

BEHIND U NU'S INDIA VISIT

NEW AGE

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BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Burma's Nu has successfully settled his border dispute with China. And soon after his mission to China, he has thought it worthwhile to visit India's Nehru.

Indian representatives are yet in the process of discussion with the Chinese and the two sides are due to meet again in Rangoon. The Chinese Premier is scheduled to be present in Rangoon about the same day for the Burmese National Day celebrations.

Nu's visit to India on November 10, 11 and 12 has led to a lot of well-informed speculation.

THE Times of India (October 23) reports that "informed circles in the capital believe" that "U Nu may give Mr. Nehru his assessment of China's attitude towards world problems with particular reference to relations with her neighbouring Southeast Asian countries."

The Special Representative of the Indian Express, on the same date, is more specific: "It is obvious U Nu wants to use his good offices and try to bring about an expeditious settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute... The general belief here is that he would presumably bring with him certain proposals of Mr. Chou En-lai or himself suggest a way out for resolving the existing conflict."

The Burmese Press, irrespective of internal political orientation, on a virtual national scale, is far more newsy, outspoken and enthusiastic.

Role Of Mediator

Rangoon's influential English daily, the Guardian (October 12) in its editorial entitled "Delhi After Peking" writes: "It seems that with his journeys to Peking and New Delhi, U Nu has cast himself in the role of a confidante of Chou En-lai as well as of Pandit Nehru. It may be that the logical promotion after the position of a confidante is that of a mediator—a charming and unofficial one... U Nu professed himself to be optimistic about the outcome of Sino-Indian differences."

Another English daily, the Burman (October 13) in a front page column calls the visit "highly significant" and writes:

"It could be possible that Mr. Nu has ascertained the Chinese views as regards the Sino-Indian border dispute. The Chinese authorities must have been apprised of the Indian opinion on the subject of the dispute and it is within the bounds of possibility that the Chinese authorities have succeeded in devising a formula whereby the Sino-Indian border question may again be opened for a discussion this time perhaps with some hope of a settlement."

The English weekly the Review and New Times (October 17) in its editorial calls it "Welcome News" and states— "U Nu's mission is all the more likely to succeed because both Premier Nehru and Premier Chou En-lai have publicly declared their belief in friendly negotiations and a peaceful settlement of the boundary problem.

"From his practical experience with the Chinese leaders during the recent Sino-Burma border negotiations, U Nu may well be able to dispel whatever doubts there may lurk in Premier Nehru's mind about the sincerity of China's professed eagerness for a peaceful settlement.

What Nu Can Do

"If he can make any contribution, however insignificant, towards a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, Premier U Nu will have done a great service in the cause of peace in Southeast Asia in particular and of world peace in general."

The influential Burmese daily Oway (October 13) in its editorial writes that the visit is "widely welcomed" and concludes, "the U Nu-Nehru meeting at this stage might contribute towards a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question."

Widely-circulated daily Bama Khit (October 13) in its commentary states: "U Nu's optimistic prediction in this connection will help brighten people's faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence."

The Left progressive daily, the Vanguard (October 13) which reflects the viewpoint of the National United Front also wholeheartedly welcomed Nu's decision to visit Nehru and wrote: "When U Nu meets Mr. Nehru, he will be able to explain the details of the recent Sino-Burmese border agreement. It might serve as a pattern for the solution of the Sino-Indian border question. U Nu has said that both China and India are determined to solve their boundary problem amicably. In this connection the Burmese Premier will probably convey to Mr. Nehru Mr. Chou En-lai's message reaffirming China's determination to settle the Sino-Indian border dispute."

Right-Wing Pressure

Burma has also its Asoka Mehtas who are howling against U Nu for having settled the dispute with China. U Ba Swe, the spokesman of the really dirty and splinter group of the AFPFL speaking against the settlement of the border problem said: "Why all this whipping up of public enthusiasm? Isn't it strange that the Government should behave like a bereft son who, instead of performing the funeral rights of his mother, whose life he could not save, is dancing with joy?"

It is obvious that the Burmese Right use the continuing India-China deadlock as a convenient stick to beat U Nu with. Rangoon weekly, New Times, stresses, "From the point of view of national politics also U Nu's visit to India for this purpose is important. Peace and orderly development of Burma as well as all other resurgent small nations in Southeast Asia will be impossible if the two biggest nations of Asia, namely China and India, happen to

be at daggers drawn. It is, therefore, to the interest of all the nations that India and China should resume the normal relations of cordiality and friendliness as early as possible."

Like Burma, neighbouring Nepal and Indonesia have also achieved success in their peaceful negotiations with China. Diplomatic observers report that the diplomats of these Asian countries are discreetly informing New Delhi that friendly settlement with the Chinese is possible and that the example of continuing deadlock at our end is being used by their Right to beat down their Panchsheel Governments.

African statesmen who have to face all the time the plots of the imperialists and their stooges and need total Asian solidarity and have had their own experience of the People's Government of China on the diplomatic level and

of the Chinese leaders on various other levels, have also passionately pressed for India-China settlement so that the Bandung unity may re-emerge stronger than before.

Welcome Guest

This was reflected in Premier Nehru's resonant words in support of seating China when he spoke at the U. N. Again he was more amiable than earlier in his reference to the India-China dispute during his latest Press Conference.

U Nu's visit to New Delhi, therefore, is welcomed by all who want to see Panchsheel triumph; it is resented by the reactionaries who work for Panchsheel being scuttled, in practice at least if not in words.

(October 26)

BRANDED!

TIMES OF INDIA GETS ITS DESERTS

BY all means, let the Times of India stew in its own juice, no one is likely to shed any tears. But let us tell it why, so that it does not take on injured airs and pose as a martyr.

The Times of India has already begun parading itself as a martyr to the freedom of the Press—"if the price of a free Press is that it should 'stew in its own juice' this is a small price which the Indian Press should not hesitate to pay." (Editorial, October 24)

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

We are all for the freedom of the Press. We, much more than the Times of India, value this precious right. We of the Communist Press have suffered most by the attacks on the freedom of the Press launched both by the British rulers and later by Congress Governments. It was our papers that were closed down, our journalists who were arrested and detained, our presses that were locked up, our hard-collected funds that were confiscated in the name of fines.

With this our experience we will be in the front ranks in any battle in defence of the freedom of the Press.

But the Times of India's self-claimed martyrdom leaves us cold. And for the simple reason that the issue on which the Times of India got its well-deserved drubbing from the Prime Minister has nothing to do with the freedom of the Press.

Freedom of the Press has always meant the freedom to criticise the Government when it goes wrong, when its policies and actions go against the interests of the nation and its people. But it has never meant the freedom for a campaign to sell the country or give up policies which are nationally accepted.

For the little men of the Times of India national interests or national policies may not mean anything—serving as they did the British masters of Bennett Coleman, sitting in air-conditioned offices and receiving fat salaries for being excellent flunkies, while the nation was in the streets fighting its battle for freedom, paying dearly with blood and lives.

NOTHING SURPRISING

After belonging to the British in her youth, and flirting with Indian monopolists like the Dalmas and Jains in her middle age, the Grandma of Borl Bunder, in her old age, is decking herself out afresh for new suitors from the Mecca of the "Free World", the USA. Anti-national views are nothing surprising then from the Times of India. But that does not make them any less objectionable.

The issue is not what the Times of India says it is in

its October 24th Editorial: "Is it now suggested that every newspaper in India should support Soviet policies and Mr. Khrushchev in particular since the failure to do so would be construed as injurious to Indo-Soviet relations?"

ABSURD VIEWS

NEW AGE itself had sharply criticised the Times of India and others of its kind in the Indian Press not for any failure to please Khrushchev but for shamelessly toeing the Western line against the stand of Prime Minister Nehru and leaders of other neutral nations in the U. N. It was the Times of India which found sense in Menzies' amendment while criticising the Five-Power resolution. It is about such views that the Prime Minister said, "not many people in this country hold" them, they are "so ridiculously absurd, some of them, that it is difficult to deal with them."

That is not the only obnoxious part of the Times of India's editorial of October 17.

This editorial itself in one place admits: "... the fact remains that Western policy has for too long amounted to nothing more than a negative reaction to Soviet initiative."

Who is responsible for this except the cold war policies of the United States itself? If the Times of India had the courage it should

* SEE BACK PAGE

THE NEW—NOT SO NEW BUT GOOD

NOT only our country but all the Foreign Offices and the Press of the world are discussing the U. N. Session and especially the reflection inside the U. N. of the new-found strength of the Afro-Asian nations and of the stand of India's Prime Minister.

In our own country, the Right-wing politicians are all tongue-tied. The Centrist elements share the legitimate national pride over the Indian contribution to the great debate that began in a big way and will go on for some time till the right solutions are found which the awakened and peace-hungry humanity seeks.

They, however, are also confused and ask each other if Indian policy itself has not changed. Indian foreign policy has not at all changed from its position of non-alignment. It has only been concretised and asserted in this U. N. Session. Something has certainly changed from the earlier position when it was under immense pressure from the pro-Western Right.

What was the position before? The Congress rulers through their policy of compromise with the vested interests, over the post-independence years, had produced a real mess in the polity and the economy of the country.

In this situation the Indian Right, both from inside the ruling party and still more from outside felt emboldened to challenge the very foundations of Indian democracy over Kerala, succeeded in scuttling the Nagpur Resolution on Land Ceilings and Cooperatives, heated up the India-China differences to the boiling point, prodded Ayub to begin the duet of 'peace and amity' and pushed Nehru into joining it, effectively silenced the Government of India from speaking up on the African issue and above all Congo and similar other burning problems of international import under the false plea that our first need was to get Western aid for our own development instead of poking our nose in the affairs of other countries.

AT NEW YORK

What, however, happened at New York? Pandit Nehru met the leaders of the Communist world and found that they agreed on several issues and where they differed the Communist statesmen did not seek to rush or outmanoeuvre him. He also met the leaders of the Western world who only hypocritically expressed their respect for him and India but did everything to humiliate and outmanoeuvre him. They put up Menzies to "cut him to size" and Argentina to shoot the surprise amendment, they lacked the common courtesy of informing him about their plans and moves.

He met the heads of newly liberated African States and imbibed first-hand the new rising strength of the African nations. Above all he heard for the first time through them the real truth about Congo.

What was the upshot of all that happened at the U.N.? First, India on some issues could not go as far as the statesmen of the Socialist camp desired the world to go. Secondly, the Commu-

nist leaders did not oppose any serious proposals that the uncommitted nations and India made to preserve peace and end colonialism but offered them their goodwill and support. Thirdly, the statesmen of the Western camp refused to move anywhere near the uncommitted nations.

BIGGEST GAIN

The U. S. delegation in fact, spear-headed all sorts of intrigues that in their totality could only be called sabotage of all efforts for peace and international cooperation. In this U. N. Session the live active motion of the present-day world was dramatically revealed, that the vast and growing uncommitted nations have more points of contact and cooperation with the Communist world and these two do not go against each other, while the Western camp is losing its old grip over the U.N., and, above all, the moral-political isolation of the U. S., the most powerful and unreasonable imperialist Power, is taking place.

The biggest gain to all has been that the wide world has seen who stands where and what each is up to. Nehru in his Press Conference stressed one major aspect of the reality. "The situation is bad as it was. The improvement is the realisation that it is bad, which always is an improvement."

The London Times, analysing Nehru's experience and contribution at the U. N. stresses another aspect, "many of the uncommitted delegations had sympathised with Mr. Khrushchov in his attacks on colonialism and many of them seem to believe he had a stronger case on disarmament than the Western Powers, but the chief result of it all is to confirm most of the neutrals in their neutrality between the two camps." (Hindustan Times, October 24)

If the leading organ of British imperialism has come to realise that India and the uncommitted nations cannot be made to act as the camp-followers of the West, the next step in wisdom can be made to follow as fast as India and other Afro-Asian nations build up the bridge of peace and international cooperation. This needs firmness, vigilance and sweet reasonableness.

India's positive and constructive foreign policy stand was once again concretely stated by the Prime Minister in his Press Conference on October 21. It reveals the nearness (not identity) of his stand with that of Khrushchov and it can lead to a welcome boon for the world if consistently and persistently pursued.

THE NEXT MOVE

The Indian and Soviet Prime Ministers are both advocates of a meeting of the General Assembly early next year with the heads of Governments to discuss disarmament and other major issues that divide the world.

The Indian Prime Minister stated that the Five Neutral Powers' Resolution was not only opposed but "attempts were made to prevent it being adopted. You may call these

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attempts machinations or what you like." Indirectly and politely, he agreed with the Correspondent that now there are indications that "there are second thoughts among Western Powers."

India and the USSR, both agree that the most vital issue of the day is disarmament and by it hangs the peace of the world. Both are in a hurry to achieve it, for delay leaves room for the holocaust to begin.

Nehru has opined that Macmillan's proposal by itself "does not go far". Again the Western "guiding principles" are good but again by themselves "they do not take you far." Nehru, like Khrushchov, wants first and foremost the objective of "a world without war" being clearly and unequivocally accepted. He has voiced his firm opinion that "it has become essential to disarm and disarm not partly but fully." This is very much the same as the USSR aim of achieving general and total disarmament.

The West insists on controls before disarmament. Khrushchov has repeatedly and publicly appealed to the West to accept disarmament honestly, frankly and then they can impose any controls they like and he will accept them. Nehru has stated, "disarmament and controls have to go together, neither preceding the other."

U. N. REORGANISATION

The pro-Western Press is playing up Nehru's non-acceptance of Khrushchov's three-man Secretariat for the U. N. The Western slogan is no change or only such change as will not endanger their domination of the U. N. machine and agencies. India does not go whole-hog with the forthright Khrushchov proposals for the over-all reorganisation of the U.N. Secretariat to effectively reflect the world alignment as it is with equal representation for the capitalist, the Communist, and the uncommitted countries.

Answering a Correspondent, whether his suggestion of advisers for the U. N. Secretary-General amounts to "your movement towards Mr. Khrushchov's demands." Nehru stated that "a kind of three-headed god, Trimurti, could not function" but then he went further and stated that his proposal of advisers meant functioning like a "Cabinet and the like... a large measure of consultation between the various viewpoints could be helpful."

Nehru vigorously expressed the "long standing feeling among Asian and African countries that under the present structure of the U. N. they did not pull their weight." He demanded their effective representation all along the line and in all the organs of the U. N.

With the admission of the large number of new African States in the U. N., the day is dawning when the countries who stand four-square for peace and against colonialism will constitute the majority in the U. N. General Assembly and with India, Indonesia and the People's Republic of China becoming permanent members of the Security Council, the U. N. will become not only

the mirror of the world as it is but also begin functioning differently not as a handmaid of the West, spearheaded by U.S. imperialism but function as the effective instrument of the cherished dreams of mankind, guarantor of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among the nations irrespective of their social systems.

CONGO SITUATION

It is in Congo that a dramatic change for the better has come over our foreign policy. Gone are the days of utterly unwarranted praise of Dag. It is after his contact with African statesmen at the U. N. that Pandit Nehru sent a completely new set of instructions to the Indian representatives in Congo and they have begun clearing the debris, the outcome of the earlier phase when they functioned as dummies for Dag.

Pandit Nehru actively helped usher in better days for Congo and defeat the plot of the colonialists by pressing in the U. N. alongside other African States, that the Congolese Parliament be summoned. In this conference he also stressed, "The U. N. should help but the moment it imposes a solution by force of arms it is going down the slippery path." This hits the Western plan on the head.

The regime of Col. Mobutu, the creature of the Western colonialists, according to Nehru, has "no constitutional or legal or any kind of validity." That the colonel is a creature of the Western colonialists has never been in doubt and has been only confirmed by the report that Western diplomats boycotted the official U. N. Day parade in Leopoldville because the U. N. representatives have not recognised the colonel's coup.

Reliable sources state that Pandit Nehru has realised that Lumumba whom Dag put out of his rights as the duly elected Prime Minister, is the real leader of the Congolese, dear to them.

OTHER SECTORS

Algerian happenings were "a great tragedy", he pressed for a "negotiated settlement" that will "end in the freedom of the Algerian people."

Nehru poured righteous scorn over the Kuomintang representative holding up the rightful representation of Mongolia in the U. N.

He was somewhat apologetic for having used the "milder" word "controversy" referring to China but the very fact that he did it, at the U. N. session, is a sign of proper Panohsheel relations being restored in the coming days. Another officials' meeting in Rangoon over the border problem is the other straw.

Nehru pounced upon the Correspondent who asked for confirmation for his paper's story that "the Chinese have further consolidated their positions in the Aksai Chin area" by asking for his sources and himself ending up with, "I have no information."

Nehru voluntarily came out with India's expression of solidarity with the new neutralist Government of Laos and called upon the Power

blocks not to enact another Congo in Laos. Everybody knows that it is the SEATO gang, inspired and led by the U. S. that is trying to more than fish in the troubled waters there.

The Prime Minister refused to get provoked over Ayub's sabre-rattling regarding Kashmir. "I do not really want to enter into these questions because they lead to needless ill-will and controversy on the Pakistan side."

MONOPOLY PRESS

An unexpected but really devastating blow came from the Prime Minister against the monopoly Press, typified by the Times of India editorial slandering the USSR and damaging India's good relations with the country of triumphant Socialism.

Nehru heaped scorn upon scorn on Dalmia's scribes, so near and dear to U. S. Ambassador Bunker, with the Times of India having "its own set of views" which are "so ridiculously absurd" that it is "difficult to deal with them", that "not many people in this country hold these views" and finally "the best course in such circumstances is for this highly respectable paper to stew in its own juice."

It is very significant that the columnists of the pro-Western monopoly Press have of late changed their tactic.

They now concentrate upon the mess at home only to be able to argue that it is no earthly use India winning laurels abroad and having fiascos at home. They seek to blindfold our people so far as the world struggle is concerned and pressurise the Government to pursue an isolationist course.

We Communists campaign that the weight of Indian contribution abroad depends upon the strength of Indian democracy and peoples' unity at home.

Indian reaction catches the stick from the other, the opposite and wrong end. In the name of national weakness at home, they would liquidate the national contribution in the affairs of the world, which is our independent foreign policy.

Nehru went full tilt at the Akalis but denying the valiant Punjabis their own suba is no counter to Akali communalism. The memory of the Muslim League and the partition of the country should lead the Prime Minister towards the right answer.

Nehru spoke with feeling about the chaos in Assam and wise words about the language problem but what use are they if Congressmen themselves do not heed them? The just pride in the nation's foreign policy demands united efforts to reverse the reactionary aspects of home policy and bold advance on its progressive planks.

New and serious thought is the need of the hour and above all by Congressmen themselves. We Communists are ready to participate in fraternal discussions and join hands in the service of our common people.

— P. C. JOSHI

(October 25)
OCTOBER 30, 1960

FORTY YEARS

The working class in India will be celebrating the Fortieth Anniversary of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) with great joy and pride. On this happy occasion, everyone who has worked under the banner of this oldest central trade union organisation in the country will hold his head high in reviewing briefly how through great vicissitudes this mighty organisation of the Indian working class has passed and how it has shaped the destinies of the class which it represents and fights for.

THE First World War had brought in its trail all the miseries for the working class and all gains for the capitalists and speculators. Prices had gone up and it was again the textile workers of Bombay who fought and secured the Dear Food Allowance which lasted for several years and was subsequently merged with the wage.

Unions were getting formed. Here and there workers would secure some gains. The British Government was also alive to the situation. It was organising the Labour Office in Bombay. Some preliminary labour legislation also made its appearance.

Two Strikes

Immediately after the end of World War I and before the formation of the TUC two big labour actions had taken place. One was the tramwaymen's strike, the other was the postmen's strike. Both were major battles. These actions also had emboldened workers to organise themselves into unions. These actions further proved the growing trade union consciousness although the process was very slow and required proper guidance and assistance.

The postmen's strike had made a deep impression on my young mind. I was a high school student then. My brother was a striking postman. Our neighbours were postmen themselves who were on strike, several of whom lost their jobs—victimisation.

Their families and children suffered agonies. I was a witness to all those harrowing results flowing from the strike. No wonder my interest was aroused in the labour movement and I pursued my interest, once aroused, to its final logic. No wonder, therefore, that I found myself at the Inaugural Session of the AITUC.

Inaugural Session

The AITUC was born at its first Inaugural Session in Bombay on October 31, 1920. The most illustrious patriot Lala Lajpat Rai presided over this session at the Empire Theatre in the heart of the business centres of the Indian bourgeoisie. Bombay had already become an important industrial centre employing a large number of workers in the cotton mills. Small nebulous trade unions came to be formed as a result of the growth of industries during the First World War. But there was no central organisation yet.

It had already become very urgent and thus the AITUC came to be formed in 1920. Among those present at this session were besides the late Lala Lajpat Rai, N. M. Joshi, Barrister Pawar, Diwan Chaman Lal, M. A. Jinnah and a host of other national leaders. They were all inspired by the humanitarian desire of helping the poor worker. Little did they imagine then that the organisation they were planting would soon become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Indian workers to fight the onslaughts of capitalism and effectively challenge it. Little did we imagine, then that we will be called upon to lead this organisation and through it lead the Indian workers' struggles.

In the early days after the foundation of the AITUC, a large number of unions were being formed but trade union consciousness was not developed to a great extent. I remember that in those days ingenious methods had to be used to attract the workers including the playing of harmonium and playing card tricks at the factory gate.

Until 1928, the AITUC was weak organisationally. The annual sessions became a routine affair. But gradually a change was taking place in the character of the AITUC. The leadership of the AITUC was gradually passing from the hands of moderates and philanthropists to the hands of Leftist elements.

The Girmil Kamgar Union (Red Flag) in Bombay with a membership of 65,000 and the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union with a membership of 45,000 entered the organisationally-weak AITUC and tilted the entire balance against the moderate leadership.

The British rulers of India, alive to these developments, acted immediately to behead the militant working class movement. In March 1929, the Government arrested some of the top leaders (32) of the working class movement and the AITUC and staged a farce of a trial under the frame-up called the 'Meerut Conspiracy Case.'

The real charges against them were revealed in the indictment, which charged the prisoners with "the incitement of antagonism between Capital and Labour", the "creation of workers' and peasants' parties, youth leagues, unions," etc., and the encouragement to strikes.

The honourable Judge declared in summing up: "Perhaps the deeper gravity was the hold acquired over the Bombay textile workers illustrated by the 1928 strike and the revolutionary policy of the Girmil Kamgar Union."

The dominant trend in the trade union movement in those days was clearly expressed in the Presidential Address by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Nagpur Session of the AITUC in 1929:

"We are often accused of preaching class war and of widening the distance between the classes. The distance is wide enough, thanks to capitalism, and nothing can beat the record of capitalism in this respect. But those who accuse are singularly unseeing and ignorant of what goes on around them. Is it the Socialist or the Communist who separates the classes and preaches discontent or the capitalist and imperialist who by his policy and methods has reduced the great majority of peoples into wage slaves ..."

"The class war is none of our creation. It is the creation of capitalism and so long as capitalism endures, it will endure. The class war existed and exists today. By our trying ostrichlike to ignore it, we do not get rid

of it. Only by removing the causes are we likely to bring peace."

However, ideological differences arose in 1929 which ultimately resulted in the split within the AITUC. The split arose on the questions of attitude towards the Royal Commission of Labour and affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions, a Leftist international trade union organisation.

Many efforts were made, conferences organised, discussions held between the top leaders without success for building trade union unity. To this day, in spite of best efforts, disunity among the central organisations prevails. One can safely predict that the unity will not come about by top conferences, negotiations and talks.

Meerut Case

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Split In 1929

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Daring And After War

The trade union movement remained divided for nearly a decade. Several efforts for unification were initiated and finally in the year 1939 at Nagpur unity was achieved. Thus the AITUC once again became the supreme body of the Indian working class. A special clause was introduced in the AITUC constitution regarding political resolutions—that no such resolution could be regarded as passed unless it secured a three-fourths majority. On all other trade union matters decisions were taken unanimously and by agreement.

During the Second World War, the unity inside the

by S. S. MIRAJKAR
PRESIDENT
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

AITUC was effectively maintained and every political group in the country—Congressmen, Socialists and Communists—and N. M. Joshi and other independent trade unionists were inside it. Efforts to split the trade union movement by the formation of the Indian Federation of Labour proved to be abortive. The strength of the AITUC was growing every day.

Weakened By Disunity

With the advent of independence and coming into power of the Congress, the ruling party felt the need to have its own trade union organisation that would arrest the growth of militant trade unionism in the country. Scared by the unprecedented influence of the AITUC over the Indian working class, Congress leaders organised, under their direct leadership, the Indian National Trade Union Congress in 1949. A further split occurred later when the Hind Mazdoor Sabha came into being. The United Trade Union Congress was another offshoot of the disunity process unleashed by the Congress.

The trade union movement in the country since then has remained divided considerably weakening the collective bargaining strength of the working class. However, the AITUC still remained as the staunchest defender of the working class interest.

Many efforts were made, conferences organised, discussions held between the top leaders without success for building trade union unity. To this day, in spite of best efforts, disunity among the central organisations prevails. One can safely predict that the unity will not come about by top conferences, negotiations and talks.

Unity From Below

The Indian worker, however, realises the need for this unity and he has begun his efforts on factory and workshop basis. Workers are uniting for the defence of their common demands and the best example of this was recently provided by the general strike of Government employees. There are numerous such examples of workers' unity throughout the country. Workers have realised that unity lies this way. Maybe through this process the workers will

above all it brought about class consciousness among the workers. It has steered and moulded the Indian working class in such a way that no other organisation has done or will ever do successfully.

Hence the AITUC occupies even today a proud place in the heart of the Indian workers. It was the AITUC which taught Indian workers the significance of the slogan, "Workers of the World Unite!" Hence, the AITUC has been a proud member of the world organisation, the World Federation of Trade Unions right from its foundation. AITUC General Secretary, S. A. Dance occupies the Vice-Presidency of that organisation. The Indian worker understands the significance of the international working class movement.

Such is, therefore, the AITUC which completes its forty years of existence and useful service to Indian workers. With the massive support of the Indian working class, the AITUC will remain forever as their organisation in spite of the unholy conspiracies of its enemies to smash it.

LONG LIVE AITUC!
LONG LIVE WFTU!

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

40 DEVOTED YEARS

Editorial

WE greet the All-India Trade Union Congress on its Fortieth Anniversary. It is a proud record of selfless devoted activities in the great cause of organising and leading the Indian working class in its onward historic march, in the struggle for Indian national liberation and for the achievement of a progressive Indian democracy with people's rights respected and not violated, working men and women guaranteed a fair deal and not trampled upon, in forging ever closer and stronger the bonds of the Indian proletariat with all the enslaved colonial peoples heroically fighting for their freedom and with the countries of the new and rising world, building Socialism, under the leadership of the USSR.

We recall with deep emotions the early pioneering days of the AITUC when it taught the unorganised workers, helpless victims of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression their first lessons in class struggle, helped them build independent trade unions, organise and conduct numerous strike struggles which welded it from a pitiable passive section of the Indian people into a conscious, militant, organised forward moving independent class, a live force in the life of its own country and respected by the working class and progressive elements the world over.

We express our great admiration for the patient and wise efforts of the AITUC during the post-independence years for healing the breach inside the Indian working class and seeking trade union unity in whatever way possible, and mutually acceptable, in inspiring and guiding a new wave of trade union organisation among the white collar workers and above all in the basic industries, respecting the political opinions and affiliations of the workers concerned, in strengthening the public sector against all bureaucratic odds and organising solidarity campaigns and actions whenever the noble call of our motherland, of the rights of the working people, of anti-colonial struggle and of world peace demanded it.

AITUC, the best leader of the Indian working class, we greet you and wish you all the strength in the historic struggles ahead!

(October 26)

Aid Thru Trade

THERE was real good news for India this week. The next three years will see a doubling of our trade with the Soviet Union. By 1962, Indian exports to the USSR would reach about Rs. 60 crores and imports from that country would be about Rs. 34 crores.

Only some seven years ago, we signed our first trade agreement with the Soviet Union. Then it occupied one of the last places among the countries with which we traded. It has already reached the fifth place, while we are on the top of the list of non-Socialist countries trading with the USSR.

Nor is it a matter primarily of the quantum of trade. Its vital significance lies in its nature and in the terms on which it is conducted.

There is the principle of the most favoured nation treatment. There is the specific provision for clearance in Indian rupees, which are not convertible into any other currency—we get what we want, sell what we need to export and no foreign exchange problem. There is the fact that most of the trade is done by the State Trading Corporation which strengthens the public sector of our economy. These all add up to uniquely favourable trade relations of immense value to our independent growth.

A most welcome feature of the new trade agreement is that, apart from our traditional exports, the Soviet Union will also buy such fabricated goods as rolled steel products and metal manufactures. Herein lies the hope for the future as our economy becomes increasingly diversified and our need grows to export new items. And the imports from the Soviet Union are connected inextricably with the building of the heavy industrial base of our national reconstruction.

It is, trade, therefore, that can truly be called mutual aid between our two countries, that can be termed fraternal help by a developed industrial country to a nation straining to break the development barrier. It is trade which can be only entered upon with a Socialist country. It is trade which must grow to the utmost capacity of India and the Soviet Union for the good of both.

(October 26)

THE spurt in the price of gold in London, Paris and other West European monetary centres has sent the Western capitalist world in a whirl. Nobody seems to be sure of anything except the fact—so aptly put by the Indian Express (October 24)—that "the financial house" of the much-vaunted "free world" is not in order.

Why this "gold rush", however? The U.S. currency—the "mighty" dollar—has a parity price with gold at 35 dollars a fine ounce. After the giving up of the gold standard the rates of exchange of the currencies of the capitalist countries are fixed in terms of this price. That is, instead of gold these currencies are exchangeable internationally into dollars, which is evaluated at the rate of one fine ounce of gold for 35 dollars. This has been known as the Gold Exchange Standard.

If the price of gold goes up, the dollar falls in value, which in its turn will mean appreciation of the values of other currencies in relation to it. However, since devaluation of dollar means the falling from grace of the West's mightiest currency, it is bound to give rise to "a round of competitive exchange depreciation".

RECESSION

The "gold rush" which sent the gold price in London upto 41 dollars last Thursday—holds out this very prospect for Western currencies. Surely, the United States, mindful of the strategic position of the dollar, would not let this happen if it had a choice. The facts show that it had one, but recourse to it would have only worsened the situation.

The United States, whose production at one time was making it burst at its seams, is currently facing a recession. The business activity, as well trends of production, have shown a visible decline. To curb these trends, and push up economic activity, it has been taking anti-deflationary measures—which means that it is making money cheap. The interest rates in other capitalist countries—notably in West Germany and the United Kingdom—being higher, this policy has led to a high exodus of "hot money" in search of higher interest rates. This exodus, being mainly in gold, has led to a worsening of the balance of payments position which has already been running an overall annual deficit of 2,900 million dollars.

VALUE OF DOLLAR

The United States Administration thus faces a dilemma. If it seeks to stop the outflow of gold through making its interest rates more attractive, it can only give a spur to the recessionary pressures. If, on the contrary, it seeks to curb recession through a cheap money policy it adds to the drain on its gold reserves. Confronted with an election at home, it has chosen the latter course, thus giving rise to the "gold rush".

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

WHY THE GOLD RUSH?

Seemingly Washington is not concerned with the fall in the external value of the dollar, since it hopes to stem the tide after the elections. It has even made it known that it has no intention to devalue the dollar, but all its protestations have not convinced the financiers that its currency is now really worth as much as it says it is. In fact, some of them have even begun to suggest that "things might never be quite the same again". For the first time the "free" world's gold market has broken away from the dollar parity, and "it may fluctuate wildly, but it may take an awful lot over to get it back there."

How is it that the United States—the first State in the capitalist world—has come to face such a sorry pass? It had all through been adopting a policy of restricted imports which had created a dollar shortage for its trading partners. It had, however, continued—and continues—to export large sums of money as military aid to NATO countries and to prop up its puppets in Southeast Asia.

INSTABILITY

The "gold rush" has thus spotlighted not only the instability of the capitalist world, which must inexorably go through the mill of "booms" and "recessions", but also the predicament which quarters elsewhere have put themselves in by depending on this very world for their schemes of development. The Socialist world, on the contrary, faces no "gold rush", nor the problem of fighting a recession at home by making its currency vulnerable abroad. It is thus always in a position to increase a two-way trade and supply equipment for development at reasonable prices.

NEMESIS

Now when the West European countries have rehabilitated their economies, and the emergence of a growing Socialist world has eaten into its markets in newly-independent countries, it faces the nemesis in the form of deficits in payments. It has, therefore, only to blame itself for its unenviable state of affairs, and not the forces which though created by itself, now confront it with a challenge.

What impact will this "gold rush" have on countries like ours? According to some reports, the U. S.

—ESSEN

October 25, 1960

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AMENDED KERALA LAND BILL

★ by E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

JUNE 10, 1959, OCTOBER 15, 1960—these are two important dates in the history of the kisan movement not only of Kerala, but of the whole country. On the former date, the then Kerala State Legislature finally adopted the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, framed by the Communist-led Government and following the main directives laid down by the Planning Commission for effecting land reforms in the States.

ONE particular feature of that legislation was that, unlike the legislations framed by the Congress Governments, it plugged as many loopholes as can be done in a legislation:

- A sufficiently wide definition of the word "tenant" to bring all possible category of cultivators who have taken land on lease from the landlords;
- Fixity of tenure for all such categories of tenants;
- Restoration of land to certain types of tenants who have been unjustly evicted;
- Substantial reduction in rent;
- Right of tenants to purchase ownership on payment of a relatively low purchase price which itself is calculated on the basis of the new and substantially-reduced rent;
- A sufficiently low level of ceiling to enable the overpopulated and land-scarce State of Kerala to provide some land to the land-hungry;
- Invalidation of mala fide transfers;
- Special provisions for protection to smallholders, religious and charitable institutions and plantations, without unduly affecting the right of tenants and agricultural labourers;
- Inclusion of democratically-elected people's representatives in the implementation machinery—these were the main provisions of that Bill.

It had, besides, been preceded by as fool-proof an emergency legislation as possible to effectively prevent the eviction offensive launched by the landlords before the Bill became law, as had happened in the Congress-governed States.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the adoption of that Bill by the State Legislature on June 10, 1959, was hailed with joy by large numbers of tenants and agricultural labourers, while it was received with anger by the landlords, planters and vested interests. The latter, through some of their representatives in the State Legislature itself declared their determination to see that the Bill was not allowed to become the law of the land, and that the Government that got it framed and passed in the Legislature was removed from power.

They, in collaboration with other reactionary political forces in the State, including the communal organisations and political parties defeated in 1957, launched their "liberation struggle" immediately after the adoption of that law, i.e., on June 12.

A month-and-a-half later, on July 31, 1959, the landlords, planters and other vested interests celebrated their first victory. They received with satisfaction the news that the Central Government dismissed the Communist-led Ministry.

Opponents Of The Bill

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Defenders Of Landlords

This was the gentleman who had moved a large number of amendments to the 1959 Bill, everyone of which was intended to enhance, rather than reduce rent rates, to further widen the net of exemptions not only from the ceiling but also from tenancy rights, to increase the rights of landlords to evict tenants, etc., etc. During the recent debate, too, he had given notice of one amendment proposing to enlarge the landlords' rights of eviction. He expressed his regret on the

floor of the House that he was not allowed to move that amendment.

This Congress MLA, however, is not an exception. The landlords' association, the Nair Service Society and several other organisations who championed the cause of the landlords, asked the Congress PSP and Muslim League parties to see that the amendments, which they had moved to the Bill during the 1959 debate, were incorporated in the new amending Bill.

Newspapers representing their point of view, including the Malayala Manorama, which usually speaks not for the jammis of the old type but for planters and other new type landlords and bankers, also gave expression to this view.

Retreat From Earlier Stand

But, neither the Central Government nor the leaders of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League in Kerala, dared accept this viewpoint;

they could not go to the extent to which the landlords expected them to do. They had to go back even on the amendments which the Congress Legislature Party had suggested to the Bill in 1959 when it was being debated in the House.

As opposed to this, the Bill as adopted by the Legislature gave this right to any varamdar who was cultivating any land in the cultivating season preceding April 11, 1957. The 1960 amending Bill did not touch this provision of the original Bill.

Another demand of the Congress members of the Select Committee was that, even in the case of tenants in the Cochin and Malabar parts of Kerala, where the existing legislation itself confers on them full and absolute fixity of tenure (the landlord having no right of resumption under any pretext), the smallholder should be entitled to resume one half of the land in the occupation of the tenant.

As opposed to this, the provision in the Bill passed by the Legislature makes a distinction between tenants in the areas where absolute fixity of tenure has been secured and those in the other areas: smallholders in the latter can

take delay in the implementation of the Bill. This too was not touched in the amending Bill.

They had demanded that kaval nilam (the vast extensive areas of land which can be cultivated only by draining the water out by the use of engines and which, therefore, are in the possession of big landlords) should be exempted from ceiling. This too could not be pushed in the amending Bill.

Another demand made by the Congress members of the Select Committee in their Minute of Dissent was that, when ceiling is fixed, the excess lands should not be taken over by the Government and distributed to landless and poor people, but that the owners may be allowed to transfer such land within a period of one year after the Bill became law. This could not be incorporated in the amending Bill in that form.

While the Central Government could not dare advise the President to accede to this demand of the Congress Party in the State Legislature, it did advise him to recommend to the new State Legislature that the date on which transfers should be made invalid should be extended from December 18, 1957, to July 27, 1960 (the date of the President's message).

It was revealed on the floor of the Legislature that such transfers made between December 18, 1957, and July 27, 1960, number over ten lakhs. The Minister also gave the information to the Legislature that transfers in this period were unusually high. It is thus clear that large-scale transfers have taken place in this period with a view to defeat the ceiling provision. And yet, instead of further strengthening the provision and preventing those who had made such transfers from enjoying the fruits of such transfers, the Central Government advised the President to instruct the Legislature to validate these obviously mala fide transfers.

The President's message suggested and the State Government accepted, wider exemptions from ceiling too. A wider extension of the definition of plantations, the inclusion of religious and charitable institutions in the list of exemptions from ceiling and the widening of the definition of religious and charitable institutions—all these have still further restricted

While daring not to go the

full length in the direction of modifications originally suggested by themselves, the ruling parties in Kerala noted with partial satisfaction that the amendments suggested by the President would partially satisfy at least a section of the landlords. On the other hand, the organised peasants and agricultural labourers noted with regret that, while many vital provisions in the original Bill are being kept intact, some of them are being sabotaged in practice.

Important Modification

The most important of the modifications, made by the Assembly in accordance with the President's instructions, is the amendment of the salutary provision made in the original Bill that land transfers otherwise than by way of partition or on account of natural love and affection made after December 18, 1957 (the date on which the Bill had originally been introduced in the Legislature) shall be considered mala fide, made in order to defeat the ceiling provision and invalidated. The necessity for this has been emphasised over and over again by the Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission, which has drawn pointed attention to the fact that large-scale transfers of this type had made a farce of ceiling provisions in the various State legislations.

This was one of the provisions which had been violently attacked by the then Opposition when the original Bill was being debated in the Legislature in 1959. As had been noted above, the Congress Party had not opposed it but had demanded "freedom of transfer for the owners for a period of one year after the Bill becomes law."

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Partial Satisfaction

In other words, despite the open declaration made by the Congress Party in its election manifesto, they could not push the major proposals which had been made by them in 1959. The credit for this should go neither to the ruling parties in Kerala nor to the Central leadership of the Congress. This will be clear from the fact that the very amendments which they, in the end, decided to bring forward are sufficiently favourable to those who are out to sabotage genuine land legislation.

While daring not to go the

★ SEE PAGE 12

PAGE FIVE

WEST BENGAL'S THIRD PLAN

West Bengal's Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66), broad details of which were released to the Press on October 12, envisages a total expenditure of Rs. 341 crores.

THE Officers' Committee of the State Government had proposed a plan of Rs. 452.43 crores, but as this amount exceeded the "plausible or permissible limit of resources" available for the purpose, it was reduced to Rs. 346 crores. Excluding the Rs. five crores, which is West Bengal's contribution to the DVC, the total outlay actually amounts to Rs. 341 crores.

An army of 50 officials of the West Bengal Government went to Delhi in the first week of October to represent the State's claims. Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy joined them later and urged approval of the outlay of Rs. 341 crores in view of "the formidable, almost overwhelming, social economic and political problems facing the State."

State officials, however, told the Planning Commission that it would not be possible to find more than Rs. 64 crores from the State's own resources. The Commission had initially decided to contribute Rs. 110 crores by way of Central assistance and after discussions raised it to Rs. 160 crores, making it clear that the Centre's contribution would, under no circumstances, exceed this ceiling.

Central assistance and West Bengal's own resources thus add up to Rs. 224 crores—with Rs. 117 crores to be found for the proposed outlay of Rs. 341 crores.

Dr. B. C. Roy is understood to have told the Commission, that if it was not possible to increase the Centre's contribution, West Bengal should be allowed to try to raise additional resources to cover the gap and to implement this part of the Plan to the extent it was able to raise additional resources.

The Planning Commission has not yet said "no." Final decision is expected in December next, when another round of discussions will be held between the State's representatives and the Planning Commission.

Essential Outlay

Dr. Roy told a Press Conference in Calcutta on October 12 that the State Government would not give up any of the schemes in its Rs. 341-crore draft, because this outlay was considered essential to meet "our deficit in food and power supply, and to cope with growing unemployment, especially among the educated people."

About the Planning Commission's attitude, he said: "It seems to me curious that people argue as if the Plan project of a particular State should be guided by considerations which the Planning Commission might have thought best about it. It is the West Bengal Government and this Government alone which can assess the needs of the State and find out resources for meeting the contemplated expenditure."

Full details of the State's Third Plan are not yet published, but information given by Dr. Roy at his Press Conference shows that the main emphasis is on large-scale industries, power generation and agriculture.

Allocation For Industries

Allocations for large-scale industries amount to Rs. 52.20 crores—the break-up being: Rs. 32.30 crores for the Durgapur Industries Board, which has been entrusted with the task of setting up industries in and around Durgapur, Rs. 18 crores for a fertiliser factory, Rs. 15 crores for a plant for the production of chemicals, and Rs. 40 lakhs for a special scheme for the disposal and utilisation of the sewage of Calcutta.

The provision made for village and small-scale industries is Rs. 10.50 crores.

Thus the total outlay on

**Emphasis shifts to
industrialisation**

industries comes to about 22 per cent of the total Plan expenditure.

Rs. 38.50 crores has been provided for power generation—as much as Rs. 29 crores being set apart for two super-thermal power plants at Bandel.

Another big project—one of the six large undertakings proposed in the draft plan—is the Rs. 7.25-crore scheme for reclamation of four square miles of the Northern Salt Lake near Calcutta for extending the city.

A sum of Rs. 68 crores has been provided for agriculture and food production.

Comparison With Second Plan

The shift in emphasis in the State's Third Plan is evident from a comparison with Second Plan allocations. For large-scale industries (including the Durgapur Industries Board) the allotment in the Second Plan was Rs. 7.40 crores and in the draft Third Plan it is Rs. 52.20 crores; for village and small-scale industries Rs. 7.70 crores and Rs. 10.50 crores; for disposal and utilisation of Calcutta's sewage Rs. 50 lakhs and Rs. 40 lakhs; power generation Rs. 4.50 crores and Rs. 38.50 crores; agriculture and food production Rs. 7.68 crores and Rs. 68 crores; and reclamation of Northern Salt Lake Rs. 1.5 crores and Rs. 7.25 crores.

Why has this shift been made?

FIRST, the unemployment problem in West Bengal has already assumed alarming proportions. A 1963 survey revealed that the total number of "unemployed employment-seekers" in West Bengal at that time was 10.10 lakhs and estimated the net annual increase in employment-seekers at 1.20 lakhs. The increase at this rate between September 1963 and September 1960 must be about 8.40 lakhs. Add to this the number already unemployed in September 1963 and the total works out to 18.50 lakhs.

Even accepting the most optimistic assumption that 150,000 new jobs were created during the past seven years, the number of the unemployed would still stand at the staggering figure of 18 lakhs in a population of just three crores!

No wonder a Staff Reporter of even the Statesman wrote on September 24, 1960: "Not merely has the unemployment problem in West Bengal defied solution but it has worsened so rapidly since independence that even the Government now seems to have been seized

by a sense of frustration. No one in the Government I have spoken to sees any sign of the process being reversed in the near future."

SECOND, the stupendous problem of 30 lakh East Pakistan refugees, settled in West Bengal remains unsolved till now, most of them still far from being economically rehabilitated. With a monthly income ranging from Rs. nine to twenty and with nothing else to fall back upon, they continue to drag on a precarious existence.

THIRD, recurring food crises have become a permanent feature of the State's economy. Barring 1954, when there was a bumper crop due to an unusually good monsoon, West Bengal has never produced enough rice to meet the needs of its population. On the contrary, the shortfall in internal production has steadily increased from 183,000 tons in 1947-48 to 1,400,000 tons in 1959-60! The deficit has been met year after year through supplies from the Centre and imports from surplus States.

Election Prospects

LASTLY, the democratic movement in West Bengal is quite powerful, and the Communist Party a mass force. The State Government knows full well that if West Bengal's problems are allowed to worsen, it will adversely affect Congress prospects in the next general elections and also

jeopardise its future in this State.

Viewed in this context, it is not difficult to understand why the main emphasis has been laid on the expansion of industries and food production in the State's draft plan.

Dr. Roy had pointed out in his budget speech, February 15, 1955, that the problem of unemployment "is eating into the vitality of West Bengal" and that "the agricultural sector of the economy is in a decadent state." He had emphasised: "Relief must come almost wholly through industries, both cottage industries as well as big industries. There is no getting away from this fact..."

Five years later, he was emphasising it again—"in view of the enormous unemployment problem in West Bengal, it is essential that industries should be developed in every way."

Question Of Resources

All this explains why Dr. Roy is opposed to pruning of any of the schemes of the draft plan. But, where will he find resources of Rs. 117 crores to bridge the present gap between the proposed outlay and available funds? Dr. Roy told his Press Conference that if it so happened

that it was not possible to find these resources, "we might resort to other methods to raise additional funds." He did not think that there was much scope for raising additional funds by fresh taxation. But he did not rule out the possibility of floating companies and forming statutory corporations to raise money from the public. If necessary, the private sector also might be asked to take over some industries, he added.

Elaborating his point about finding additional funds, he quoted figures to show that the State Government had been able to raise more resources than what was given by the Centre for the implementation of West Bengal's First and Second Plans. He stressed, "we should be able to meet the remaining gap in the Third Plan between Rs. 341 crores and Rs. 160 crores, which the Centre is prepared to give." Hence, there was no necessity of surrendering any of the projects included in the Draft Plan.

The Board of Economic Affairs, recently set up by the State Government, has pointed out that West Bengal's Third Plan, as it had emerged, was no better than an attempt to accommodate the divergent claims of different departments. One member of the Board was more categorical: "It cannot be called a plan; it is at best a summation of departmental expenditure items, hurriedly drawn up and unrelated to the State's needs."

Opposition Not Consulted

Naturally, in such bureaucratic planning, the participation of the people has been totally absent at all stages. Not to speak of taking at least the main Opposition parties into confidence, the Government did not even care to consult Opposition members of the State Legislature! Little

★ From JUAN BIKASH BOITRA

the PL-480 counterpart fund for the development of Calcutta and West Bengal was discussed with the Planning Commission and that Dr. Roy had been told that no part of the fund could be made available for West Bengal.

The welcome shift in emphasis in West Bengal's Third Plan should not, however, lead one to overlook the following disquieting features of the plan.

Bigger Plan Possible

The Communist Party has pointed out times without number that the untapped material resources of West Bengal are vast. Even Government spokesmen have admitted on several occasions that the Asansol-Durgapur region has immense potentialities, and that it can be transformed into the "Ruhr of India."

But the draft plan does not propose to harness even a fraction of these potentialities. Considering West Bengal's problems, the plan can be described as pitifully inadequate, not touching even the fringe of the problems of unemployment, refugee rehabilitation, revitalisation of agriculture and self-sufficiency in food.

Dr. Roy himself had stated in 1955 that "an investment of Rs. 1,400 crores will be necessary to create full employment conditions in West Bengal in course of the Second Five-Year Plan."

But nothing was done to realise this objective during the Second Plan period. It remains a pious wish in the draft Third Plan.

Adequate resources for a big plan can be found within the State itself, without depending on the Centre. Enough funds can be raised if the State Government takes over the British-owned public utility concerns and the internal trade in tea and jute, if it weeds out wastages, nepotism and corruption from the administration, enforces economy measures, introduces radical land reforms, etc.

● The draft plan is not an integrated plan. It is merely a conglomeration of departmental plans, pieced together into one whole.

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AFTER SCARBOROUGH

How soon the English workers will free themselves from their apparent bourgeois infection one must wait and see.... In developments of such magnitude twenty years are no more than a day—though later on days may come again in which twenty years are embodied.

MARX, letters to Engels, April 9, 1863.

Everything is changed after Scarborough—and nothing is yet changed. Such is the paradox of the present temporary unstable situation in the Labour Party. A paradox which the mighty upsurge that won the voting majorities at Scarborough will need speedily to resolve. Consider the picture.

ON the one hand, the Scarborough decisions, ferociously contested by the leadership, carried against the platform by the mass weight of the industrial working class, have sounded the challenge of the British people, through their most representative mass organisations, against the entire strategy of the Western war camp.

On the other hand, the defeated and discredited leadership which was routed at Scarborough remains so far in control. The policy which was rejected at Scarborough continues to be proclaimed from the Front Bench and Smith Square.

The Leader of the Labour Party grandiloquently announces that he will "fight and fight" — against whom? Against Toryism? No. Against capitalism? Never. Against his own party. No wonder popular opinion is amazed and asks in bewilderment what kind of party is this. No wonder the enemy Press is openly contemptuous and gloatingly predicts a split.

From all the official megaphones of Radio and Press the same flood of patery and fulsome flattery is poured over the disruptor Gaitskell as previously over Ramsay MacDonald in 1931. But 1960 is no longer 1931. It is time for the same strength of the organised working class which won the day at Scarborough to end this disgraceful situation before the Scarborough decisions are turned into a mockery.

Battle For Future

Every victory in the class struggle opens a new challenge. The initial victory which was won at Scarborough has opened a larger battle for the whole future of the labour movement. Scarborough has shown that the organised working class is on the move, not only in the industrial field, but also in the political field.

Scarborough has shown that the British people are stirring to free themselves from the fetters of the cold war and nuclear mania, to go forward with the advancing new world. All the obstacles of the old order are set in the path. The battle for the future of Labour has become the battle for the future of Britain. A plain duty falls on every delegate to Scarborough, on every trade union and labour organisation, to end an intolerable situation and ensure respect for democratic decisions.

The will of the organised working class must prevail. The leadership which repudiates Conference decisions is a leadership in defiance. It has no claim to authority. Its days are numbered. The time has come to free Labour from the dead hand of the anti-working class infiltrators, the Right-wing disruptors, the Tory Fellow-Travelers.

filling the Western official principle of 'Strike First'. The British people at Scarborough have made clear that they have no wish for their country or the world to be destroyed in order to fulfil the insensate nuclear war dreams of the new Anti-Communist Pact of General Norstad, Adenauer, Eisenhower and Gaitskell.

This defeat of the Right-wing leadership on nuclear strategy was accompanied by the enforced surrender of their direct offensive against Clause Four defining the aim of the common ownership of the means of production. Decisions were taken instructing the Executive to prepare a programme for extending public ownership. A further decision affirmed the sovereignty of the elected delegate conference as 'the final authority' to determine policy, with only 'day-to-day tactics' in carrying out such policy as the province of the parliamentary representatives.

Although all these latter decisions were heavily qualified by successful Right-wing manoeuvres to weaken their effect, the general trend they expressed was unmistakable. Such a series of Conference voting victories and of defeats of the dominant Right-wing leadership on basic issues of policy has not been paralleled in the sixty years of history of the Labour Party. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that the most intense

Historic Decision

The victory of the battle at Scarborough for the renunciation of nuclear weapons and for the removal of the American bases represents a blow, not only against the main policy of the Right-wing leadership, but also against the entire bipartisan foreign policy of Toryism and official Labour which has been the essen-

**THINK FAST!
ACT FAST!**

tial feature of British foreign policy since the war, equally under Labour and Conservative Governments. It represents a blow against the foundations of the modern policy and strategy of British imperialism, that is, NATO, the cold war, nuclear strategy and the American military alliance.

No Parallel For 60 Years

For these were the main pillars of the Labour Party E.C.—T.U.C. 'Defence' statement; and this statement was explicitly rejected by the Conference. Hence there is no occasion for surprise at the tense attention and concern with which the debates and votes of Scarborough were followed by the entire capitalist Press and throughout the capitalist political world, both in Britain and in the United States and in Western Europe.

Lessons And Warnings

Thus the decision affirming the sovereignty of the conference to determine policy was twisted out of shape by apparent acceptance (by the mover) of an Executive gloss laying down that the decision must change nothing, emphasising the absolute independence of the parliamentary party, and even exhuming a rule (never before brought into operation) to require a two-thirds majority for a conference decision on questions of programme to be valid. Similarly the reaffirmation

R. PALME DUTT
reviews here the recent conference of the British Labour Party. These are extracts from the 'Notes of the Month' in LABOUR MONTHLY of November 1960.

of Clause Four was accompanied by the simultaneous adoption of Mr. Gaitskell's revisionist Twelve Points as "an invaluable expression of the aims of the Labour Party in the second half of the twentieth century", including the ninth clause outlining the programme for State shareholding in private monopolies, the parallel role of the "public sector" and "private sector", and all the rest of the bag of tricks of the so-called "mixed economy" (actually, modern monopoly capitalism). (It is worth noting that the resolution endorsing Mr. Gaitskell's Twelve Points was adopted by a less than two-thirds majority (4,304,000 to 2,224,000), and therefore, in accordance with the rule now exhumed by the Executive as governing any conference decision on questions of programme, cannot be regarded as a valid conference decision.)

So also the resolution instructing the Executive to prepare a programme for extending public ownership, and even specifying industries to be closed, was wet-blanketed by a simultaneous Executive gloss

counter-offensive of the Right-wing leadership, backed by all the resources of the Conservative Press lords and official propaganda mechanism, is now in full blast to wipe out the Scarborough decisions and prevent their fulfilment. The battle is advancing to a new height after Scarborough.

At the same time, we must beware of exaggerating the victories of Scarborough or over-estimating the stage of advance reached. As noted, apart from the indisputable victory on the basic issue of nuclear strategy, the other progressive decisions were distorted or partially negated by the simultaneous acceptance of or failure to defeat transparent Right-wing manoeuvres to destroy their plain meaning.

Lessons And Warnings

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has now come to the front in the sharp form consequent on the Scarborough decisions.

A Dangerous Contradiction

The Right-wing leadership, though shaken, remains in effective control of the party machine and executive organs. The parliamentary party is controlled by the Right wing. The local constituency parties are subjected to the influence and pressure of the Right wing, including in some cases discipline and reorganisation.

Even within the trade unions, the main bulwark of independent working class strength to govern policy, the level of democratic consultation and functioning varies (in the majority of cases the Left is strongest where the constitution is most democratic, and vice versa), and the progressive decisions are often precariously won by delegate conferences and subject to subsequent sabotage by the official Right-wing apparatus still dominating the majority of the unions. Once again the separation of the legislative and the executive, so conspicuously illustrated in the present glaring contradiction between the National Committee and the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Further, it has to be recognised that the political formulation of the outlook of the Left is still in process of development. Alongside a healthy and vigorous spirit of opposition to the policies of surrender to Toryism and capitalism, there is still a measure of political uncertainty or ambiguity of expression and programme among the diverse sections of the Left, of which the Right wing is quick to take advantage, as the debates at Scarborough revealed.

The trends of Left feeling are marked and increasing. But the sections on the Left are very varied in outlook and have not yet reached a united and fully developed consistent alternative programme, especially in the sphere of foreign policy and defence.

Who Holds Power?

Hence the decisive question after the Conference is the fulfilment of the decisions; and this in turn centres on the character of the executive leadership and public organs of the party entrusted with the fulfilment of the Conference decisions. Here in the present structure of the Labour Party is revealed the most perfect classic demonstration of the traditional British bourgeois constitutional principle for safeguarding the status quo, the principle of the separation of powers: the separation of the legislative and executive.

While the Conference has dispersed and vanishes from the scene for twelve months, the Right-wing leadership, defeated at the Conference, operates policy in practice on behalf of the Labour Party, through the parliamentary party, the Executive and the administrative machine. This is the crucial question which

Growing Pains Of The Left

But it is true that, alongside the strong and just opposition to nuclear arms and American

AFTERMATH OF MORARJI'S MISSION

by P. C. JOSHI

NEW AGE was one of the few in warning that the foreign exchange crisis was being raised to the level of a bogey to scare the nation into acquiescing in unfair and unprecedented concessions to foreign monopoly interests. Our readers would be interested to read the following belated confirmation of our early warning and, what is more, of the expectations of the foreign vested interests.

WHILE in Paris, the Aid-India Club was in session and busy manufacturing the right atmosphere for Morarji's yatra on his "aid mission", the Prime Minister had the good sense to state in New Delhi, "I do not view with enthusiasm this great dependence of ours on foreign help. We see in some ways India flush with money. Never have there been so many riches flaunted in India by certain circles. We see company flotations which bring in ten times, twenty times the amount asked for. It is quite extraordinary the way the money is floating about, not in every grade of the people—otherwise India would be a rich country—but certainly in top grades."

William Stevenson, the New Delhi Correspondent of the Globe and Mail (September 21), Ottawa, quoting the above in his despatch home, commented, "it was hoped to create a sense of crisis that might stir the nation. The Prime Minister, as usual, took all the urgency out of the atmosphere."

"Mr. Nehru resents the political interference that inevitably accompanies foreign aid more than he fears its crippling effect on national morale."

"This interference of Mr. Nehru anticipates and deplores most when it stems from Western capitalists. They are advanced capitalists, true, but they strengthen our Indian capitalists who are backward in social conscience and ignorant of public responsibility."

The Correspondent recalls the World Bank Report which had "invited Western capitalism to support the growth of free enterprise in India. This, and the erosion of national integrity caused by the dependence by outside help, probably account for Mr. Nehru's refusal to play up the foreign exchange crisis."

All That Morarji Got

However, Morarji did go abroad both to the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference at London and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund Conferences at Washington. But the U. N. session dominated world attention so much that the Bank-Fund conference got "about as much news coverage as a gathering of boy scouts." (Economic Weekly, October 1)

All that the pleadings of the Finance Minister and the documents prepared by the officials accompanying him could achieve were cold statements by the representatives of the Western monopolists and their Governments that they "had got a clearer appreciation of India's foreign exchange needs", but that "a clearer picture of the quantum of aid that will be made available to India for its Third Plan will be known after the next meeting to be held some-

time in March next." (Indian Express, October 12)

Despite the blunt fact that the Finance Minister came back empty handed with only a summons in his pocket to come again, he did not hesitate, on arrival back home to inspire the Press campaign, "Foreign Aid Hopes Bright: Morarji". This is the headline of the Free Press Journal on October 13. It is the same in all the papers which carried the PTI message. "The Union Finance Minister, Sri Morarji Desai is understood to have reported to the Prime Minister that the prospects for the foreign assistance for India's Third Plan were good."

Nothing could be a bigger lie than the above. All the concrete aid that Morarji Desai has been able to secure is part of what they had earlier promised to give for the last year of the Plan. And most of them are 'tied' loans. The British agreed to consider credit for the expansion of the Durgapur steel plant and West Germany for Rourkela expansion. For all who know the truth about these two plants, this is bad, not good news.

Aid We Get Now

The nature of the current and coming aid from the West becomes clear if we analyse the aid now coming from the American side.

The Times of India of October 19 reports that 250 million are "likely to be sanctioned" by the Development Loan Fund (DLF) for the Third Plan. And they have agreed to 50 million out of it being used immediately.

On October 19, the DLF granted a 25-million-dollar loan to India for the projects of capital equipment needed by Indian private industrial enterprises.

Next day, it granted another \$25 million (Rs. 11.9 crores) loan for financing the import of industrial raw material from the U. S. like steel products, tin plates, etc.

J. T. Parikh, General Manager of the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI) has successfully negotiated a 20-million-dollar loan from the World Bank and he hopes to get another five million dollars from the DLF. Both these loans together will give him in his own words "more room" to advance loans to industrialists in the private sector.

It will thus be seen that the Western aid is concentrated upon strengthening the Indian private sector and getting into partnership with them, despite all that the Prime Minister warned against and because of what his own Finance Minister helps the foreign monopolists to achieve.

Containment of the public sector, expansion of the private sector and unhindered entry of foreign private

capital, this is the real line of the West, hypocritically covered under their "Aid India" slogan. It is a dangerous situation indeed, for India's Finance Minister himself is the powerful champion for such Western "aid", which distorts and disrupts the cherished direction of Indian planning and corrupts the Indian industrialists by prodding them to get into partnership with the Western monopolists.

New Press Campaign

India has to wait till March next before the "aiders" from the West will tell us the quantum of their aid. India, however, has to finalise the Plan before March and should have, in hand, firm commitments from our friends abroad. The Socialist countries have not been hesitant and have announced their first instalments. The Western countries are holding back because they want to dictate the shape of the Plan and seize control points of the Indian economy. Their main demands on India were contained in the Hoffman Mission Report of the World Bank.

Our readers are familiar with its main recommendations. It had recommended unhindered flow of foreign private capital into India, against the expansion of steel and for handing over the management of the public sector steel plants to the foreign specialists, against controls on the private sector in coal, against keeping oil and gas exclusively in the public sector.

Every honest Indian who takes the Government of India's policy declarations seriously, would have expected it to violently protest or at least ignore the Hoffman Mission Report and be ashamed of the fact that the foreign monopolists think India to be so helpless and weak as to dare submit such a report. What, however, is happening is all in the opposite direction.

The Special Representative of the Statesman, October 14, states, "India is understood to have sent a communication to the World Bank thanking it and its mission, headed by Mr. Hoffman for their valuable and powerful support to this country's development plans."

The well-informed New Delhi Correspondent of the Hindu, October 23, H. Venkatasubblah, confirms the above and adds, "the Government of India have told the World Bank that the constructive criticism offered by the Hoffman Mission in its last report are welcome—coming as they do from a friendly quarter—as the Government's policy is constantly under review."

Reversal Demanded

The World Bank demands are patently for a reversal of Government's declared policies on the public sector and the key industries. His own alibi for the World Bank Mission, however, is that it is "prompted by an anxiety to see that the Indian economy works and works efficiently,

rather than by any desire to influence the frontiers of the public and private sectors here, which is really not the World Bank's business." Here was a patent outrage against Plan objectives and it is propagandised as being well meant and in the interests of our economy!

The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, October 15, pleads that the "helpful attitude" abroad created by the Finance Minister and his efforts cannot be exploited without "a more realistic approach by India" and it wants that "any complacency on the part of the Government of India will be entirely unwarranted."

Ape Pak Example!

Birla's columnist plays up the theme that India has many competitors while soliciting Western aid. The newly independent countries of Africa are "actively claiming and campaigning for development finances from the industrialised Western countries. A straw in the wind was the speech made by the Pakistan Finance Minister in New York recently when he pointedly argued that Pakistan offered better conditions and

anything anyhow. It is rather the urgent private discussions between the West and the so-called neutral and uncommitted nations.

"And the kernel of this frank talk is that the West through its top leaders is now telling the neutralists that their free ride at last is over. "For a decade now the neutralists have been canonised saints of international knee-jerk liberation, one set of really good guys on all this earth. They would join neither the West nor the East. Instead they pointed accusing fingers at both, though mainly at the West while scooping up all they could get in aid money from each—though again mainly from the West."

Thus Western economic aid in the coming days is to be used not only to influence India's plan but our foreign policy as well!

Attack On Malaviya

Just as during the India-China dispute reaction concentrated its fire against Defence Minister Menon to force a change in our independent foreign policy, sought by the U. S. State Department; so during this foreign exchange crisis, rea-

The plea is for giving up all new plans for developing a national oil and gas industry in the public sector, to meet the nation's growing demand, and leave it to the foreign companies to do the job instead.

The Hindu (October 23) columnist Venkatasubblah puts the whole issue in a nutshell: "The cardinal point to be realised from the Hoffman Report is that those engaged in shaping the fortunes of the public sector enterprises should endeavour to strengthen the hands of those who are engaged in negotiating external assistance for the Third Plan and they should do it as far as possible before next March, when the World Bank and the friendly Powers are expected to come to grips with the question of foreign finance for the Third Plan."

Their Objectives

"The main contribution in this regard will have to come from the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel," where we have big public sector units in the basic industries, vital to achieve economic independence through planned industrialisation.

He also concentrated upon

Newspaper readers are aware of the manly manner in which the Castro Government stood up to U. S. pressure, both political and economic. A real revolution cannot stand still.

On October 14, the Cuban Government announced laws for the nationalisation of three hundred and eighty-two big enterprises and all the private banks in Cuba.

An official explanatory note stated that the purpose of the new laws was to enable the Government to control and make plans for the nation's basic industrialisation. It stated that the Cuban national goal to ensure the overall development of national economy could be reached only with planned economy, increase in production, further rationalisation of production and Government control of the nation's basic industries.

Nationalised Enterprises

It stated that the old big enterprises violated revolutionary laws, supplied the counter-revolutionary deposed politicians with ill-gotten money and carried out the behests of imperialist financial interests.

● The Cuban Revolution was facing the long-term tasks of industrialisation, advancing of the agrarian reforms, people's education, increasing production and liquidating unemployment inherited from the dictatorship.

● To fulfil these tasks, the revolutionary Government had obtained the necessary resources, including basic industries, transport, public services, foreign trade, banks and the big stores.

● The measures taken in the first stage of the Cuban revolution had to be drastic because the revolution could not be in a state of contemplation in the face of the imperialist monopolies and the latifundists.

Ceylon Also Stands Up

The policy of nationalisation would be continually pursued but it would not affect the interests of the honest people. He announced measures to guarantee the development of small and medium traders and industrialists, loans and various forms of State assistance.

The Cuban Revolution has reached an advanced stage of maturity.

vility to the World Bank while the new and growing reality is that even from inside Pakistan as it is, moved and encouraged by the Indian example, the Pak Government is seeking Soviet aid for the exploration and development of their own vast oil resources. The Western oil companies had enjoyed total monopoly all these years and it is common talk in Pakistan that as and when oil is actually struck, these foreign companies seal it up and report to the contrary.

The present world situation is one whole piece.

Changed World

The world balance has decisively changed against the imperialists because of the patent moral-political-strategic strength of the Socialist camp and its growing alliance with the uncommitted and the newly liberated Afro-Asian nations.

The material foundation for this historic shift is supplied by the "leap forward" of the economies of the Socialist countries, they already contribute 40 per cent of the world's industrial production. The capitalist countries are being left

we do not stand up to the Western colonialists, so our economy and welfare are not safe if we do not stand up to the Western monopolists.

The real problem facing our people is that while they rightly hail Pandit Nehru for peace efforts they have yet to prod him through an effective nationwide campaign that the Indian Government ask the World Bank to go to hell for daring to submit the Hoffman Report and promptly sack his Finance Minister for acting the propagandist of the World Bank and the agent of Indian monopolists in alliance with their Western doubles.

It is a matter that transcends party differences. It concerns the nation's honour, material interests and historic future.

The question must arise in the minds of all thinking Indians—what Castro can do in Cuba, why cannot Nehru do in India?

Communist Stand

We Indian Communists are not for cutting out Western aid for our Plan. We are all for seeking aid from all the countries of the world, whether Socialist or capitalist, but on honourable and mutually-beneficial terms. The Western terms that have been passed through the "Aid India" Club and World Bank Reports demand a repudiation of our progressive plan policies and making unfair and unjust concessions to the big monopolists of the West.

In such a situation, firmly sticking to a strong national line will alone pay dividends.

Pandit Nehru's open support to and cooperation with Khrushchov over disarmament and against colonialism won India the respect of the West and advanced the cause of world peace.

Similarly, closer economic cooperation with the Socialist countries and the demand that the capitalist countries also trade with and aid us on the same terms will put the Western monopolists in their place.

We lose only if we surrender to them. We have nothing to fear if we are firm. The West cannot afford to lose the vast market that is India nor the goodwill of the world that goes with it.

Rouse The Nation!

Just as India has compelled new thought in the West with its independent foreign policy, it can also do so with the principled and firm pursuit of its national economic planning policy and pave the way for international cooperation on mutually advantageous terms.

Let us have the vision and the courage of the builders of a new India in a changing world. Let us rouse the nation against the demands and dangers from the World Bank and its champions inside the Government, in the Press, and the Right-wing political circles.

Just as our own sovereignty and security are not safe if

THE DANGERS AHEAD

greater attractions to foreign private capital than certain neighbour countries."

Instead of India serving as a shining example that will help Pakistan break loose from the Western grip, India is advised to ape Pakistan and offer the same facilities to private capital that Pakistan does!

"According to reports current in the capital this country's representatives had to hear some plain speaking apart from what is being regarded as our failure to utilise available external assistance promptly or exert sufficient to attract and facilitate the flow of foreign capital into our industrialisation programme."

Political Lobby

The above is only to conclude that the World Bank has not only made its demands on the Indian Government for a basic change in Plan policies but it is organising a powerful political lobby and Press campaign to create the climate for their acceptance by the Government of India.

This Western pressure is being exerted in more ways than one. The Washington Evening Star (October 5), in an article on the U. N. session by William S. White, entitled "West Puts it up to Neutrals", states:

"The truly vital world dialogue now going on is not a public debate between the Free West and the Soviet East for this will not soon come to

Malaviya is making Oil Minister Malaviya its whipping boy, to change our Plan policies in the direction demanded by the World Bank and the Western monopolists.

The Hindustan Times, October 24, in its editorial "Oil Politics" writes:

"Mr. K. D. Malaviya ought to be able to make up his mind on how he wants to function. Is he going to be the Minister simply for oil or is he going to be the Minister for some kind of war on oil companies?"

Leave It To Foreigners!

Tata financial weekly, the Commerce, October 15 editorially states:

"The powers that be in this country will be well-advised to heed the well-meant and friendly criticism of the latest World Bank Mission on their plans and policies. Dubbing them 'uncharitable', as was done, by one of the Union Ministers, or insisting on following the oily policies of the Minister for Oil will only tend to mar the climate."

With all the arguments contained in the Hoffman Report and further documented by the publicity material supplied by the Western oil companies, the Capital, of October 20, editorially states:

"There is apt to be difficulty in escaping the opinion that the country's oil policy is being tragically mismanaged and that precious foreign exchange is being forfeited to satisfy Ministerial empire building."

Malaviya and bemoaned that "his relations with the Western oil companies in India have reached a new low."

In short here is an organised Press campaign whose objectives are:

The Indian Government must outbid Pak rulers in servility to get Western aid! The Indian Ministers of Steel, Mines and Oil must function in a way as to meet the demands made by the Hoffman Mission.

If all this got really done, done, what will remain of India's Plan and economic independence? Herein lies the real danger.

When all the above striking stuff was being written in the Indian Press and Morarji and his men were busy trying to clear the official hurdles for the massive invasion of foreign private capital the Prime Minister of the country seemed to be oblivious of it all or was helplessly turning the blind eye to the anti-national criminal game that is being planned and pursued by his own Finance Minister, as the trusted man of the Indian monopoly gang and protagonist of the World Bank.

The Cuba Example

Cuba is very much smaller than India but our basic economic problems are the same. Their leader Castro is no Communist and he has been under greater U. S. pressure than we have faced. Let us see how Cuba seeks to build up its independent economic future on a planned basis.

The big enterprises which have been nationalised included the railway, the metallurgical industry, power plants, maritime transport, chemical works, textile and paper mills, the cinemas and other big enterprises closely related to the people's livelihood.

The new law has clearly stipulated that the Government will give all help for the development of small and middle enterprises.

The law for the nationalisation of private banks said that according to the necessity of planned economy, the circulation of money and the granting of credits should be public functions belonging exclusively to the State. They should not be the work of the private enterprises which could only act under the stimulation of profits and who consider their own interests without respecting the collective interest.

Castro Explains

The new law also provided for the nationalisation of the sugar industry which is the biggest Cuban industry. Earlier, 36 U. S. sugar mills had been nationalised, and now the remaining 105 sugar refineries were being nationalised. Twentythree to twentyfive per cent of Cuba's national income had come from the sugar industry and its export value amounted to 81 per cent of total export value.

Next day explaining the new measures in a television speech Castro said:

The negative experience with Western "aid" has taught a lot of bitter but useful lessons to the Afro-Asian nations. Let us take the case of our close neighbour Ceylon.

Introducing the year's budget, Finance Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike declared on October 14 that if foreign investments came in, well and good, but if foreign investors insisted on "favourable political climate", the Government would rather have not any foreign investments.

He added that not one development item was tied up with foreign investments and that no development projects would be held up if they did not attract foreign capital.

He announced restrictions on the outflow of capital and measures to stop the foreign exchange leaks to prevent the draining away of foreign exchange.

Members of Parliament from the Communist Party and of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party supported the Government, but they criticised the draft budget on certain other points.

Left Support

Members of the deposed UNP spoke against the budget and repeated the familiar arguments of reactionary pro-Western politicians the world over that Ceylon could not develop its economy without foreign aid.

The columnists of the Hindustan Times want India to compete with Pakistan in ser-

AIDIT ON U. N. SESSION, INDONESIA SITUATION

ON his way back from New York, D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, stopped for a few days in Rome and in Vienna where our Special Correspondent had an interview with him on the U. N. session and the political situation in Indonesia.

Q. Could you please explain the circumstances under which you were included in the Government delegation of Indonesia to the U. N. session?

A. The present policy of the Indonesian Government led by President Sukarno is *Gotong Rojong* which means cooperation. President Sukarno does his utmost to unite our people and our people are eager to be united. It was the ardent desire of our people to send a united delegation reflecting different viewpoints but at the same time united in the common cause of peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Letters and telegrams were received by the leaders of the three main political parties—Muslim, Nationalist and Communist—from different parts of the country underlining this desire. The President himself was very interested in a strong and united delegation.

Before proceeding to New York, we had several public

meetings in different parts of the country addressed jointly by leaders of the three political parties, trade unionists and peasant leaders. In all these meetings emphasis was laid on the questions of peace and disarmament, admission of the People's Republic of China to the U. N., struggle for the restoration of West Irian to her motherland Indonesia, and the struggle against colonialism.

United Delegation

That is how we were able to bring a delegation consisting of representatives of the three political parties, Catholics, trade unionists and peasant leaders. The Commander and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian army were also members of the delegation. It reflected the present unity and strength of our national movement. On our return we propose to report back to the people on the contribution of our delegation to the 15th Session of the U. N. General Assembly.

Q. What is your impression about the 15th Session of the U. N. General Assembly?

A. It was a very important session. The admission of 17 new member States, all but one from Africa, is very sig-

nificant. The discussion held on the Congo, on Algeria and on the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, is a clear indication of better understanding of the viewpoints of the Socialist world by the Afro-Asian countries, in spite of the fact that they did not vote on all these issues in conformity with the wishes of the Socialist countries.

Several informal meetings held between the leaders of the Socialist and other countries helped to develop better understanding of one another not only on the question of disarmament and colonialism but on various other questions also. This proves the necessity of mutual exchange of views between representatives of different States all the more. The very fact that more than 26 heads of States attended this session and exchanged ideas on vital international problems is by itself very significant.

It is of extreme importance that the question of U. N. leadership, which at present does not reflect the world position, was raised by Premier Khrushchov. I feel that it is very necessary to change the leadership and apparatus of the U. N. which is almost monopolised by the Western Powers. The present structure and apparatus do not reflect the

universal character of the U. N. The overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are not represented in most of the U. N. organs. Because of the standard maintained in the U. N. under present conditions it is almost impossible for smaller countries to be elected to the U. N. bodies.

Positive Role of USSR

The role of the Soviet Union is very positive on this question. The Soviet Union does not want the U. N. to turn into another League of Nations. It must be a living body serving the interests of all without discrimination. It must not serve the interests of any particular State or a group of States. In that case it would lose its importance as a world body and will fail to serve the noble cause for which it was originally created. The Soviet proposal was to infuse fresh blood to the U. N. thereby making it a body serving the interests of all nations and world peace.

The presence of important leaders from various countries at this session of the U. N. General Assembly increased the prestige of this body, but now it is up to the U. N. to

see that it assumes increased responsibilities, too.

Turning to the present political situation in Indonesia, Aidit made the following remarks:

We accept the guided democracy led by the President because we think that it helps the liquidation of the reactionary forces from our national life.

The reactionary forces are trying to organise rebellion against the Government. They are trying to sabotage the implementation of the Political Manifesto announced by President Sukarno on August 17, 1959. The leaders of the Masjumi and PSI (Socialist Party) are openly associating with the rebels.

The President wants that the three parties unite to implement the Political Manifesto. The Parliament, the Supreme Advisory Council and the National Planning Committee are composed of representatives of all three political parties and others. The Parliament has passed a law on the ceiling of land but the limit has not yet been fixed. We favour ten hectares of land as the maximum holding per capita in most of the provinces, but in some provinces we want even less.

Our unity is based on the question of anti-imperialism, on the restoration of West Irian, on the confiscation of Dutch and other foreign capital.

The President in his speech in the U. N. mentioned that we accept Indonesian Pancasila. He explained in details what this Pancasila means. We believe in freedom of religion, we agree with him that nationalism in the present-

★ SEE FACING PAGE

MONCKTON REPORT

Imperialist Manoeuvre in Africa

THE Monckton Committee Report represents a characteristic manoeuvre by British imperialism. It is an attempt to strengthen British positions in a crucial area in Africa in the face both of the gathering storm of the mass movement and the trends of an apartheid alliance—between the racist Afrikaner Republic and the European settlers in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Racialist Policies

It should be remembered that it was the British Government that had imposed the federal scheme in 1963 on the protesting African population of North and South Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The vicious racialist policies of Edgar Whitehead of South Rhodesia or of Roy Welensky of the Federation had been abetted and encouraged by the British imperialists. Naturally this had strengthened the "ultras" among the white population, some of whom openly call for an alliance with South Africa (now a Republic) linked up with the USA.

The Monckton Report is an attempt to deal with this "threat" to British suzerainty by application of pressure on the "ultras", while at the same time ensuring them the protection of all their racial and economic privileges.

It states that the Federation cannot be maintained in its present form and yet that a continued federal link between the three territories is desirable. It cannot but admit that "it now appears to many Africans that

only the presence of the European community, politically entrenched behind the Federal Constitution stands between them and the form of freedom already granted to their fellow Africans in most other parts of the continent."

But what does it propose? A hypothetical right of secession and that, too, after a period of five years, is conceded as a means of keeping the Federation together. Further the "British Government alone is given a 'blank cheque' to decide whether a territory should be allowed to secede" (Economist, London, October 15, 1960).

It makes some pious recommendations that the discrimination that exists in all parts of the Federation "should be" removed or amended. The Governments concerned "should" pass laws making discriminatory practices illegal in all walks of life except "for purely private relationships"—the latter will cover a multitude of sins.

"White" Colour

The Councils of State to be set up for the Federation and for each of the three territories will have the "enormous" power of reporting to Parliament on any existing or proposed legislation that might be discriminatory. It does not have the right to veto but only of delay.

When it comes to the Federal Assembly the Monckton Report shows its true "white" colour. In the Federation there are 297,000 Europeans and eight million Africans—yet there is to be parity of represen-

tation for the two! Each will be given 30 seats on the basis of a "qualitative" franchise. Even then the Federal functions would be limited to economic policy and a restricted range of external relations and defence activities.

African Demands

The real powers are to be retained in the territories, who are to be given several functions that are now to be carried out by the Federal Government. And in the territories the constitutional status quo is to be maintained, with only a conference on the North Rhodesian constitution to be held in the indefinite future.

Unfortunately far too much publicity has been given in the Indian Press to the so-called "rebellious" threats of Roy Welensky and Edgar Whitehead, the two top racist leaders. These gangsters are obviously pressing for a more favourable bargain by securing the deletion of the secessionist recommendation. So they thunder that they will themselves secede from the British empire. And the Tory Colonial Minister Macleod already is hinting that the Monckton Report may be suitably amended.

What is far more important for us in India is that all the major African political parties—the National Democratic Party and United Independence Party of Southern Rhodesia as well as the Malawi Congress Party of Nyasaland—have come out in vehement opposition to the Monckton Report. Their main demands are:

- 1. Immediate ending of the Federation by the repeal of the 1953 Federal Act.
- 2. Immediate acceptance of the principle of "one man, one vote" in each territory, with an elected African majority.
- 3. Immediate abolition of all forms of racial discrimination.

In their opinion the Monckton Report is a bluff and a fraud. They warn that they intend to launch a mass struggle, which would be non-violent if possible. But they stress that they might be compelled to take to other means to attain their freedom. The leader of the National Democratic Party has declared that the Africans of the Federation might well have to tread the same path of agony and glory as their brothers in Algeria.

In answer, the racialists have given call-up orders to all European territorial, ordered twenty armoured cars from Britain and are sending armed patrols all over. They have already shot down 40 Africans and wounded 100 in Salisbury, the Federal capital on October 8. Tension is mounting and an explosion can be expected.

For us in India the issues are absolutely clear. Whatever the differences between the Whitehall imperialists and Salisbury racialists, they are quite united in trying to break the African back. And we must offer all our sympathy and support as the African stands forth to claim his dignity and his freedom.

—MOHIT SEN

October 23

OCTOBER 30, 1960

NEW PHASE OF BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

bases, the Left still needs to play their part in assisting and popularising a positive common sense united alternative foreign policy for peace, answering all the myriad questions on NATO military blocs, neutralism, collective security and the rest. Similarly on colonial policy, where there was marked weakness and practical conciliation to imperialism (including swallowing the lies on the Congo) in the short debate.

Nor would it be difficult to reach such a common concrete programme on the basis of trends of discussion already developed. Only such a concrete alternative programme for peace could finally smash the hypocritical pretence of the Right-wing that the choice is between 'defence' and 'pacifism' or 'surrender'.

Communism And The Left

Political cooperation of all sections is essential for the elaboration of such a programme, just as it is essential in the sphere of organisation to mobilise sufficient strength to defeat the entrenched Right-wing machine.

While the advocacy and arguments of the Communist Party, representing the political outlook of Marxism and the strongest organised section

of the Left, have been able to play their part in assisting and influencing the development of the political outlook of the Left, especially in the trade unions, many on the Left still fear to be branded by the Right-wing leadership as Communists or sympathetic to Communism or to the Socialist camp in the world. Vulnerability to this trick is still able to confuse, distort or even defeat emotional aspirations towards the Left.

Constituency Parties

The claim of the Right-wing to have secured the majority of the votes of the constituency labour parties in the crucial division (Gaitskell claimed two-thirds, the Times correspondent estimated three-fourths) has been challenged by Mikardo, and cannot be brought to the test of measurement in the absence of any record (incidentally the cameramen were removed for this vote, though not for any other).

It is impossible not to note the contrast between the 1,413,000 majority for nuclear disarmament at the Trades Union Congress, where only the trade unions voted and the Communist delegates were able to play their equal part, and the 407,000 highest majority at the Labour Party Con-

ference, where alongside the trade unions the constituency parties had over one million votes and the Communists were excluded; the cause of this drop of over one million in the majority is partially accounted for by the lower affiliation of the unions to the Labour Party, but not completely.

It is evident from the consensus of opinion of observers that the Right wing did obtain a disquieting proportion of support from the constituency labour parties, from which Communists are excluded, and that the decisive weight of the Left majority came from the trade unions, where the cooperation of Communists and non-Communists in industry is able in the majority of cases, despite certain limitations and debarring from the floor of the political conference, to play a fruitful role in the common discussion and formulation of policy. The lesson is plain for all supporters of the Left.

Drawing The Lessons

The signals of Scarborough point the way forward. But the signposts need to be read. For there are also warning signals where weakness was shown. We need to measure in a sober and realist fashion

both the positive gains and significance of the outcome of the Scarborough Labour Party Conference, and also the negative aspects.

In the light of such a survey as has been here attempted we need to assess the present stage of development of the Left and what is needed for its further advance. Above all, we need to endeavour to estimate the future perspective and the next immediate tasks in the battle which has now opened after Scarborough.

Battle Above And Below

[Dutt next examines the question of Parliament and democracy, the features of the Labour Party and the arguments that are trotted out to establish the supremacy of the Parliamentarians and their supposed right or even duty to defy the democratic majority decisions of the conference and concludes:]

The Parliamentary Labour Party is the nationally visible and conspicuous arena of the battle. But it is not the final centre of decision. Only a parliamentary cretin (to use the term which was once the standard term employed by the old Social Democracy, while it was still Marxist) would believe that. If there should develop the appearance of 'two Labour Parties' above in Parliament, because of the refusal of the Gaitskellite disruptors to accept democratic majority decisions, then this battle will inevitably be carried forward, and will need to be carried forward, in every Labour organisation, in every constituency party, in every trade union branch and district committee and executive committee.

Indeed, the battle has already begun, in consequence of the open disruptive challenge flung out by the Gaitskellites. Resolutions demanding loyalty to democratic decisions have begun to pour in from Labour organisations. Nor can there be any doubt of the final outcome, once the battle is joined.

The exact contrary of what these revisionists claim is true. The increased active role of the trade unions on political issues, no longer content to be the passive voting fodder of a Right-wing anti-working-class leadership, but showing increasing determination to impose a policy in the interests of the working people and Socialism—this is one of the most hopeful and positive signs of the present political situation.

Trade Unions In Vanguard

The entire Tory Press and all the apparatus of capitalism is behind Gaitskell. But the deepest instinct of the organised working class movement resists Tory dictation and disruption. This battle is speeding the day to reject the Right-wing revisionist poison and advance to a new phase of the political labour movement, based on democracy, class loyalty and unity of all workers and fighters for Socialism.

In this battle the trade unions will play the decisive role.

The offensive of the Right-wing revisionists to abolish the aim of the common ownership of the means of production broke against the mass resistance of the unions. The Left offensive against the British H-bomb, opened by the Communist Party five years ago in isolation among political parties with a small minority of backbenchers and pacifists, extending in the succeeding

years until three years later reaching to the common front of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, drawing in new sections of young people and middle strata, has only attained to its present position as the dominant political issue of the Labour Party; and therefore, of the British political situation, when the major trade unions swung into action.

Now a further and even more crucial stage of the battle has opened when the elementary trade union principles of the sovereignty of the elected conference and loyalty to democratic majority decisions are being challenged by the same revisionist anti-working class disruptors.

Trade Unions And Politics

No wonder the Right-wing revisionists hate the trade unions, even at the same time as they desire to have the advantage of their mass organisation and membership and finances—but not their voice. 'Servants should keep in the kitchen' is the axiom of these gentlemen. Thus their organ 'Socialist Commentary' writes in October:

"Certain unions are attempting to usurp the power of the leadership entirely.... The separation of political and industrial issues has always been understood... Trade unions by their very nature are not political parties.... The issue (defence) is not an industrial one, on which the unions might be expected to have the last word, but the most fundamental political issue of all."

In other words, 'Trade Unions! Keep out of Politics!'—the good old Tory slogan, which originally sought to prevent the creation of the Labour Party and now seeks to destroy its foundation. On this basis the new revisionist offensive is threatened, already announced by Gaitskell in order to pare the claws of the trade unions. Unfortunately for these plotters the agreement of the trade unions will be necessary for such a 'revision'.

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New Times—New Tasks

Certainly there will be need of drastic review of all the problems of trade unionism in the modern age, both industrial and political, and also of internal organisation, and the strengthening of democratic functioning and leadership....

Scarborough has indeed opened a new phase of the labour movement and of the political situation. The outcome will depend on the most active fight of all who are concerned for the future of Socialism and peace.

October 17

When Sukarno Introduced Aidit To Eisenhower

day world is not divorced from internationalism and that patriotism is a form of nationalism. We believe that democracy is to serve the interests of the people as a whole and not any particular group.

Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy is not merely a neutral one. It is an independent active policy for peace and against imperialism. We support whatever is good for us without being dictated to by anybody whatsoever. The content of our foreign policy is anti-colonial and anti-imperialist. In short, we support the policy of President Sukarno, based on his political manifesto of the spirit of which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-colonial, and the promotion of world peace.

Asked about the Algerian question Aidit said that the Indonesian Government recognised the Algerian Provisional Government. All political parties have adopted unanimous resolutions on Algeria and the position of our delegation reflects the wishes of our people. In his U. N. speech President Sukarno expressed the wishes of our people on this question.

At the end of the interview,

Aidit told a very interesting story. He said that in Jakarta he had given an interview to a Correspondent of the New York Times and had told him that ever since he joined the national movement he had dreamt of uniting the people against imperialism and was therefore very happy to see that the Indonesian delegation to the U. N. General Assembly expressed this unity. To his surprise, however, he found that he had been reported as saying that it had always been his dream to visit America and that he was happy to be going there.

He also told the Correspondent that a student of Leninism his duty was to combine the revolutionary spirit of his people with efficiency—both necessary for his work in the State and Party, and that his visit to New York would help him to get an idea of American efficiency. Later in New York, Aidit was asked what was his impression of American efficiency. He replied that he had wanted to visit American farms and factories to get an idea of American efficiency but unfortunately had had no opportunity to do so.

However his experience in U. S. hotels had shown him that efficiency was a matter of dollars—if you were late in giving tips to the waiters your room was not even cleaned in time and there was no question of efficiency. In the Socialist countries, however, the picture

is entirely different, service there does not depend on tips. In New York the Indonesian delegation had to set aside a portion of their budget for tips for service.

Another Correspondent had asked Aidit when he was thinking of overthrowing the Government. In reply he said that the question did not arise at all because the President was going to include the Communists in the Cabinet; in fact President Sukarno had said many times that in order to fight imperialism successfully people had to be Left-minded.

Best Democrats

During their stay in New York President Eisenhower received President Sukarno, and other five members of the delegation. It was rather a surprise for the U. S. President to see a Communist leader introduced to him by President Sukarno as a member of the Indonesian Government delegation.

Communist?—was the exclamation.

Yes, very good people, replied President Sukarno.

You mean democrat?—the U. S. President wondered.

Oh yes, the Communists are the best democrats, retorted Aidit.

KERALA LAND BILL

the extent of land that can be taken over after the ceiling is fixed.

That was why the members of the Communist Opposition in the present Legislature stated that, with the extension of the date for the invalidation of mala fide transfers and with the further widening of exemptions, the ceiling provision has been virtually negated.

More Rights To Plantations

Another major modification made by the amendments is the conferring of far more extensive rights on the plantations, mills, factories and workshops. Thousands of families who have been living on land owned by plantations but outside the actual plantation area, had been given rights of tenancy in the original Bill. These have now been substantially modified. The definition of plantation has been made so extensive that the kudikidappukars (occupants of huts) and cultivators of agricultural lands which lie "contiguous to or in the vicinity of or in the boundaries of" plantations will not be considered kudikidappukars and will not be given full rights of tenancy. Not only will kudikidappukars occupying these huts be evicted if the plantation requires those plots for its own purposes; such kudikidappukars as are evicted will not even get alternate site and the expenses of shifting to such alternative sites which even a smallholder of less than one acre is bound to give to a kudikidappukaran under him. As for the smallholders, while the poorest of them (those

who own five acres or below) do not get any additional relief from the amendments plotted by the present Government, the widening of the term smallholder to include those between five and ten acres extends the circle of tenants who are liable to be evicted.

All the amendments now made to the Bill in the name of plantations and smallholders have a definite class content: while they do not make any worthwhile concession to the old type jammis, they definitely favour plantation owners or such of even the old jammis as propose to become plantation owners. While the provisions of rent reduction, fixity of tenure and right of purchase conferred on tenants are formally kept intact and can be really enforced as against the old type jammis, they can be defeated by such of the jammis as take the trouble to use the provisions of the new legislation as to transform themselves into plantation owners.

Why These Amendments?

Why have such amendments been made favouring the plantation owners and defeating the ceiling provision? Why is it that amendments demanded by the old type jammis have not been carried out? Why is it that the determination with which the pro-plantation amendments and the amendment to defeat the provision of the ceiling were pushed was not shown to push the amendments defeating rent reduction, fixity of tenure and right of purchase in relation to non-plantation areas? The answer is that, while

the peasant movement was strong enough to create an anti-feudal atmosphere in which nobody dared propose anything which openly favoured the feudal ownership of land, the peasants and agricultural labourers were not class conscious and united enough to inflict a total political defeat on the combination of feudal landlords, plantation owners, bankers, new type landlords and capitalists, which came into existence with a view to remove the Communist Government from power and to get the Agrarian Relations Bill withdrawn.

Background To Modification

The impressive vote secured by the Communist Party and its allies in the February elections was a sufficiently strong warning to the Central Government that it would be dangerous for them to concede the demands made by the landlords and incorporated in the Congress-FSP-Muslim League amendments to the 1959 Bill. This was further strengthened by the great response to the campaign launched by the Kerala Karshaka Sangham with the slogan "give immediate assent to the Bill without amendments." The warm reception given to the Statewide march led by Comrade A. K. Gopalan (reception in which even big sections of peasants supporting the present Government of Kerala participated), showed how the pulse of the people is beating. Opponents of the Bill were, however, strengthened by the fact that, despite the open declarations made by the Congress, PSP and Muslim League

parties that they would make such modifications in the Bill as are in keeping with their amendments, considerable numbers of peasants and agricultural labourers voted for them in the February elections. They could show this as "people's verdict" in favour of modifications in the Bill. They were further strengthened by the fact that, though a good section of their own followers was anxious to have the Bill adopted, they were not yet prepared to join the Karshaka Sangham in its campaign for the implementation of the Bill without any amendments. A section of the supporters of the Bill was also confused by the talk of plantations, their importance to the economy of Kerala, the need to preserve them, etc., etc.

Under these circumstances, the plantation owners, bankers and new type landlords, who are stronger inside the alliance than the old type landlords, decided to salvage at least their own property rights if the property rights of their allies, the old type landlords cannot be protected. The political leadership also thought that, as between protecting only the plantation owners and new type landlords without inviting a big mass upsurge and protecting the entire landlord class with the risk of a big mass upheaval, the former course was preferable.

Task Of Kisan Movement

The task of the organised peasant movement in this context is clear: while recognising the strength of the mass movement reflected in the fact that the Congress Party dared not go the full length of policy reversal demanded by the landlords, it

should also realise that the plantation owners and new type landlords have succeeded in watering down the provisions of the Bill. The danger is real that the owners of existing plantations, those who propose to start new plantations, and those who skillfully utilise the various provisions of the amended Bill in order to secure their self-interests in the name of plantations—all will use the next several months to deprive the tenants and kudikidappukars of even those rights as are theirs according to the Bill, despite its amendments.

The changes made in the Bill with regard to the implementation machinery (the removal of democratically-elected people's representatives from the Land Tribunals and the insistence that cooperative societies should be formed if the agricultural labourers are to get land at the time of distribution of excess lands) will create innumerable organisational and practical problems which the peasants and agricultural labourers will be faced with when the Bill becomes law and begins to get implemented.

How to secure in practice what is provided in law; how to combat the efforts of the landlords under various pretexts to deny the tenants and agricultural labourers what the law has conferred on them—such are the questions to which the organised peasant movement will have to address itself. A manysided battle—through the land tribunals, courts, Press and platforms, legislation—all the machinery of agitation, propaganda and action will have to be skillfully utilised in order to protect the interests of those who require such protection in the context in which the landlord elements are dominant, in the administration from top to bottom.

The Communist Party will be with the organised peasant movement in carrying out this task, as its spokesmen in the Legislature stated at the closing stages of the debate on October 15. The Party will offer its service both to the Government and to the people for the genuine and full implementation of the Bill. It will, at the same time be with such tenants and kudikidappukars as come under attack by the plantation owners or other landlords who use the harmful provisions incorporated in the amending Bill.

It will not be wrong to conclude from what has been pointed out above that in drawing up a comparatively large plan, the West Bengal Government has not been guided solely by the altruistic consideration of rendering genuine relief to a people living in conditions of mounting unemployment, recurring food crises, rising prices, increasing tax burdens and growing impoverishment.

The Government has evidently formulated the Third Plan with an eye to the general elections in 1962. If it is pruned by the Planning Commission, the Government will pose as martyr to a sacred cause for which it had put up a dogged fight. If the plan is allowed to remain as it is, the Government will no doubt try to consolidate its position by taking credit for having given "such a large plan" to the State despite the opposition of the Planning Commission! The stakes are, indeed, very high.

WEST BENGAL'S PLAN

* FROM PAGE 6

wonder that the plan has failed to arouse the interest or enthusiasm of the people.

Dr. Roy was hiding a lot of things when he declined to indicate how he proposed to raise additional resources to cover the gap of Rs. 117 crores. Is it not a fact that he has been already assured assistance from U.S. private capital to the tune of Rs. 43 crores—an amount nearly one-eighth of the total plan outlay? There is even report of a decision that Rs. 29 crores out of this is to be utilised for the super-thermal plants at Bandel with U.S. collaboration.

Disturbing also is the fact that though Dr. Roy categorically denied that the State Government had asked the Centre to release a part of PL-480 counterpart funds for West Bengal's Third Plan, there are reports of one leading non-Bengali industrialist of this State now in the USA, negotiating, as Dr. Roy's emissary, a deal with the U.S. Government on this very question.

The Statesman, on September 15, 1960, reported that Ellsworth Bunker, U.S. Ambassador in India, had conveyed to the Union Finance Minister his Government's "whole-hearted willingness" for the utilisation of PL-480 counterpart funds for the purpose

suggested by Dr. Roy, viz., "massive investment" in West Bengal. Significantly enough Bunker has not yet contradicted this report.

From all such available indications, it is abundantly clear that West Bengal Government is relying heavily on assistance from U.S. finance capital for the State's Third Plan. It needs hardly to be stressed that it portends grave dangers not only for West Bengal but for the country as a whole.

Dr. Roy tried to give an impression at the Press Conference that since taxation in West Bengal was already heavy, there would be no fresh taxation to cover the gap of Rs. 117 crores.

But he carefully avoided mentioning the fact that the resources of Rs. 64 crores, which his Government has already found, are made up of Rs. 41 crores of additional taxation and Rs. 23 crores of budget surplus during the Third Plan period (1961-66).

This Rs. 41 crores represents West Bengal's share of Rs. 550 crores, which all the States together have to raise by way of additional taxation.

The incidence of taxation in West Bengal is already the highest in the country, and the imposition of a fresh burden of Rs. 41 crores will literally mean the last straw on the camel's back.

The State's Agriculture and Food Production Minister claimed on October 13 that if the anticipated requirements, such as supplies of fertilisers, were met, and if there were no natural calamities, the Rs. 68-crore scheme for agriculture and food production would raise the State's rice yield from four million to 5.5 million tons, attaining near-self-sufficiency in the State's requirements of rice. When the "ifs" and "buts" are removed, what remains is that the claim of attaining near-self-sufficiency is bunkum.

Specially so, when one remembers that basing himself on a good harvest in 1954, the State's Food Minister declared that not only had West Bengal become self-sufficient, but it could even export rice.

The main reasons for the chronic shortfall in internal production and recurring food crises are: non-implementation of basic land reforms, growing burdens of debts and taxation on the peasantry and the pro-hoarder, anti-people food policy of the State Government.

Without eliminating these causes, there can be no permanent solution of the food problem.

Although West Bengal's Third Plan is more than double the size of its Second Plan, the outlay on such essential items as public health,

housing, etc., in the draft is much smaller. Provision for health in the Third Plan is only Rs. 19 crores as against Rs. 21 crores in the Second Plan.

This cut is not fortuitous. The State Government's Board of Economic Affairs had urged that the Government should change its policy regarding excessive expenditure on building construction, especially for social services.

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Final Phase Of U. S. Election Campaign

IN its final phase now, the U. S. Presidential election campaign has gathered some momentum. Three debates on the TV by the two contenders have raised it to a certain high pitch.

The biggest single issue is the issue of peace or war. Both candidates have been afraid of raising it too much. That has been one reason why the campaign has been so slow in rousing popular interest. Nixon has been afraid of raising it because of the terrible record of the Republican administration and Kennedy because he would not like to promise too much even in an election campaign.

But the issue could not be suppressed for too long and it has forced itself upon the candidates. Khrushchov and other peace camp leaders' sustained fight at the U. N. has helped it forward in a big way.

Nixon has outdone himself and his superiors in war-mongering by asserting that he would not hesitate to risk a global atomic war in "defence" of Quemoy and Mastu, the two offshore Chinese islands, thus going beyond the hitherto declared policy of his Government. He has condemned

even discussion of seating of People's China in the U. N. as appeasement. He has labelled any questioning of cold war policies, especially of spy flights like that of the U-2 as high treason.

His running mate, Cabot Lodge, has bragged of U. S. manipulation of the voting machinery at the U. N. and incidentally proved once again the truth of all Soviet charges on that score. Lodge said, "If there ever was a case when we didn't have the law on our side it was the U-2 case, and yet when the Soviet Union proceeded against us in the Security Council they got the most dreadful defeat." He could have said the same thing about the fate of the five non-committed Powers' resolution in the General Assembly calling for resumption of contacts between the Big Two.

Kennedy under pressure of peace forces, especially of those who had supported Stevenson for President, took some steps forward including a promise not to resume nuclear tests but work for agreement. He gave some emphasis to the need for negotiations while continuing to call for greater armaments. He disavowed some of his earlier threatening statements against Cuba and claimed that he had never called for active military intervention against that country but only for an intensified propaganda war and subversion.

While declaring that the Republican candidate's programme for disarmament "does not grapple with the real nature of the Communist threat to peace" and calling for a stepped-up arms race, Kennedy exposed for the whole world to see the U. S. tactics of stalling actual disarmament by pointing out that Nixon's recently announced proposals called for "setting up more committees and more conferences."

Nixon the true disciple of Dulles in obstinacy and cunningness, has claimed that U.S. prestige in the world is at its highest at the moment while Kennedy asserts that it has

NEGRO BATTLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

CIVIL rights, that is the demand to end rampant racial segregation, occupies a prominent place in the issues that have come to the fore in the U. S. elections.

The Negroes' sit-in movement of occupying and not vacating lunch-counters and department stores banned to them till they are arrested continues as before and despite both parties bid for the Negro vote. Rev. Martin Luther King was arrested along with 35 others as recently as October 19 for defying those racist regulations.

All of them refused to pay bail and Rev. King declared that the demonstrations would continue "until something is done."

Despite record registration thanks to their own efforts, millions of Negroes will remain disfranchised in these elections, biggest in the greatest democracy of the "Free World". Meeting in numerous representative conferences in recent weeks Negro leaders have planned action which has not been announced yet.

It is reported, however, that countrywide demonstrations on a particular day have been planned to "demand immediate action on civil rights" by the victorious candidate and a "real voting bill."

CHANGE THIS WOBBLY STAND ON WEST GERMANY

WEST German Press comments after Nehru's stop-over in Bonn are indicative of the satisfaction felt there over the Indian Prime Minister's gesture despite his scarcely concealed disagreement with Adenauer and his policies which was voiced again at the last Press Conference. "The importance of Mr. Nehru's visit is not so much in the talk he had but the fact that he made a stop-over and talked to the Chancellor," thus the West Berlin Kurier.

Further, "Mr. Nehru is the most important neutral statesman and his visit will have a great effect on all neutral States. Viewed from this angle, it is a significant political gesture....

"It was very clear that the

never been so low and charges the Republican administration with holding back evidence collected from all over the world on this score.

A secret top-level group appointed by Eisenhower last December is said to have reported after polls in various countries that U. S. prestige "has been unquestionably on the decline" since 1957. White House sources have been reported as saying that the findings are "terrible for United States prestige." Kennedy demands its publication

while the State Department says it won't be ready till mid-November, that is till after the elections. Summing up the situation a fortnight before the poll, a writer in the New York Worker says:

"This election campaign is probably one of the most peculiar in the history of the nation. Nixon is convinced he cannot win waving the banner of the Republican Party.... So he is making his pitch on the waning popularity of President Eisenhower.

"Kennedy who refuses to

criticise the war brinkmanship of the Eisenhower administration and has taken Lyndon Johnson of Texas (an arch reactionary racist) as his running mate, is trying to run on the record of the Democratic Party, particularly the Roosevelt record.

"...With the nation in the first stage of a recession, with more major industrial communities becoming 'distressed areas', with unemployment still high, the Kennedy forces believe he can get the votes of the working people and the Negro people."

CONGO SOLUTION: WEST CONTINUES SABOTAGE

BETWEEN the U. N. Headquarters headed by the Secretary-General and the NATO men placed by him in key positions in the Congo, all possibilities of a solution of the crisis there are being systematically frustrated.

No sharper denunciation of Mobutu and his role could have come than the one made by Prime Minister Nehru at his recent Press Conference.

The Western Powers insist however that the U. N. recognise the "validity" of Colonel Mobutu. To demonstrate their anger at Rajeshwar Dayal's refusal to do so, all NATO Powers' Ambassadors in Leopoldville boycotted the U. N. Day Parade on October 24.

Their officers in key positions in the U. N. Command in the Congo sabotage the carrying out of practical measures to meet the situation created by the lawlessness let loose by Mobutu's men.

It is difficult to see in these circumstances how Prime Minister Nehru could claim that "the general principle" of the Congolese Parliament being enabled to meet and function had been "accepted by the U. N. people." This is the one thing which even Rajeshwar Dayal dare not mention anywhere,

not even in the bundle of homilies about ending national strife that he has delivered to the Congolese on the U. N. Day.

As for maintaining the integrity of the Congo, even on this score, the actions of the U. N. representative in the Congo cannot be claimed to be above reproach. When a considerable section of the population of Katanga is in active revolt against the traitor Tshombe the U. N. people agree with him to take over the "pacification" of the patriotic forces there. Lending thus a helping hand to the sessionist anti-national regime can hardly be claimed as upholding the national integrity of the Congo.

It is obvious that neither Mobutu nor Tshombe can remain on the scene any longer without Nato and U. N. support. The whole game was given away in a FTI despatch from Leopoldville as long ago as October 13, which said:

"Sources here said that the main difficulty facing the U.N. is that the Congolese army has ceased to be a national force, its top leadership having come under the influence of some Western Powers. These Powers according to these sources, want to keep Mr. Lumumba out of office at any cost as they believe him to be a threat to Western in-

fluence not only in the Congo but also in the areas surrounding it." (Hindu)

In this light one cannot but see the truth of the latest Soviet warning that the Congo situation is far from such as to warrant complacency and basic measures to change the course there have to be taken at the U. N. General Assembly.

The Soviet Union charges the Secretary-General with continuing to ignore the Security Council resolution of July 14, 22 and August 9 which directed that U. N. assistance be rendered to the lawful Government of the Congo Republic and that all U. N. measures in that country be carried out in close cooperation with its lawful Government and only with its consent.

Instead of withdrawal, more and more Belgian and Nato personnel have continued to flow in. The U. N. Command is being increasingly subordinated to Nato Powers. Of its 86 officers 45 are from Nato countries and 500 other so-called military and technical experts from Nato, Seato and Cento countries are there.

"The lawful Government of the Congo Republic is utterly deprived of the possibility to exercise its function and the head of the Government, Mr. Lumumba—is actually under house arrest," says the Soviet statement. "He is even prevented from going to the U. N. General Assembly to report personally on the situation....

"The Command of the U. N. Forces and the Secretary-General in person have actually refused to ensure the normal conditions for the functioning of the Congolese Parliament, the supreme authority of the Republic of the Congo....

"The only reason for this situation is that the Command of the U. N. Forces and the Secretary-General have, contrary to his statements of non-interference in the Congo's internal affairs, been seeking to prevent a meeting of the Congolese Parliament obviously in fear of seeing it affirm, as it did before, the full powers of the country's legal Government, which would in turn make the adventurous character of Mobutu and those like him perfectly obvious."

—ZIAUL HAQ

INCOME ENQUIRY

IT was odd that after all these years the Government should suddenly have decided to probe who has benefited by our meagre enough national income increase. There seem to be some doubts even in the rarefied upper Congress circles that the Socialist pattern has failed to materialise.

Now that the Committee has been appointed all should be well—we will know where we are and why. But it is not going to be smooth sailing. The distinguished members of the Committee are all such busy men that their first business meeting itself cannot take place till full four months have passed.

And when they meet they are not likely to agree on the way to go about their business. The Chairmanship having gone to Mahalanobis has upset some of the other academically distinguished

personalities. They are believed to be pressing for individual reports on individual aspects of the problem rather than any connected and total picture. An odd kind of competitive coexistence!

One of the members with American and Big Business affiliations has decided, it is rumoured, to press for two distinct types of investigation. The Statistical Institute can poke about in the agricultural sector while his National Institute of Applied Economics will handle the industrial and urban side.

His argument is that his institute will be treated more cooperatively by the big financial and industrial

magnates! And he will also be very cooperative, no doubt, with his conclusions.

On top of all this there is reported to be very heavy pressure against any kind of report being made ready before the next General Elections. Some of the members of the Committee, it is reported, have been openly requested not to "hasten", lest the Committee's report be treated with the same scant respect as the Law Commission and Press Commission report.

HIDING CHOLERA

A PART from dacoits and political gangsters having free run of our capital

city, the cholera bacteria were also given plenty of scope recently. Hundreds of deaths were reported and who knows how many were unreported victims. Cholera inoculation centres were set up but could hardly cope with the crowds.

But quite amazing was the conduct of the Government. They just refused to admit that a cholera epidemic was on. They gave it a new-fangled name—gastro-enteritis—and hoped that the people would not make "unreasonable" demands about improved sanitation and the like.

The Delhi Medical Association has in its resolution of October 3, 1960, called the Government's bluff. It

"views with alarm and dismay the recent practice of the Central and some of the State health authorities of declaring obvious epidemics of cholera as outbreaks of gastro-enteritis. Scientifically this practice is utterly wrong and is a cruel joke on our defenceless people."

Pointing out that "gastro-enteritis is merely a set of symptoms... (and) when cases with these symptoms occur in an epidemic form the cause must be specified... No epidemic form of this type have been known to occur anywhere in the world, including our country, due to any infection other than that of cholera vibrio."

It goes on to say "though nothing very effective has been done to eradicate cholera yet the precipitate fall in the number of cholera attacks and deaths has been reported in recent years due to this absurd practice of labelling it as gastro-enteritis."

It finally points out that cholera can be eradicated and appeals, "our own Government also must stir itself to carry out effective control measures without further delay to eradicate cholera, and not indulge in this senseless game of abolishing cholera by giving it a new name." We agree but not with very much optimism.

ALARMING RUMOUR

THE corridors of the External Affairs Ministry are ringing with a rather "hot" rumour. It is said that the Prime Minister himself is mighty upset and wondering what to do.

He had not bothered particularly about the reported gifts that his sister Krishna Huthee Singh is said to have gathered from the Mercedes-Benz owners and other magnates. She has never done the Nehru family much credit anyway.

But this time the rumour involves Vijayalakshmi Pandit who is not only a distinguished sister, but holds a high official position. And the rumour is pretty striking—that she had a year ago accepted an offer from somebody in the United States to go on a lecture tour for which she was paid TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS OR FIFTY THOUSAND RUPEES.

First of all it is not decorous that Panditji's sister and our representative in Britain should take on so lucrative an offer while in service. Secondly, it seems to be against official rules in any case.

We can scarcely believe that there is any truth in this rumour. But it is being very widely circulated and not doing anybody any good. It would be as well for the External Affairs Ministry to issue a contradiction and clear the good lady's name.

—ONLOOKER

October 25

SCRAP-BOOK

Education In Madhya Pradesh CONGRESS CLAIMS Vs REALITY

★ From Our Correspondent

IN Madhya Pradesh the Government spends thirteen crores of rupees on education. The heavily financed Congress propaganda machinery cries hoarse that Madhya Pradesh is taking tremendous strides in the field of education.

Problems Of The Set-Up

But this bubble has been recently pricked. Communist MLAs Shakti Ali Khan and Master Nathulal Saksena have submitted memoranda to Governor Pataskar where they outline the problems of the educational set-up in Madhya Pradesh.

FAILURES: In the 8th class, out of 29,712 students 17,819 failed; in the 10th class, out of 23,209, 17,104 failed; in the Inter class 15,177 appeared and 10,323 failed. Thus out of 63,244 students 45,246 failed in the three classes—about 75 per cent failures. For the polytechnic classes exact figures were not available but in the Bhopal College 147 students out of 190 failed.

HUGE LOSS: They have classified the loss due to this huge failure under various heads:

- (a) The morale of the youth has been badly hit;
- (b) The parents who have to put a stout struggle against soaring prices in order to save something for the education of their children, are terribly frustrated. Besides, the money lost is a huge national waste;
- (c) The huge crop of fal-

lures of technical students will retard national reconstruction.

When the memoranda received the attention of the Governor and got wide publicity, the Government trotted out the argument that the students failed because they did not study but played at politics.

But in the memorandum submitted on August 6, 1960, it was made clear that the students of Madhya Pradesh, particularly of Bhopal, had not taken part in politics nor in demonstrations and strikes. It quoted the example of the Polytechnic College where a student, in order to appear in the examination has to have 80 per cent or more attendance, to pass in terminal examinations, to be up to the mark in his daily work and to keep his professor pleased.

Exam. Papers

All the memoranda discussed the examination papers subjectwise and found that every paper had questions (of marks ranging from 32 to 82 per cent) which were not taught in the class. There are no hard and fast rules for selecting the setters of the papers and the examiners of the answer books and in most cases they are selected on the basis of nepotism, friendship or manipulations. This leads to all sorts of anomalies.

The memoranda discussed

the various problems of school organisation and libraries and found that there is chaos everywhere. They laid stress on three points, viz., books, teachers and waste of teaching time.

Books Full Of Mistakes

All text-books are full of mistakes. The language of the books on social studies and the different sciences is more difficult than that of the books on Hindi literature. In Bhopal alone there are four kinds of text-books for the same subject. In case of change of residence, due to the transfer of his guardian, a student has to change his text-book.

The rich students who can afford private tutors complete the course and pass. But the poor students even with their utmost efforts and regular attendance fail because they are not able to afford private tutors to make up for the deficiencies of school and college teaching.

Corruption Galore

Then there is corruption galore in the education field. Admission to the medical and engineering colleges reek of nepotism. The memorandum submitted on August 27, 1960, profusely quoted examples of how relatives and favourites of Ministers, even after getting 37 per cent marks and passing the Inter examination the fourth attempt, were given admissions into these colleges while the poor students even getting marks up to 49 per cent were not taken in.

Education in this State is in a complete impasse but the Congress Ministers are callous and refuse to heed the smallest suggestions.

The problems regarding issue of prospectus, formation of classes and the admission of students, finalising of time tables for teaching, arrangements for bus-services take up the months of July and August. Then the chain of the so-called school activities like dramas, symposiums, meetings, tournaments, etc., is endless. Thus, courses are not completed generally and all that is done is done so hurriedly that the students do not follow the classes.

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Congress Leaders Quarrelled And The Administration Slept, While...

From RAMESH SINHA LUCKNOW, October 23

Now it is known that information about the floods, which overtook the city and the neighbouring rural areas of Lucknow from October 8 onwards, had reached the administration in the night of October 3. From October 4, the warnings had become insistent.

It had rained heavily in Lucknow, where the Gomati rises, and Sitapur, through which it passes before entering Lucknow, and the District Magistrate of the capital and the administration of the State were cautioned that there was grave danger of an unprecedented flood. By October 6, Sitapur was in the throes of a deluge and Lucknow was told that the wayward river would rise up to 3½ feet above the highest flood level, 368.5", which was reached in 1923.

Factional Battle

But the incapacitated and politics-ridden administration of the State was busy in fighting the factional battle. The leaders of both hues—the ministerialists and the dissidents—had no time or the inclination to be bothered about things which had no bearing on their petty play at power-politics.

And the river continued to swell and swirl, breaching the protective Butler bund, inundating the outlying villages as well as locality after locality of the city. Before long three-fourths of Lucknow was under water and half of it was laid literally low. Whole localities were under six to eight feet under water, at least a lakh had to flee their hearths and homes to save themselves, thousands were marooned over their roofs, or trees, or even on bridges. All the four bridges which link the city with the other side had to be declared unserviceable and in danger. A number of villages were washed away. The Arts College, the University, the Central Drug Research Institute, the National Botanical Garden, the zoo—all these were submerged under water. Boats piled in aristocratic residential areas and in the fashionable shopping centre in Hazratganj.

Even up till today the authority pretends ignorance of the toll of life taken by the angered river, but a number of dead bodies have been found, and people say that at least fifty persons have been washed away and lost in the city alone.

Ultimately, when the administration's failure became patent to everybody, the army took over the protection and rescue work of the whole city. But before it could proceed to do so, it is said that it had to tear up the phoney plans the administration had prepared for this work. People are full of admiration for the efficient work done by our jawans.

Only very late, when the master of factional warfare, C. B. Gupta had organised an utterly unrepresentative and uninspiring relief committee of some of his cronies under the name of a Citizens' Committee and had spread out his tentacles all over the city, did two of them, Sampurnanand and All Zabeer, bestir themselves and make some aerial flights or jeep rounds in some of the affected areas.

VIPs Corner Boats

After this the administration's further contribution, was to corner as many of the

resources as possible for the service of the VIPs. Thousands of people were marooned in dangerous places, but the few boats that were there were being used for shifting the officers and others with positions and connections from places of safety to places of greater safety! School children and students were trapped by the sudden onrush of the waters into their schools or hostels and were crying to be rescued, but the boats, with policemen on them were being piled to move the luggage and domestic goods of the civilian bosses!

Boats and trucks were removing the lucky ones from their fashionable residences, but their servants and the poorer people roundabout the places were being left hanging on their housetops! Even when the boats were empty these ordinary people were not allowed to come in them. Any number of such eye-witness stories are being told by the angry people.

Once, during his Press Conference when this was put to the Chief Secretary, he lost his temper and called it a "sinister and mischievous" insinuation. Since then the

THE GOMATI INVADED LUCKNOW

National Herald and the city-zens have published several concrete examples of such preferential treatment in rescue work and the Chief Secretary has perhaps considered it more advisable to keep quiet.

The Congress leaders of the city and the State behaved no better. The ministerialists were stunned by their defeat in the Pradesh Congress elections and either rushed off to Delhi to lobby their High Command or lay sulking in their dens and thinking of new moves in their disgusting fratricidal war. They have more or less been completely out of the picture in the rescue or relief work, specially the Ministers.

Ministerial Inactivity

The damage to the city and the adjoining areas is estimated very roughly in the neighbourhood of Rs. seven crores and Lucknow, though rich in culture and humane tradition, is not a rich city. Its condition can therefore be imagined. Large parts of the city will have to be rebuilt, and above all, tremendous effort will be needed to rehabilitate the uprooted people, tens of thousands of whom have lost their all. There is naturally a demand for all these. But there is also a demand for a thorough enquiry into the negligent, callous and the partisan behaviour of the administration. The two are not without a link.

imagination of the people and to wipe out whatever little influence the ministerialists still possessed in the capital. He had no scruples in using even the floods and the consequential misery of the people as pawns in his game. And only a realisation of this broke the stupor of the Ministers and they, too, turned out for a few well publicised jaunts. The whole thing has been shameful beyond words. It has only revealed the depths to which these people have fallen.

Looking at the work the Jan Sangh was doing in the name of relief, one would have got the impression that they were fighting some local election with all the paraphernalia of their flags, arm bands, bhagya caps, and so on.

The PSP, too, paralysed by its internal squabbles, and its leaders like Triloki Singh, too upset by Gupta's return to the city's active political life, hardly moved to do any work. They announced they were working through the Sarvodaya Samaj, but precious little is known of the work they did through this unknown body. Of course, when things had somewhat eased Triloki Singh came out with a few statements in the Press blaming the administration and attacking his sworn foe, C. B. Gupta!

People's Own Initiative

Under the circumstances, apart from the yeoman work of the army, it was the people's own massive initiative and drive that helped to save them. While the misery and travail of the city brought out the worst of the political traders in people's suffering, they also brought to light the inexhaustible resourcefulness, courage and organising capacity of the common men and women.

It is only the small bands of dedicated Communists who tried to serve the people quietly and unostentatiously in whatever way they could. It is admitted by their worst foes that their contribution has not been inconsiderable.

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KHRUSHCHOV REPORTS ON U.N. MISSION

★ by cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, October 25

Those Western officials who heaved a sigh of relief at Khrushchov's departure from the United Nations and thought the storm had blown over and everything would go on as before are again gravely mistaken. The storm only heralded the beginning of change, the sands of time run out for the old imperialist world, run out fast as a majority of the human race claims a voice in the comity of nations. The interests of this majority cannot be ignored any longer, the old clique of imperialist Powers is powerless to carry out its old policy of diktat "as before". Nothing is going to be the same again.

THE majority consists of neutrals and the Socialist world but as far as the two cardinal issues of the day are concerned there cannot be any neutrals. These are the problems of disarmament and abolition of colonialism or in other words, the issue of peace and freedom for all. Here the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America unite more and more with the Socialist world and it is this growing unity which is the harbinger of a new world and a guarantee for the future of human race.

Pravda yesterday in its "Review of World Affairs" declared, "Disarmament's opponents and colonialism's advocates in the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Portugal, Netherlands and other imperialist States have found themselves in a fix. It is becoming harder for them to hoodwink the people. But the American colonialists who are pretending to be 'friends' of Afro-

Asian and Latin American peoples are in the worst fix of all. The Soviet-proposed declaration of granting independence to the colonial countries has got them cornered. The people are demanding a clear-cut reply from them. How long, they want to know, is the USA—while holding forth on 'freedom', 'progress', and so on—going to act as thegendarme against the Eastern peoples and help its Nato partners to suppress the national liberation by fire and sword?"

Million Dollar Question

Yes, this is a million dollar question which has to be answered and here no amount of pre-election demagoguery on the part of the two Presidential candidates or cunning offers of aid and subsistence are going to be of any avail. The U. S. imperialists cannot have it both ways. On the one side, they agree to a discussion of the colonial problem when driven into a tight corner; on the other hand, Vice-President Nixon sends a message to Salazar of Portugal announcing his support of the Portuguese Government's view that the overseas territories are not subject to discussion in the U. N. as Portugal is their legitimate owner.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has definitely mentioned Goa as one of the territories to be freed immediately as soon as the proposed declaration is adopted. For us Indians there is one more proof in this as to who is our true friend.

The other key question of the day is full and complete disarmament and what is the reply of the Western rulers to the Soviet proposals? The U.S. Presidential candidates are vying with each other in propagating the arms race and plans are afoot for conversion of Nato into the "Fourth Nuclear Power".

Khrushchov's speech last Friday, October 20, at the mass rally in Moscow has reverberated many times round the world already. The Soviet Premier was given a tumultuous ovation and the mass meeting of working people of Moscow at the Sports Palace was another brilliant demonstration of the countrywide support to the Soviet Government's policy of peace, friendship and cooperation.

Millions listened to Khrushchov's speech on the radio and watched the rally on the television. The Soviet Premier gave a detailed, full and frank report to the country on his recent mission to the United Nations, surveyed the

international scene and gave a deep far-reaching analysis of the changes in the world since the inception of the United Nations Organisation.

A number of Socialist States have emerged and rapidly gained in strength and demonstrated their superiority over the capitalist system. The colonial world also has undergone tremendous changes during this period. All these great changes taking place in the world cannot be ignored, "a reappraisal of values, a new approach to the solution of highly important world problems is required now."

By what right could Britain be considered a great nation today and India not considered a great nation? In the bygone days one who had the big stick was considered 'great' but Britain had long ceased to be the workshop of the world and the chief maritime Power. Why was France regarded as a great nation and Indonesia not? Why were India and Indonesia put in a different position from that of Britain and France at the United Nations and why, for instance, were they not permanent members of the Security Council, Khrushchov asked.

People's China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Burma and other States of Asia and many African States play an increasingly greater role in the world affairs. Big changes have taken place in Africa and those who are not yet free, fight for their freedom and shall win it. But the imperialist Powers want to retain their predominant position in the U. N. at any cost although history has deprived them of this right and such opportunities. Their economic superiority is being lost and their former military superiority on which they based their policy of strength had also disappeared.

Principle Of Unanimity

Khrushchov warned that if the principle of unanimity was not adhered to and the Security Council was bypassed to settle issues by mechanical majority in the General Assembly, the United Nations itself might push the world into war. He demanded that the organisational structure of the United Nations must now be arranged so as to place the three groups of States, namely Socialist, imperialist and neutralist on an equal footing for solution of the international problems on which the issue of peace or war mainly depends. For this purpose the structure of the Security Council and the Executive bodies of the U. N. and its Secretariat has to be changed.

If a one-sided policy is followed in the U. N. and the interests of the three groups of States are disregarded, the United Nations will kill itself and its decisions will not be

respected by all the States. Such a situation can carry international tension to the extreme and a conflagration might flare up from even an accidental spark, the Soviet Premier warned.

He referred to reports that the Pentagon was planning to send to Soviet shores submarines armed with missiles and nuclear weapons, as it had sent the U-2 and RB-47 planes. He warned they would meet with a similar fate and announced that the Soviet Union had atom-powered submarines armed with rockets.

The question of Germany, Khrushchov said, must be settled in 1961. Common sense must prevail and it is necessary to sign a peace treaty.

War And Peace

Dealing with the question of war and peace Khrushchov declared, "We are convinced that mankind will not perish in the event of new war. It will only cast off finally and resolutely the decayed capitalist system which breeds wars. The question arises however, need victory of the new be achieved at such a terrible price? Must the establishment of the new system on ruins of the old be paid for by the blood of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people? Is there no other way?"

And he answered that there was another way. It is possible to create such conditions which would preclude the possibility of wars waged for the sake of enrichment of some countries at the expense of others. Marxist-Leninists see such a possibility.

"Liquidation of the capitalist system is the key question of development of society. But only adventurers can think that a change of the social system can be achieved by unleashing war among the States."

He said it was difficult to achieve peace and disarmament but war, should it break out, would be even harder for the peoples. "Should we Communists retreat in face of these difficulties and consequently follow in the footsteps of those imperialist forces which stand for continuation of the arms race which if continued will lead to war, or should we spare no effort to create a dam, a barrier to such a course of events? We are against fatalism, against inactivity in questions of war and peace," Khrushchov declared amidst applause.

"Some might say that if our forces are not smaller but even greater than those of our enemies why should not we decide the issue by war? Why not accelerate the course of history? But history is not a horse, it cannot be driven with a whip. Force is unnecessary to spread the ideas of Socialism among the masses. The power of example is a great power," Khrushchov declared.

He invited the Western Powers to propose their amendments to the Soviet proposals on disarmament or their comprehensive proposals if they don't like the Soviet proposals just because they were Soviet. The copyright was not important, what matters is to reach agreement on disarmament which would relieve mankind of the danger of a catastrophic world war.

Khrushchov declared that cardinal basic questions concerning disarmament could not be solved without participation of Heads of Government and repeated his suggestion that in March or April next year an extraordinary session of the U. N. General Assembly be called to consider this problem. Later the fifteen nation committee proposed by the Soviet Union could continue the work in a closer circle.

"We are against procrastinations," declared Khrushchov.

Colonial Question

The Soviet Prime Minister devoted considerable time to the colonial question and liquidation of all colonies. He declared that freedom-loving peoples had scored a great victory as the question of abolition of colonialism raised by the Soviet Union had been included in the agenda of the Plenary Session of the U. N. This represented great moral satisfaction for the Soviet Union.

But he warned that this had not settled the issue. The imperialists had plundered, wanted to continue their plunder and now argued that people of the colonies were not yet ready for freedom. In answer to this he quoted an African leader as saying, "If you want to be sure that man can walk then first break the chains that fetter him".

Khrushchov paid tributes to the heroic struggle of the Algerian people for independence. "Our sympathies and support are on the side of the Algerian people who are waging a just war for their liberation." This was followed by stormy applause. "If the French do not give up their attempts to retain Algeria by force as their colony they will lose it as the result of a military defeat which is inevitable," Khrushchov said. He later declared, "There are different wars. We are against rapacious imperialist wars, but we recognise and support just wars of people's liberation since colonialists never withdraw of their own free will."

BRANDED

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

have tried to defend these policies of opposition to disarmament, perpetuation of colonialism, etc.

But no, the Times of India hastens to add that it had supported Khrushchov's disarmament proposal. Still it has to defend the West. Hence its personal abuse of Khrushchov.

The editorial talks of the U. N. being "relieved" of "Mr. Khrushchov's provocative presence," of "a level in which political billingsgate sets the tone and there are no limits to the crudities and vulgarities of uninhibited buffoonery."

This is not the language of the champions of the "freedom of the Press", it is the language of the yellowest of the yellow in the gutter Press. The Times of India would have been the first to condemn it as such if these were words from another paper and if the State leader involved was not Khrushchov but had belonged to its "free world".

The Times of India then should not lament that it has been advised by the Prime Minister to "stew in its own juice". One who receives the thirty pieces of silver should not be shy of taking the brand of traitor along with it.

The Times of India should in fact feel slightly relieved that it has been let off so lightly. In neighbouring Ceylon, the Times of India's friends are facing rougher weather for similar crimes against national interests.

—RAHDASS

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