy and views on international situation. This book also contains interviews and conversations of Prime Minister Khrushchov with foreign personalities published in the Soviet press. Published in two volumes



Send your orders to:
People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., M. M. Road, New Delhi, P.O. Box 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, National Book Agency (P) Ltd., 12 Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta 12, NCBB Ltd., Nallathambi Chetty St., Madras 2.

Vol. I (559 Pages)
PRICE: Rs. 1.50
Regd. Postage: Rs. 1.66

Adverts

MARCH 26, 1961

NEW AGE

NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY
EDITOR: P. C. Joshi
Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi
Phone: 25794
Telegraphic Address: MAREBADI
SUBSCRIPTION RATES
ENGLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.
FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.
All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

Aboard this magnificent jet you will enjoy superb "vibration free" comfort, delicious food, lavish hospitality and courteous personalized service.

CSA Jet flights take you from Bombay to Cairo and Europe at....

Book now! First Class or Economy Class. For reservations—contact your travel agent, or Air-India International or CZECHOSLOVAK AIRLINES Ambassador Hotel, Bombay-1. Telephone: 243209 & 241131

...more than 10 miles per minute every Friday.



Departure from Bombay: EASTBOUND TO SINGAPORE AND JAKARTA ON EVERY THURSDAY AT 02.00 HRS. WESTBOUND TO CAIRO AND EUROPE ON EVERY FRIDAY AT 21.30 HRS.

CSA IN POOL WITH AIR-INDIA NATIONAL-USA 721

1 Purifies BLOOD

2 Counteracts INFECTION

3 Clears COMPLEXION

SAFI
The Great Blood Purifier
Regulates digestion, increases appetite and forms pure blood

DELHI - Kanpur - Patna

SOUTH AFRICA KICKED OUT!

By Cable from Omeo Gupta

London, March 21

MR. Verwoerd's further presence in the Commonwealth would have been hailed by racialists as a justification of their policy as faithfully expressed at Sharpeville and Langa.

By forcing his semi-fascist regime out of the Commonwealth, a gigantic blow has been struck for democracy and freedom and against an abominable system of human oppression.

Messrs Macmillan, Menzies and Holyoake—representatives of Tory imperialism—remain shocked, disgusted and bitter. Macmillan's role in this whole episode has been to put it mildly, shameful. While talking in public about a "wind of change" in Africa, he sent Duncan Sandys to various Commonwealth capitals prior to the Conference to campaign for South Africa's admission in May when she becomes a Republic.

During the Conference, Macmillan kept the conference busy supplying a series of drafts—the essence of each being a mild condemnation of

South African policies coupled with the acceptance of Dr. Verwoerd's application. It is now common knowledge that the British Government used all kinds of pressure especially on the Afro-Asian Prime Ministers on this matter.

The result of the conference confirms, once again, the growing reputation of Macmillan as an "incompetent fixer" and a supreme political bluffer.

The moving and passionate intervention of Chief Albert Lutuli, President of the African National Congress from his enforced residence in Natal, and Julius Nyerere, national leader of Tanganyika during the Conference for exclusion of South Africa made a deep impression on Nehru and Nkrumah in particular. Nyerere boldly declared that if Dr. Verwoerd stayed in, Tanganyika would not join the Commonwealth.

The Tories are bitter with the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth because of the sharp attacks continuously made by them on Dr. Verwoerd and his hated

policies. They are complaining "We lose South Africa and get Archbishop Makarios; we are in danger of seeing the Federation break up and losing Southern Rhodesia, but we will be presented instead with Jomo Kenyatta".

A rearguard action by the reactionaries here together with the South African racialists are already afoot. It will be a few weeks for such plans to take concrete forms.

Various accounts of the final episode in the South African National discussion are in circulation. From authoritative sources, I can report to the New Age readers that the Prime Minister during the Conference was won over by Macmillan on the constitutional argument that on the purely legal issue of South Africa's admission as a Republic, Dr. Verwoerd could not be refused.

But in their final speeches, both Nehru and Nkrumah made once again extremely sharp attacks on apartheid. They indicated that whatever the communiqué said, now they reserved their rights to raise the question of South Africa's exclusion from the Commonwealth in the months ahead. Their speeches finally forced Dr. Verwoerd to withdraw his application and quit the Commonwealth.

In a statement issued to the press, the South African United Front said that it was "the first major step towards isolating the Verwoerd Government and forcing it to abandon its racist policies". It hoped that the opponents of apartheid all over the world would now intensify their efforts to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.



Bulgarian M.P.'s Delegation

A Bulgarian Parliamentary Delegation arrived in Delhi on March 14, 1961. The Delegation is led by Ferdinand Kozovsky, Speaker of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Other members are: Peter Tanchev, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Secretary of the Central Executive of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party; Boris Vaptsarov, First Deputy Minister for Education and Culture; Petko Staynov, Academician, Jurist; Ivanka Mircheva, Textile engineer; Tryfon Svyelensky, Chairman of a Cooperative Farm.

During its stay in India the delegation will visit Delhi, Agra, Bhakra-Nangal Dam, Chandigarh, Bangalore and Bombay.

Picture above shows Ferdinand Kozovsky together with Dr. Radhakrishnan, Morarji Desai and Ananthasayanam Ayyangar at a reception in honour of the Bulgarian M.P.s.

WORLD'S BIGGEST OIL PIPELINE

From Masood Ali Khan

Moscow, March 19

THE world's biggest oil pipeline is now being built in the Soviet Union. It will connect Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic with the oil-bearing regions of the Volga and the total network scheduled to be completed in 1963 will be 5,000 kilometres long.

Apart from Rumania, the other socialist countries of Eastern Europe depend on the Soviet Union for their supply of oil and with industrial development, their needs have been continuously rising. By 1965 their imports of oil from the Soviet Union are to reach the figure of about 15 million tons annually.

To transport such a huge quantity of oil by rail, 600,000 cisterns of 25-ton capacity each would be required and new railway lines would have to be laid. All this would have made oil dearer for countries using it.

Calculations show that the cost of transporting oil through the new pipeline will be three to three-and-a-half times cheaper than railway transport and the money invested will be realised within a few years.

Starting in the Volga oil-fields near Kulbishev, a one-yard diameter pipe will go West crossing major rivers of the European part of Russia—Volga, Don, Dnieper and Desna. Near the town of Mozzyr in Byelorussia, the pipeline will split into two branches, one going northwest across Poland to Schwedt in the German Democratic Republic and the other southwest across Czechoslovakia with an offshoot to Budapest.

Never in the history of pipeline construction has anything like this been attempted before. This is a huge and bold project and an example of what socialist cooperation and division of labour can achieve. All participating countries work on this grand scheme on the principle of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradesly cooperation.

Each country provides a project and builds a pipeline on its own territory and contributes part of the equipment. The GDR, for example, is to supply automatic medium capacity pumps, while Hungary provides automatic radio-relay and teletmetrical systems. Czechoslovakia will give armature for high pressure tubes etc. The Soviet Union is responsible for 1,600 kilometre main section which is expected to cost some 250 million roubles.

Sabotage In Public Sector

By O. P. Mehrotra

SABOTAGE, yes, that is the proper word which can aptly describe the callousness and indifference with which arrogant Western experts, some corrupt Indian officials and greedy contractors treat some undertakings in the public sector of India. This is borne out by facts and substantiated by testimony from responsible quarters.

How seriously the West German engineers have taken their work in Rourkela is disclosed by actual production of that plant. The Public Accounts Committee in its 34th report has disclosed that production of pig iron worked out less than 34,000 tons a month during the period April-August against a rated capacity of 60,000 tons. Similar is the case with steel.

Rourkela Breakdowns

The main reason advanced for this is frequent breakdown in the dolomite calcining plant. "Despite examination by the German suppliers and some American experts, the plant was still not working properly and extensive repairs and realignment were under way", says the reported remark of the Committee.

One wonders whether this particular plant would ever give us service without "frequent breakdowns". At least the answer is not available today.

The Public Accounts Committee has suggested that the Government should examine the feasibility of establishing another dolomite calcining plant so that a central reserve of burnt dolomite could be built up to meet emergency needs of all steel plants in the public sector.

Durgapur Waste

That is the situation in Rourkela where the arrogant German engineers say that Indians cannot learn anything. What is happening in Durgapur is best told to us by the Colombo Plan experts led by Sir Eric Coates:

"The necessity for the economic operation of the plant has hitherto hardly been considered by works or general management apart from finance. At present works management is fully occupied with getting the plant operating whether economically or not. But the cost factor clearly cannot be ignored because Durgapur running at a loss will be a liability to the nation".

India's agreement with the British ISCON (the British Consortium which is erecting the plant) itself is a charter of exploitation. An example of this is provided in the Colombo Plan report itself: Ever since production started, operational officers (belonging to the steel project under Hindustan Steel) have been approaching ISCON for services not envisaged in the

contract. Where the project could secure an unskilled labourer at about Rs. two a day, "the corresponding charges of ISCON for labour used in day work including supervision, is Rs. five".

The International Construction Company of London are consultants who are to certify works before they are paid for the Durgapur steel project. The Colombo Plan experts bring to light the work of this company in the following words:

"It has come to notice that site engineers do not generally maintain records regarding check-test measurements they make, with the result that the extent of their check supervision is not susceptible to verification."

"It is, therefore, doubtful how far close supervision is being maintained by ICC on execution of work—particularly to ensure that they are carried out according to drawings".

The site works budget of the plant has risen from the original estimate of Rs. 15.45 crores first, to the ICC's July 1959 estimate of Rs. 14.09 crores then to the ISCON's August 1959 estimate of Rs. 21.83 crores and, finally, to the ICC's January 1960 estimate of Rs. 25.30 crores.

Construction Irregularities

But this is not all. Even the 42 Indian engineers attached to the Consulting Engineer's Office were not properly utilised, the report said.

That is the situation in Durgapur, should I call it a symbol of British Commonwealth friendship to India? This, too, was the place the Queen visited during her recent tour.

Another scandal is the thermal power plant at Durgapur. Due to the constructional irregularities and other factors, production in the plant continues to be low for the last few months.

"Such low production", adds the India Press Agency, "began last November when it was found that the generator could not be commissioned fully because of the melting away of its bearing. Even the urgent visit by foreign experts entailing additional expense could not remedy the defect and every time the generator was run at full capacity the bearing melted away".

According to this report, the authorities decided that the first unit consisting of one generator with a capacity to produce 75 megawatt power would be run with low load, thus producing only a maximum of 20 m.w. power. Experts of foreign contractor firms and DVC's engineers a few days ago failed to diagnose the disease of the generator.

Daily Loss

It is estimated that the cut in daily production by the first unit results in a loss of not less than Rs. 60 thousand a day, which con-

W. Bengal

UNITED ANTI-BUDGET PROTEST

A PROTEST demonstration against the new tax proposals under the Central Budget for 1961-62 was taken out in Calcutta on March 9 under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, RSP, Marxist Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre, Bolshevik Party, RCFI and Workers' Party. The PSP did not participate.

The demonstration paraded different streets, shouting slogans: "Attempts to starve the masses by imposing taxes upon taxes on them won't be permitted", "Anti-national taxation policy must be changed", "Punish speculators and profiteers", "We oppose tax concessions to foreign and Indian big business", etc.

Earlier, a meeting was held which adopted a resolution expressing grave concern at the proposed increase in taxes. It said that the new impost is "a clear manifestation of the Government's ill-conceived

stitutes the price of power at the rate at which DVC supplies it to industrial and other concerns. This unit was scheduled to start full production in September last. The second unit which was to follow in November has also not been commissioned. All this has resulted in a loss of Rs. 10 crores till now.

What is happening at another important site for coal-mining machinery projects in Durgapur is reported by Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India.

He writes: "This factory is coming up with the help of Soviet aid and technical know-how. But if anyone visits the factory site, he would not be able to form any idea as to when the construction will be completed, and the plant and machinery commissioned.

Deliberate Carelessness

"Giant machinery and equipment have come from the Soviet Union as per programme. It is very distressing to find all these lying in heavy rains and strong sun". According to his communication levelling and grading of the acquired land was scheduled to be completed by June 1960. Now June 1961 is nearing, yet there appears no chance of ground being levelled!

Some of the junior officers working in the project have arrogated to themselves all powers. They refuse to recruit staff even in cases of urgency until they find their own men. Under these circumstances, those who are recruited are sometime unsuited to the job.

As regards amenities for the staff, they are non-existent. As auditing is approaching now, the staff have been ordered to carry on duty up to 10 p.m. There is, however, no overtime. The present management completely disregards all labour laws.

and anti-people tax policy, under which the richer sections of the community are being given concessions and the poorer sections forced to pay beyond their means".

Pointing out that dishonest traders had already pushed up the prices of essential commodities, the resolution emphasised that "such an anti-people tax policy would only cause great damage to the nation and, as such, has to be resisted on all hands in the larger interests of the country".

It, therefore, urged upon the Government to withdraw the proposed imposts and appealed to the people "to come forward to meet the challenge of the Government".

The resolution further said that the "Left and democratic parties must play a positive role and make a united move for defending the interests of the people against these oppressive measures".

Some of the jobs that according to old plans were to be done departmentally have been given to a big contractor's firm. Some of the officers who are in charge of the projects are quite friendly to the contractors. The Chief Project Officer, Lahiri, has become a silent spectator.

As a result, the officials are having their own way in sabotaging this new public sector project.

Probe Needed

Obviously to regain the confidence of the local people, for ensuring better treatment to the staff, for better management of the project, for speedy execution of the construction plan of the project, a thorough probe is urgently required. Until and unless this is done, proper functioning of the project so vital for raising the productivity of coal cannot be guaranteed.

Public sector undertakings have not only to be assured serious and devoted experts but also patriotic officers for their success. Any attempt to come in the way of the advance of a public sector undertaking should be treated as sabotage and elements whether Indian or foreign should be brought to book in time. That is the only way to guarantee the working of the projects according to programme.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Copies of the Resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India on the present political situation are available in English, Hindi and Urdu.

PRICE: 15 NAYE PAISE
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
RANI JEANSI ROAD,
NEW DELHI 1.

E. Pakistan Comrades' Letter To Nasir's Mother

DEAR Mother We, the comrades-in-arm of Hasan Nasser are conveying our heartfelt sorrow and sympathy to you and to other members of your family at the death of your heroic son. The news of the brutal murder of Comrade Nasser by the gangsters, who now rule Pakistan has come to us and all other democratic forces of East Pakistan as a most shocking thing.

Comrade Nasser was in vanguard of the struggle for the liberation of Pakistan and it was for this that our beloved Comrade Nasser had to sacrifice his life in the prime of his youth. Your son died for a great cause.

In Nasser we have lost a very valuable fighter for peace and democracy and the people of Pakistan have lost one of their most trusted leaders.

Mother! We fully realise what a great shock it was to you when you heard the news of the brutal murder of your son inside the Lahore Fort.

But such things are not new in our country. In 1950, some of our best comrades, such as Anwar, Kamaram, Dilwar, Hossain, Belay Sen, Sushin, Dhar, Sakhen Bhattacharya and Muhammad Hanif were cold-bloodedly shot to death inside the Rajshahi Central Jail. Another of our comrades Siben Roy sacrificed his life in Dacca Jail in 1949 through hunger strike as a protest against the inhuman treatment of the political prisoners by the authorities. A kisan comrade Bishnu Bairagi was labouring to death in Khulna district jail in 1949. Many sons of workers and peasants were killed by police bullets in 1949-50 for

the simple reason that they demanded better living conditions. To crown it all, four young sons of East Pakistan were shot to death in 1952 on the streets of Dacca, only because they demanded that Bengali be made one of the State languages.

Sons of many mothers are still languishing behind prison bars or leading underground lives. So, mother, you are not alone in your bereavement. Sons of many other mothers of East Pakistan have been murdered like your son by the ruling gangsters. The tears of those mothers are flowing in the same stream with that of yours.

But neither the tears of these mothers nor the blood of their martyrs will go in vain. It is from the blood of those martyrs that new life is springing up and new democratic forces are coming forward in Pakistan.

Today, in East Pakistan inspite of military terror, many people are waging the battle for which Nasser and other martyrs laid down their lives. The day is not very far when the rule of the gangsters, who killed Nasser and other comrades of ours, will be overthrown, democracy will be established in Pakistan and the death of Hasan Nasser and others will be avenged. The people of East Pakistan will not forget Nasser and other martyrs.

Mother! We ask for your blessings and sympathy in our struggle. We could not send you this letter earlier because of obvious difficulties.

Yours affectionately,
COMMUNIST WORKERS OF EAST PAKISTAN,
Dacca,
January 12, 1961.

MANUBHAI'S LATEST SELL-OUT

From Our Correspondent

THE news in the press about the setting up of plants in the public sector for the manufacture of organic intermediate chemicals needed to make drugs, dyes and plastics, is indeed mystifying. But in spite of all camouflage one feature sticks out that the Commerce and Industry Ministry has sold out the national interests in this vital field to a clique of foreign and private Indian firms.

Capital of March 9, 1961, gave details of the chemical works to be built near Bombay in collaboration with some West German firms, Bayers and three others. It states that the plants will produce 40 different organic intermediate chemicals and the cost of the venture will exceed 120 crores (this figure is obviously wrong), and when it goes into full production it will save the country 25 million Marks in foreign exchange a year.

And what is alarming is the statement that the German chemical enterprises will be refunded the cost of engineering and services by transferring to them shares of a value totalling the amount they are due, these shares being issued by a private limited company to be established by the Indian Government.

Most of the figures and other information doled out by Capital are obviously incorrect, but the significant part of the news, that equity shares will be allotted to the German firms seems to be correct as it was also vouched by a previous news item from Bonn which appeared in the Times of India, dated August 13, 1960.

It stated that our Charge d' Affaires, on behalf of Government of India, and the representatives of four West German firms were going to sign an agreement on August 17, 1960, for the putting up of one of Asia's largest plants for the manufacture of basic and intermediate chemicals at Panvel near Bombay, and that three of the West German participating firms will be given equity shares for technical assistance and patent rights in a company to be floated in the public sector.

These shares will amount to 10.5 million Marks. The cost of the plant was given as 25 million Marks (?) and it was stated that when it goes into full production it will save Rs. 5 crores (?) in foreign exchange a year.

W. German Scheme

The truth of the matter is that as long ago as early 1957 the West German firm of Bayers submitted a scheme for putting up of two factories, one located in Bombay State for the manufacture of 90 different organic intermediates, and the other in Bengal-Bihar area for coal and coal tar intermediates, like pthalic anhydride, alkylid resins, phenol, etc.

The estimated cost of the two plants was Rs. 18.95 crores and these two plants between them would produce a total of 36,711 tons of organic intermediate chemicals a year. It is on the basis of this scheme that the Commerce and

Industry Ministry has been negotiating ever since with Bayers.

And every now and then news has appeared that an agreement was due to be signed, but the firm had evidently been holding out for the best possible terms for itself which meant nothing less than securing effective control over this very vital industry. They have now got what they wanted, and an agreement has after all been signed as confirmed by another news item in the Times of India.

Long before the Commerce and Industry Ministry started talks with the West German firms, Government of India had invited a team of Soviet experts early in 1956, to survey the drug industry of the country and to advise Government in the matter.

The Soviet experts in collaboration with Indian experts

recommended extension of Hindustan Antibiotics at Pimpri to make streptomycin.

It will, thus, be seen that the Soviet scheme was a comprehensive self-contained scheme under one management and would have made the country completely independent of the import of drugs, antibiotics and vitamins, and would also have provided sufficient amount of organic intermediate chemicals for the manufacture of dyes and plastics in the country.

This scheme including the plant for intermediate chemicals was going to cost a total of Rs. 32 crores and would have saved the country Rs. 35 crores a year in foreign exchange.

Wonderful Offer

This Soviet offer came in 1956 and the Soviets were to provide all the technical know-how free of charge and had also offered a long term credit of Rs. 10 crores (80 million roubles) to cover the foreign exchange component of the scheme.

This credit was on the usual Soviet favourable terms of 2½ per cent interest and the loan

agreement was about to be signed.

But Bayers were sticking out for the best possible terms for themselves which amounted nothing less than control of the plant. Bayers seemed to have been disinclined to work with Government as they were anxious to keep control of the plant which they felt they could do only if they collaborated with a private Indian firm.

Thus, parallel to talks with Government, negotiations seemed to have been conducted by Bayers with Kasturbhai Lalbhai (Atul Products) who had been working for sometime to make the dye industry in India an empire of his own.

While the Government leaks about the signing of an agreement with Bayers were appearing news were also being given out that Bayers were about to enter into an agreement with Kasturbhai Lalbhai to set up the factory for intermediate chemicals at a cost of Rs. 20 crores.

Now the final deal has been struck to the benefit of both Bayers and Kasturbhai Lalbhai, but to the disadvantage of the people.

The plant for the manufacture of intermediate chemi-

agreement with the Soviets had cut down the quantity of drugs to be manufactured in the Soviet aided plants from 4,000 tons to 800 tons. Thus, in the new dispensation besides dyes about 3,000 tons of drugs will be made by Kasturbhai Lalbhai and his friends of the private enterprise, for which they can charge any price they like.

Higher Prices

Not only that, the high price of intermediate chemicals will raise the cost of production of drugs to be produced at the State-owned Soviet aided plants, and thereby vitiate to a great extent the efforts of Government to make life saving drugs available to the suffering people of India at as low a price as possible.

The Government of India on two previous occasions burnt their fingers when they allotted equity shares, or made some similar arrangements, with the participating German firms for the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant, and with a Swiss firm in the Machine Tool Plant at Bangalore.

The Government had to retrieve their mistakes at a great loss of money when they found

BAYERS' DEAL HURTS INDIA

made a detailed survey of the country's drug industry and prepared a comprehensive report (in two volumes) setting out the state of the drug industry in the country and the steps India should take to make the country self-sufficient and independent of foreign imports.

Soviet Report

In their report the Soviet experts described the processes of manufacture of each of the essential drugs and listed the quantities of basic and intermediate chemicals needed for their manufacture and the estimates of costs of manufacture. They recommended the setting up of four plants.

One of these plants was a special plant for the production of the intermediate chemicals needed for the manufacture of drugs, dyes and plastics. It was designed to produce 33,200 tons of organic intermediate chemicals a year, of which 17,700 tons were for the manufacture of drugs, and the remaining 15,500 tons for dyes and plastics.

The estimated cost of this plant was Rs. 11.5 crores, and it would save the country at least Rs. 2.5 crores a year in foreign exchange even on the basis of the then prevailing competitive import prices.

In addition to the organic intermediate chemical plant the Soviet scheme envisaged a plant for making 4,000 tons a year of 54 essential drugs and vitamins and another plant for making 300 tons of antibiotics in addition to the

being repayable in rupees in ten annual instalments after the plants started functioning and earning, i.e., Rs. one crore a year to be paid out of a saving Rs. 35 crores a year.

And what is important, most of the drugs would have been made available to the suffering people of India at one-tenth the present price because the Soviets were going to charge no royalties and drugs would have been sold at the cost of production.

This wonderful Soviet offer of the greatest benefit to the people of India seemed to have alarmed the private industrialists, and their friends in Government, who had been dreaming of making big fortunes by setting up their private dye and drug industries in the country.

It appears that T. T. Krishnamachari, the then Commerce and Industry Minister, immediately passed on the Soviet project to the German firm of Bayers and asked them to submit a proposal for a plant to produce the same amount of intermediate chemicals, i.e., 33,000 tons a year, as the Soviet experts had planned for. Bayers saw their chance of controlling the nascent chemical industry of India and submitted a scheme early in 1957 and demanded Rs. 18.5 crores for the plant for which the Soviet estimate was only Rs. 11.5 crores.

And after the retirement of T. T. Krishnamachari negotiations with Bayers were continued by Morarji Desai and Manubhai Shah, and for over four years every now and then the news was leaked that an

cal, the raw materials for drug, dye and plastic industries, will be built near Bombay to suit the interests of Kasturbhai Lalbhai, but away from Bhilai and Durgapur, the State owned sources of coal tar products needed for the manufacture of intermediate chemicals.

The plant will now subsist largely on raw materials from foreign owned oil refineries at Trombay. The plant will be built with public funds, but Bayers will control it through their holding of equity shares.

Monopolists Benefit

Even though Bayers will only hold a minority of shares, yet because Bayers are to give the know-how and because the development of the plant will depend on their goodwill, they are bound to have a dominating position.

This will be used to maintain high prices of intermediate chemicals to serve two ends, one to make high profits for themselves and other to raise the cost of production of dyes and drugs which will have to depend entirely on the supplies of intermediate chemicals from this Bayers controlled State plant.

This will give an added advantage to Bayers to make it impossible for Indian made drugs and dyes to compete against Bayers' German made products. It will also leave the field open for Kasturbhai Lalbhai to sell the drugs and dyes made at his plants at high prices in collusion with Bayers.

It is also to be noted that Manubhai Shah in his final

that the allotment of equity shares to foreign firms gave them control of the plants and hindered their development to the disadvantage of national interests.

In spite of this very costly experience Manubhai Shah for reasons best known to him, but not difficult to guess, has again made a sell out of national interests by agreeing to allot equity shares to foreign firms, and this in spite of the declared policy of Government of India.

Something needs to be done to prevent individual ministers from defying the declared policy of Government to the detriment of our people.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India is being held in Vijaywada from April 7 to 16, 1961.

Due to this, the Central Office of the Communist Party of India will be temporarily shifting to Vijaywada from the April 1, 1961, and continue there till the duration of the Congress.

Therefore, from April 1 to 16, 1961 all letters etc., addressed to the Central Office should be directed to the following address:

Central Office,
Communist Party of India,
C/o Reception Committee,
Sixth Congress of the Communist Party, Buckinghampet,
Vijaywada-2.

Telegraphic Address:
COMMUNIST VIJAYWADA
Phone: 1376