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Hiroshima Calls: Act Together

For Disarmament

Hiroshima Day... August 6... Nagasaki... August 9... commemorated every year... to remind us of the lakhs of Japanese who were killed by the first atom bombs used in war...

It is no use merely being "reminded". It is necessary to be roused to a righteous anger, to an unswerving determination, to act and not stop acting — till the threat of nuclear war has been banished for all time.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki — for all their horror — pale into com-

plete insignificance before the spectre of nuclear holocaust which hovers over all mankind today.

The well-known American scientist Dr. Linus Pauling has calculated that 800 millions would be victims of a nuclear war, once started in the circumstances of today. Eight hundred

millions! Eighty crores! How far we have "progressed" from the days of Hiroshima's two-and-a-half lakh dead!

Do you know the power of the world's stockpiles of nuclear weapons? Scientists say it is equal to twelve and a half million bombs of the kind dropped on Hiroshima. How far we have "progressed" since Hiroshima!

The "nuclear death potential" — the amount of nuclear power stored up in the bombs which already exist — is equal to 80 tons of TNT for every man and child on this earth — enough to blow each one of us many, many times over into little pieces of flesh and bone. How far we have "progressed" since Hiroshima!

The seed of Hiroshima has sprouted into a dragon, which menaces all mankind with devastation. That is why today

the movement for general and complete disarmament is becoming the first and foremost duty of all the peace forces, of all organisations and groups, standing for peace in every continent, in every country. As Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov said in his address to the World

Congress for General Disarmament and Peace last month.

"Disarmament is the compelling need of our time."

For India, disarmament is urgent and necessary for the same reasons as for the rest of the world and equally for reasons peculiar to our own national conditions. It was those special reasons which were stressed in the joint statement of the Indian delegation to the Moscow Congress, read out on the opening day by Smt. Rameshwari Nehru:

"For the Indian people, the yearning for disarmament and

peace is in a way, part of our very lives. Many of our great philosophers, our men of religion, our statesmen, our writers from the ages past, have... preached peace as the most supreme necessity for all mankind. Our own struggle for national independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was inextricably linked with the struggle against war and the makers of war.

"And today the peace policy of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Government of India reflects the dearest aspira-

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by
Romesh Chandra

Dange Outlines AITUC Policy: Question Of Work Stoppages

In a communication dated July 31, S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC has outlined the AITUC's views on the Union Labour Minister's proposals for minimising work stoppages.

In his letter dated July 9, G. L. Nanda, the Union Labour Minister, had stated: "I am most anxious to minimise work-stoppages. During the Budget debate last month, I informed the Parliament that I would like the time loss owing to strikes and lock-outs to be reduced to half its present figure, if not less than even that, by the end of the Third Plan.

"I am often told that workers are compelled to take direct action because their grievances are not redressed promptly or that justice is not done to them. To remove this complaint I advised the workers recently in a meeting of Indian National Trade Union Congress, that should they find that they have tried without success all means at their disposal, to get their grievances redressed and are driven to direct action as a last resort, they should, before doing so, get in touch with the concerned Labour Minister and inform him, telegraphically, if necessary that they should be considered on strike. I have written to my colleagues in the States to treat such an intimation as an S.O.S. and ensure that immediate steps are taken to look into the complaint and avert the work-stoppage.

"I shall be grateful if you will kindly advise all your affiliates not to resort to work-stoppages unless they have sent intimation, to the concerned Labour Minister, of their being treated on strike. It must however be clarified

to the unions that this S.O.S. should be sent only after exhausting all existing avenues of settlement of disputes. After this intimation is sent, reasonable time should be given to the Labour Department to take necessary action. Copies of the S.O.S. should, in all cases, be endorsed to the concerned management and the Central Employers' Organisation of which the management is member.

I shall be grateful for your cooperation in this regard and shall be glad to hear from you the action taken in the matter.

In his reply dated July 31, S. A. Dange wrote to the Union Labour Minister:

Your d.o. letter No. 20/12/62-IE of 9th July regarding your ideas of reducing work-stoppages.

As it is, no union goes on strike without notice to the employer and the Government, except in cases where there is strong provocation due to beatings, sudden dismissals of a victimising character, etc. The Indian worker has long given up the practice of going on strikes without notice, which justifiably prevailed in the pre-independence days.

Your suggestion of giving notice to the Labour Ministers concerned is also being practised. Not only that I know from our experience in the AITUC that they even send notices and grievances for your attention also. Our innumerable consultations with you on the disputes in mines and other factories whose record is quite large, will bear me out.

What is then new in your

suggestions? The new is that you wish the workers to send not merely a notice but what you call an S.O.S. The new terms certainly emphasise the urgency of the matter. But we know that the most heart-rending appeals by workers have many a time remained unresponded. It is well-known that some Labour Ministers, at least, consider it a matter of "principle" on their part not to heed to complaints by AITUC unions particularly. I need not mention their names in this letter. Even then, the AITUC will have no objection to sending S.O.S.

The other new point and one which is most important is that you want the workers to inform that "they should be considered on strike." It means that they do not actually go on strike but consider themselves to be so.

What advantage it gives to the workers, I cannot say. Knowing as we do the employers—public or private—they would not mind the workers considering themselves on strike, provided they come and work.

There is, no doubt, some novelty in this suggestion also. But I am not yet clear about its implications. There is some limit of time in giving a notice, but there would be none in the S.O.S. and the "philosophical strike" (pardon me the term) following from it.

With all this, I am quite agreeable to the S.O.S. provided it does not act as another element in prolonging the long processes involved in the settlement of disputes. It should also be made clear that this "notional" strike does not become another part of the Code and does not create any legal complications for the actual strike, if it follows the S.O.S.

I feel it would be better to have the matter discussed further, if you feel like it.

POWER CRISIS IN DELHI

From M. Farooqi

Delhi, August 1. Delhi has become notorious for its "break downs" — particularly of essential services like water and electricity. The nearly three million population of Delhi is all the time faced with this or that break down. Currently we are passing through a serious crisis arising out of a power break-down.

It began on July 26. One of the three transformers at the sub-station on Rohtak Road in Delhi, which supplies Nangal power to Delhi, got seriously damaged. It cannot be repaired for another three to four weeks and till then the people of Delhi must bear the hardship.

The present power break down has adversely affected the working of factories, offices, hotels and restaurants, cinema houses and many other establishments. There are a large number of piece-time workers in the factories. Naturally they will be hard hit by the present power breakdown. At various places, working shifts have been staggered to cope with the power-shedding schedule.

We are given to understand that the damaged transformer cannot be easily repaired and to get another takes time. So, it is argued, what can those persons responsible for running the sub-station do?

The question that naturally arises is: Why did they not make any stand-by arrangement for such emergencies? It is a scandalous state of affairs that in the capital city of India there is no such stand-by arrangement.

It is a sad commentary on the working of the Government of India which is supposed to be directly responsible for the affairs of Delhi as well as the working of the Delhi Electricity Supply

Undertaking and the Electricity Committee of the Corporation.

How did the present situation arise? And who are the persons responsible for it?

The total power supply in Delhi at present is 92,000 KW. Out of this, 48,000 KW is supplied by the Punjab Electricity Board from Nangal Hydro-electric project.

The Rohtak Road sub-station is controlled entirely by the Punjab authorities. The rest of the power is generated at the thermal plants of the Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking run by the Municipal Corporation.

The Rohtak Road sub-station which takes power from Nangal, has three transformers. One of these got burnt last year. It was neither replaced nor repaired.

We are now told that the Punjab Government, which is responsible for the sub-station in Delhi, applied for an import licence. But it was not sanctioned by the Government of India till July 26 last i.e., till the day the second transformer was damaged!

It is, therefore, quite clear that bureaucratic red-tape and callousness in one of the departments of the Government of India have mainly contributed to the present crisis.

If we look into the question in

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NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

CUT EXTRAVAGANCE, NOT THE PLAN

Editorial

Is there no way to avoid the heavy burdens of taxation other than reducing the size of the Five-Year Plan? The answer unanimously given by the leaders of the Congress party is 'no'. To the voices of the various Chief Ministers like Pratap Singh Kairon of Punjab and C. B. Gupta of U.P. who are out campaigning among the people in favour of their taxation measures has now been added the voice of the Prime Minister himself. People should work hard and bear burdens, so that a bright future may be built—such is the refrain of some of his recent speeches.

Verbal arguments to this effect have now been further reinforced and strengthened by action at least in one State. The Rajasthan Government is reported to have decided to slash its Third Plan outlay by as much as Rs. 51 crores. The reason given is that the original plan of Rs. 235 crores had made it obligatory on the State Government to raise Rs. 80.02 crores from its own resources. Closer scrutiny of the financial position of the State, it appears, has revealed that the State cannot raise more than Rs. 50 crores. Hence the decision to cut the Plan.

While resolutely opposing the policy of imposing heavy burdens of taxation, pursued by Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and other State Governments, democratic public opinion will equally oppose the line which appears to have been adopted in Rajasthan. For, State and Central Governments have before them ways and means of finding the resources for the Plan without levying such heavy burdens of taxation as are now being imposed on the common people.

The Convention of the representatives of opposition parties in Punjab, for example, pointed out in their resolution that there are possibilities of considerable reduction in unnecessary and wasteful expenditure. The Committee appointed to examine the problems of economy and resources in the State of Punjab have suggested measures which, if accepted, would lead to the saving of several crores of rupees. In U.P. too, sections within the Congress Legislature Party, including former Ministers like Mohanlal Gautam, are reported to have pointed their accusing fingers against wasteful expenditure.

The question is: Will the leaders of the ruling party from the Prime Minister downwards seriously examine this question and see that not a single rupee is wasted?

The Congress had raised its voice of protest against the top-heavy system of administration in pre-independence years. 'A cheap and efficient administration' was one of the key demands which it had made on the then British Government. After independence, however, its leaders, who became the new rulers of the country, abandoned that principle and started making the administration still more top-heavy. Abandoning as they themselves did the old ideal of simple living, they could not make any serious effort to economise on administration.

The same is true of construction and other items of developmental expenditure. Here too, the ideal of cheapness and economy has been given the go-by. Contractors and other vested interests through whom a major part of the developmental expenditure is being incurred are allowed to make big money out of the developmental plans for whose implementation the common people are asked to bear huge burdens of taxation.

There is extravagance and waste even in the items of developmental activity that are selected. There are any number of schemes which though necessary for the all-round development of the nation, can well wait till better times. There are other schemes whose inherent value itself is doubtful. Several crores of rupees are either spent out of the public exchequer, or lost to its revenues, on account of Village Industries, Prohibition, etc.

A serious examination of all these aspects of the Central and State finances is urgently called for. It can well yield substantial results. If it is seriously pursued, it can obviate the need for fresh taxation to the extent of several crores of rupees every year. This, however, has not been done because the ruling party is not prepared to displease those vested interests who stand to lose by it. On the other hand, they hope that they can, with impunity, tax the common people.

It is against this callousness towards the common people, combined with extravagant public expenditure, that people are protesting. They demand drastic cuts in governmental extravagance, not in the size of the Plan.

Economic Notes

By ESSEN

Aid India Club And E.C.M. Seesaw

WHEN the Finance Minister Morarji Desai told his first ever press conference in New Delhi last week that the 220 million dollar gap in Aid India Club's assistance for the Second Year of the Third Plan would be more or less bridged it was thought, and rightly too, that he was being optimistic.

For, in spite of some Western professions to the contrary, the Aid Consortium's ardour to help India was distinctly cooling off. The heat generated during the UN debate on Kashmir, and the MIG deal, had undermined whatever goodwill the Club members were supposed to have for India. In fact, the country and the Government, had almost begun to reconcile themselves to a position in which the Western aid would at best be a trickle. If in such a setting Morarji had taken it into his head to strike a different note, he was certainly not being realistic.

This, however, was the state of affairs on July 26, when the Finance Minister made his statement. Five days later, with the Aid Club countries promising to make good about 205 million dollars, out of the required 220 million, things seem to have vastly changed.

Desai looks like proving correct, and all the soothsayers, and "prophets of gloom", seem to have foundered badly in their prognoses. How did such a change come about? Did the Consortium countries, which had so long been sceptical about India's trustworthiness as the right type of "a horse to be backed" suddenly change their opinion, or were they suddenly actuated by some altruistic motive to render for once some disinterested aid?

Selfish Motives

Familiar as our people are with the selfish motivations of the Western Governments, they would obviously not be taken in by the second explanation, nor, for that matter, have any of these aid giving countries themselves tried to conceal the aims they seek to pursue through their aid. An official explanation of the West German view of such aid links it with the "expectation that, in the international sphere, the receiving countries should lend their support to the Federal Republic's demand for the right of self-determination of the German people as a whole", an euphemism of the West German Government for its revanchist designs against the peace-loving German Democratic Republic. The US Government, the leading member of the Consortium, has time and again given expression to its aid being only an instrument in furthering the objectives of its foreign policy. In fact, the tussle in the US between the so-called die-hards and liberals is not on giving aid altruistically, or with ulterior

motives to quote Walter Lipmann, but is on the narrower plane of an outright purchase of a horse with it or only putting a 'bet' on a suitable mare.

Such being the motivations of the two leading members of the consortium, neither they, nor their other colleagues, can be expected to have decided to open their purse strings without having received some reassurances. This is also confirmed by the Finance Minister's statement at the Press Conference that his visit to Europe was "in the nature of additional persuasion while the US and the World Bank efforts had continued all the same". Obviously, this "additional persuasion" was not merely a moral exhortation, because of such exhortation there has never been a dearth. It must have been something more reassuring, which made them reassess India and her leaders. What exactly it was only Morarji can tell. What the country needs to be assured of, however, is that it was not something alien to her professed policies, or derogatory to her honour.

Aid Without Strings—Welcome

We welcome aid from wherever it comes, so long as it is free from any overt or covert strings, and our people have the right to decide about its proper use. The Western aid so far has not strictly qualified this test, nor can it do so by its very nature. After all, the monopolist purveyors of this aid are no philanthropists, nor are they socialists who would see in the well-being of other peoples the common good of all mankind. And yet, our Government has continued to canvass for such aid, and accept it whenever it has been forthcoming. Of late, however, it had shown a certain awareness of the dangers of such aid, for the aid-givers themselves had minced no words in making their aims explicit. The debates on the Aid Bill in the US Congress, the abrupt suspension of the earlier Consortium meeting, and the hell raised on the MIG affair, all these indicated a new "toughening" of the Western attitude, and these obviously had their reverberations in New Delhi. But now it seems the tide has turned, and all because of Morarji's "additional persuasion". Hence the need to unravel the mysterious nature of this "persuasion", and the man, but is on the narrower

implications it has for our country's interests.

If Morarji's mission has attained some "success" in respect of aid, the same cannot be said about his efforts in Europe to seek accommodation for India's export trade in the European Common Market. At least the pointers so far have not been encouraging. The UK, which was expected to be the principal purchaser of India's viewpoint in the councils of the ECM, has itself been practically shut out unless it chooses to come in at the EEC's terms. According to one negotiator at the ECM headquarters at Brussels, the "Community" has "made it clear to the British in no uncertain terms that (it) cannot allow British entry to undermine the spirit and mechanism of the Common Market". This was done in respect of Britain's seeking some safeguards for the Commonwealth temperate zone foodstuffs. If even these commodities, exported by the Commonwealth's white dominions, and not so important so far in the EEC's own production, have evoked such a reaction, the hostility which India's textiles and engineering goods will encounter can be well imagined.

Morarji's Hope

Morarji held out hopes of an increasing export trade with the enlarged EEC, but he had himself castigated the developed countries, forming the EEC, at the Geneva meeting of the Economic and Social Council for "subsidising the domestic manufacture of simpler products in which the less-developed countries enjoy a comparative advantage". How does he then expect these very countries, with their "close shop" approach, to help India increase her exports?

The true character of the ECM, as the economic counterpart of the imperialists' grand alliance, has again and again been brought home to our people. Such alliances cannot be broken through supplications or fond hopes. Nor can they be made to yield through the agency of a power, which itself is only too eager to join it. The only way to break it is to join with similarly afflicted countries, and with socialist countries, which do not insulate their developing economies against trade with the rest of the world.

July 31, 1962

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COMMON MARKET

What It Is

With a Foreword by
S. A. DANGE

Price: Rs. 3.00

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.

Today is July 31. Three years ago this day, the President of the Indian Union, on the advice of his Council of Ministers, dismissed the elected Government of Kerala and himself assumed the administration of the State.

THE Government that was thus dismissed had the full constitutional right to continue for two-and-a-half years more. For, it enjoyed the confidence of the Legislature. It was against the letter and spirit of the Constitution for the Central Government to intervene in the affairs of the State in such a manner.

In view of the fact that the State Government that was thus dismissed by the Centre was headed by a party different from the party heading the Central Government, the action of the Centre was all the more questionable.

There was, however, an ostensibly 'democratic' justification for this action: the dismissal of the then Government was immediately going to be followed by an appeal to the electorate.

Even this had no constitutional justification. For, the Constitution lays down that a Legislature once elected has a life of five years and that a Council of Ministers which enjoys the confidence of the Legislature has the right to continue for the full term of the Legislature. This constitutional provision was violated on the ground that the so-called "mass upsurge" against the then Communist-led Government raised certain doubts as to whether the Government which undoubtedly enjoyed the confidence of the Legislature had the support of the people. This doubt, it was said, should be removed by a fresh appeal to the electorate.

Democratic Pose Given Up

Even this ostensibly democratic pose is now given up by a section of those who had then stood in the forefront of the 'liberation struggle'. There is, for example, the Mathrubhooni, one of the leading daily papers in the State, which was vociferous in the demand for the dismissal of the Communist-led Government. It is today as vehement in its demand that the present coalition Government should be dismissed and President's rule established.

Furthermore, that paper is clear that the dismissal of the present Government should not be followed by another appeal to the electorate. In its place, the paper makes two alternative suggestions: (a) a slight amendment to the Constitution enabling the placing of the administration of Kerala directly under the President for a fairly long period, say, 10 years; (b) making a still more fundamental amendment of the Constitution in order to abolish the principle of provincial autonomy and make India a completely unitary State.

This particular paper and those who agree with its view in this respect have thus taken a big step further in the direction they took three years ago.

They had then demanded the dismissal of a particular Government headed by a particular party. Today, however, they demand the abolition of the very institution of elected Government for the State.

The 'progress' which they

have thus made away from Parliamentary democracy is a measure of the intense crisis of their policy. They then wanted the dismissal of the then Government of the State which happened to be headed by a party which they hate. The present Government is sought to be dismissed not because they are disgusted with its inefficiency and corruption. They are also cynical of anything good coming out of a change in the personnel of the Ministers.

At the same time, they are afraid of another appeal to the electorate, since the result is likely to be the restoration of that very party which they hate to the utmost. The only way in which they can get rid of the present team of Ministers, and at the same time

prevent the coming to power of that very party against whose Government they organised the 'liberation struggle' three years ago, is to abolish the very institution of parliamentary democracy.

The 29 months and more of the coalition Government, which was installed after the 'liberation struggle', have made its most ardent supporters desperate. The ranks of those who are prepared to defend the coalition Ministry are steadily dwindling. There are some among them who think that the replacement of the coalition by a single-party-Congress Ministry will overcome the difficulties which they are facing now. Among those who hold such a view are the majority of Congress MLAs who have clearly expressed themselves in favour of ending the coalition and installing a Congress Ministry. There are, however, others who want the coalition to continue, but do not know how it can be made to function smoothly and without difficulty.

Shastri's Visit

It was under such circumstances that Central Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, one of the architects of the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance which gave birth to the present coalition Ministry, visited the State. He remained in the State for no less than four days in the first half of July, met all sorts of people there, and worked out what has come to be known as the 'Shastri formula' which is expected to save the coalition from the state of crisis in which it finds itself today.

Shastri used all his powers of persuasion to convince Congressmen that ending the coalition and forming a single-party Congress Ministry will create far more problems than the continuance of the Ministry. He appreciated the extremely difficult straits to which the Congress MLAs and Ministers had been reduced because of the existence of a Ministry headed by the leader of the PSP who is temperamentally incapable of functioning the Ministry in a team. He, however, warned them that throwing the PSP out of the Ministry will create far many new and more difficult problems which it will be difficult to solve. He, therefore, advised them to patiently try to work out certain proposals which he placed before them in order to bring about a relatively smooth functioning of the coalition Ministry. The future of the coalition is as difficult a problem for the PSP as for the Congress. It finds it difficult to continue in the coalition on the terms which are sought to be imposed by the Congress: the terms are humiliating to the PSP, as was pointed out by

Those who are familiar with the actual state of affairs in the Kerala Congress, however, know that it is living in a fool's paradise to entertain such hopes. For, the moment the coalition is broken and decision taken to form a single party Congress Ministry, quarrels will start for the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party and on the composition of the Ministry. Far from realising the hope that the Congress Legislature Party will become stronger by the accession of new members from the Praja Socialist Party, it will be difficult even to keep all the present Congress MLAs within the Congress Legislature Party. The days of a purely Congress Ministry (if it gets formed) will therefore be numbered. The entire struggle within the Congress Legislature Party will then become as furious as the struggle between the Congress and the PSP within the Coalition today. As for the corruption

ing rise to another political crisis in their party. Still another solution suggested informally is to persuade Pattom Thanu Pillai to accept some other offer, such as the Governorship of a State or some ambassadorial post, etc. The advantage of this proposal, it is said, will be that the replacement of the coalition by a single party Congress Government will be made with his concurrence, but without saddling the Congress Ministry with the embarrassment of his being the leader of the team. It will not alienate that section of the Congress Legislature Party which is so disgusted with his ways of functioning; at the same time, it will keep his supporters contented. This again is recognised by a large number of people who know the real state of affairs, as a solution which will lead the State nowhere. For, even the concurrence of the PSP leader and the consequent absence of any serious opposition from the major section of the PSP will not obviate the innumerable difficulties which, as was mentioned above, the Congress Legislature Party will then be faced with.

Federation Of Castes & Groups

One of the most important factors in the State politics, to be noted in this connection, is the fact that the Congress here is virtually a federation of caste and communal groups. Such politically active caste and communal organisations as the Nair Service Society, Catholic Congress, the SNDP, etc. have all of them got their spokesmen and representatives inside the Congress. Rare indeed is the case of a Congress leader who is free from the pressure exerted by these caste and communal organisations and groups. Day-to-day problems, which the Ministry has to tackle, are all considered by different groups, and individuals inside the Congress organisation not on their merits or from the national point of view, but from the point of view of how to serve the particular interests of this or that caste and community.

Make Pattom Join Congress!

Another suggestion made to resolve the crisis is to persuade the PSP Chief Minister to join the Congress and function as the head of a single-party-Congress Ministry. Such a step, it is pointed out, will have all the advantages of a Congress Ministry but will prevent the possibility of a serious split in the ranks of those who are in the coalition today. It is reported that Central Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri is himself working towards this.

This, however, will not appeal to any considerable section of the supporters of the coalition in general and to Congressmen in particular. They point out that it does not matter whether Pattom Thanu Pillai is a Congressman or a Praja Socialist. What matters is that he is personally incapable of functioning in a team and lead it in such a way as to inspire confidence in his colleagues. The result will be that, when he becomes the Congress Chief Minister, which he was in 1948, the internal crisis of the Congress Legislature Party will become still more acute, still more fierce. The possibility cannot be ruled out that, being forced to work under him as Congress Chief Minister, some of the other Ministers and quite a few of the Congress MLAs would become so disgusted as to leave the Congress Party, thus giving

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Not Disappointed?

THE final outcome of the 'Aid India Club' meeting, held on July 30, was not such as to fulfil the hope expressed by Finance Minister Morarji Desai that India's requirement of foreign assistance will be fully met.

Even after the new members who joined the 'Club'—Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria—made their contributions which are by no means small, there is still a deficit of 130 million dollars. The reason for such a deficit is stated to be the failure of Britain to play the part which was expected of her. Her contribution is less than even West Germany's.

'Official circles' in Delhi are, however, reported to be 'not disappointed'. They think that the declarations made at July 30 meeting by various members are not the last word. Many of them may raise their contributions further; if they do so, the United States, in her turn, would make an equal contribution. There is, therefore, still room for hope that the deficit may, in the end, be wiped out.

Whether the hope thus entertained in Delhi 'official circles' is fulfilled or not, it will be dangerous to adopt a complacent attitude to the foreign exchange question. After all, the negotiations recently conducted by the Finance Minister and the present meeting of the 'Aid India Club' were limited to that part of the foreign assistance which is required for the current year. The same problem will come up next year and in subsequent years. The negotiations that were undertaken this year will, therefore, become an annual feature.

The hope expressed in the beginning was that assistance of such magnitudes would not be required in the subsequent years of the Third Five-Year Plan. The developmental activities undertaken during the previous Plans and in the first two years of the Third Plan would, it was hoped, enable the Government to cut imports and expand exports to such an extent that the foreign exchange situation would by then have eased.

It has now become clear that these calculations are highly exaggerated. Provisional figures pertaining to the first six months of the current year show that there has been an actual fall in the value of our exports as compared to the corresponding period of last year. It will be extremely difficult to reach the target of exports during the year.

Nor are the prospects for the coming years much brighter. For, as we know, the market competition in the capitalist world is becoming more and more fierce and our exports will be seriously affected by it.

It is thus becoming clear that, even supposing that the full requirement of foreign assistance for the current year is fully met, as appears to be still hoped in 'official circles', the foreign exchange situation is such as should cause serious concern. There is no use of covering up the weaknesses that have been revealed. What is required is to see the problem in its full seriousness and to take bold and effective measures to overcome the difficulties.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Another All-India Service!

ANNUAL Conferences, Seminars, and other forums to exchange views on the various developmental activities in the country have become routine affairs. Every day we hear about some such body having been inaugurated or about the discussions in them. But there is very little in their deliberations which is inspiring.

The annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayat Raj inaugurated in Delhi on July 30 was not different from this pattern. All the same old personalities connected with the movement participated. V. T. Krishnamachari, the former Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, presided and repeated the same ideas which he has expressed for nearly a decade.

As one of the founding fathers of the Community Development and National Extension Movement, Krishnamachari has been emphasising the importance of the moral aims of the movement, the need for taking the scientific and technical know-how to the rural people, the dangerous administrative inefficiency, etc. He repeated them once again.

As in the earlier years, this year too, the speeches delivered at the Conference are bound to remain on paper.

There is, however, one idea which was mooted this year with some emphasis and which may not share the fate of other ideas—the idea that an all-India Agricultural Service should be established in order to bring efficiency to the agricultural extension work of the movement. The tendency that we note in official circles and among the all-India leaders of the ruling party is to grab at any opportunity, to seize any argument, to bring home the idea that there should be more and more all-India services.

Last year, when serious discussion started on the various aspects of national integration, it was suggested that one of the reasons for lack of national unity and integration is the existence of autonomous States with their own services. The proposal was, therefore, made that, over and above the existing Indian Administrative and Police services, there should be all-India services for Engineering, Education, Health, Forests, etc.

This suggestion had repeatedly been made before by the Centre but had been rejected by the States. The seriousness of the situation which arose out of the growth of fissiparous tendencies was once again utilised by the all-India leaders of the ruling Party to make the States agree to it. It was in this context that the Chief Ministers' Conference held in June 1961 agreed to the establishment of three all-India Services.

It now appears that the state of stagnation that has gripped the Community Development and National Ex-

ension Movement is being utilised as another stick to beat provincial autonomy with. The suggestion implied in the proposal to create a new all-India Agricultural Service is that the movement has not advanced to the extent to which it should have done because of the inefficiency of the State Agricultural Services. This, however, is far from true, as will be borne out by the conclusions arrived at in the various evaluation reports on the Community Development and National Extension Block movement.

Krishnamachari himself is reported to have pointed out that the extension agency would cease to command confidence unless, within the shortest possible time, it could assist every family for production programmes. He referred, in this connection, to complaints, not unjustified, that at present facilities were monopolised by a limited number of persons who, in many cases, could look after themselves.

The idea contained in these observations will be hardly endorsed by all those who are familiar with the actual situation in rural areas. But, instead of attacking this deficiency in the working of the movement, Krishnamachari suggests a method which will only aggravate the problem. For, what he suggested is a greater degree of centralisation, while what is required is greater decentralisation.

Decentralisation in the sense of giving more and more power to the lowest unit of administration—the Panchayat—alone would help the process of unleashing the initiative of the rural masses and of drawing every family into the developmental activities. But the creation of all-India service for Agriculture will lead to still greater centralisation.

Taxes, Prices And Democracy

SOME leaders of the ruling party had, in the beginning, tried to ignore the mounting opposition to the taxation and price policies pursued by the Central and State Governments. They thought that the brute majority which they enjoyed in the Central Parliament and in most of the State legislatures would help them to take whatever legislative and administrative measures they wanted without much difficulty. It was with this confidence that many of them made boasting declarations that they would crush all opposition against tax increases.

The development of the last month and a half, however, shows that opposition is mounting. It roused all the opposition parties and even a section among Congressmen, and made them protest, against these policies. Jointly or severally, the opposition parties have launched on a programme of demonstrations, hartals, Satyagraha, etc., in several States. We are putting on other pages the reports sent by our correspondents from some of these States.

It now appears that the state of stagnation that has gripped the Community Development and National Ex-

These mass demonstrations and actions against the taxation and price policies of the Government have made the spokesmen of the ruling party raise certain questions of political morality. Their purpose in raising them is obviously to denounce these demonstrations and actions as undemocratic.

One question raised against them is whether demonstrations and actions are justifiable in the present set-up in which there is a parliamentary democratic administration. The argument runs as follows: "The opposition parties made their appeal to the electorate on these very issues of prices and taxes barely six months ago, and certainly failed to convince the mass of the people, whom they claim to represent, that the people's interests would be safer in their hands than in the hands of the Congress."

"They also know that the electorate's verdict would not be substantially different if the nation went to polls in the immediate future. Whatever substance there may be in the grievances voiced by the opposition parties, there is no excuse for taking them from legislatures into the streets. To do so in the name of political rights is to betray a dangerous ignorance of what democracy is" (Times of India, Editorial, August 1).

The implication of this argument is that, once the issue of which party is to rule for a five-year period, is decided in an election, the parties defeated in that election should not protest against, nor strive to reverse, the policies being pursued by the ruling party. This is a distortion of the democratic process.

The issue that is settled in an election under the Parliamentary system has nothing to do with the issue involved in protest demonstrations and actions against particular economic policies of the Government. The substance of the issue in the election is the political character and composition of the Government as a whole. That issue was of course settled six months ago. That is not disputed by any opposition party now. What they raise now is the correctness or otherwise of particular taxation measure or price policies.

To confuse the two is "to betray a dangerous ignorance of what democracy is".

The contention of the opposition parties is that, though the Congress secured a majority of seats in the Legislature, several policy measures and proposals advanced by it are opposed not only by those who voted against the Congress but also by substantial sections of those who voted for it. Among such measures are the imposition of new taxes and failure to check the rise in prices of consumption goods. The demand is, instead of the specific policies that are now being pursued by them, other policies should be pursued. It is claimed that the overwhelming majority of the people, including a majority of Congress supporters themselves, are in favour of the demand.

If this claim of the oppo-

sition parties is challenged by the ruling party, there is a democratic method of testing its correctness—a referendum on this issue. This was precisely what Devi Lal, the leader of the opposition in Punjab, challenged Chief Minister Kairon to do. The Central and State Governments should be prepared to adopt this democratic method if their claims of public support are to be proved.

Madras Home Minister Bhaktavatsalam demanded that the DMK members who are keeping away from the Assembly are deserting the posts to which the people elected them and that, therefore, they should resign from the Legislature. He forgets that walk-outs, abstentions from the proceedings of the Legislature, etc. have become part of the constitutional process of expressing one's protest against the policies and practices of the ruling party. So have Satyagraha and other forms of direct action outside the Legislature become part of peaceful methods of expressing mass protest.

That the Congress itself would resort to it in case it happens to be in opposition, cannot now be disputed after all that happened in Kerala in 1957-59. Furthermore, no opposition party in any of the Congress-governed States (including D.M.K. in Madras) has taken the step which the Congress took when it was in opposition in Kerala—launch direct action with the objective of overthrowing a constitutionally elected Government.

Bhaktavatsalam and his colleagues would do well to justify their policies before the people, rather than trotting out such outmoded arguments.

August 1.

—E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Congressmen vs Congressmen

ACCORDING to a news report in *Banaras*, a Hindi daily of Varanasi which is considered to be close to Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, great resentment prevails among a section of Ministers and Congress leaders of the State because the Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta is employing C.I. D. men against them to watch their activities specially in connection with the coming movement against tax increase.

According to the report of the same paper's Lucknow Correspondent, (*Banaras*, July 29), under the instructions of the Chief Minister, the Chief Secretary of U. P. Government has sent out a confidential circular to all the District Magistrates to depute trained and experienced men of the Criminal Investigation Department to cover the meetings and talks of Ministers and other important Congress leaders and to send these reports to a certain Minister of State, who is Gupta's right-hand man.

JULY 26

IX ANNIVERSARY OF CUBAN REVOLUTION

One million Cuban people gathered this afternoon in the sports town (original site of camp Moncada) at the foot of the Maestra mountain outside Santiago to mark the ninth anniversary of the armed uprising of July 26, 1953.

At the meeting place, the Cuban national flag and the banner of the July 26th movement fluttered in the breeze. Huge portraits of Lenin, Castro, and Cuban national heroes Jose Marti and Maceo were hung on the rostrum.

The meeting place was decorated with large pictures and posters recording the major events which have taken place since the attack on Camp Moncada. The posters were inscribed: "Eternal glory to the martyrs who stormed Camp Moncada." "The Revolution will forge ahead." "Long Live the Worker-Peasant Alliance," and "We condemn the crimes committed by U. S. imperialism."

Milling Crowds

The milling crowds inside and outside the meeting place enthusiastically waved pennants and posters. Among them were rifle-carrying militiamen from various factories and villages and girls and children in colourful national costume. Their cheers and slogans rocked the heroic sports town and the Maestra mountain like the battle cries of the valiant fighters who stormed Moncada-barracks.

The meeting was attended by Premier Castro, President Dorticos, and other leaders of the Cuban Government and of Integrated Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba, as well as six hundred delegates from other Latin American countries and other parts of the world.

When Premier Castro mounted the rostrum, he was warmly cheered for his leadership during the Cuban peo-

Again An Adventure?

A Hsinhua report from San Jose quoted by Soviet News Agency TASS says:

APPROXIMATELY 6,000 mercenaries are now concentrated in the countries of Central America for the purpose of invading Cuba, said Manuel Mora, Secretary of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica. The bases of these mercenaries are located in Nicaragua and Guatemala. Furnishing numerous facts testifying to the active preparations carried out by the counter-revolutionaries for invading Cuba, M. Mora noted that some leaders of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries

Santiago de Cuba, July 26

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began to wage the more difficult struggle against imperialism. Today our country is still subject to imperialist threats. We must not slacken our vigilance. On the contrary, in the face of imperialist aggression, we should strengthen our national defence and all fields of work necessary for the battle and the struggle."

"The imperialists are armed to the teeth. We must realise this and must not lie supinely on our backs. We should organise our national defences which are indispensable to defeating direct imperialist aggression." Kennedy was bent on attacking Cuba, he stated.

Denouncing the U. S. for turning the naval base of Guantanamo into a bridgehead for aggression against Cuba, the Premier said: "We have not, and will never give up our claim to this land. The common enemies of progressive people fighting for socialism, independence, and peace were the bellicose U.S. elements."

Castro expressed support for the defensive measures taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the face of the threat of aggression of U. S. imperialism. The socialist countries wanted peace, but imperialism was promoting war and was placing the whole world under the threat of its attack. The Cuban people must put up resolute and valiant resistance against this threat and always be ready so that they could say their small island would never be seized by U.S. imperialists.

Significance Of Revolution

Referring to the significance of the Cuban Revolution, he said: "Our country is the first socialist country in Latin America which has got rid of imperialist control. We tell the Latin American people and people all over the world: Please rely on Cuba, it will be firm."

The force of the powerful movement of the world working class was also the force of the Cuban people. That was why they were more confident than ever before of their victory. Progressive mankind was faced with the threat of an imperialist aggression, but in spite of this, the Cuban people were living in the most brilliant period of mankind, Castro said.

He also called for the strengthening of the organisational work of the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba.

"Let us oppose resolutely and energetically the enemies of our class and the cowards who are ready to raise the white flag before imperialism," the Premier concluded.

KOZLOV REAFFIRMS SOVIET SUPPORT TO CUBA

MOSCOW, July 26: Carlos Olivares Sanchez, the Cuban Ambassador in Moscow, gave a reception on the occasion of the national holiday of Cuba—July 26.

The reception was attended by Frol Kozlov, Sharaf Rashidov, Boris Ponomarev, other Soviet statesmen and public leaders, and foreign diplomats.

In the course of the reception, speeches were made by Frol Kozlov and the Cuban Ambassador.

Frol Kozlov declared in his speech that the Soviet Union firmly and resolutely supported the just cause of the Republic of Cuba and that the Soviet Government's warnings to the enemies of People's Cuba remained in force.

After noting that the U. S. imperialists were planning new adventures aimed at strangling the Cuban revolution, Kozlov declared: "In their just

historic struggle, the Cuban people are not alone. The imperialists would do well to remember that the Cuban people have many loyal friends throughout the world, including the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the whole invincible socialist camp."

"No matter what the American imperialists do, they will never be able to strangle the Cuban revolution," Kozlov stressed.

Kozlov pointed out that the Republic of Cuba was confidently marching along the road of socialist construction, building the first state of workers and peasants in the Western hemisphere.

"By this very fact she offers a wonderful example to the peoples who are even now bearing the heavy burden of the colonialists," Kozlov emphasized that the fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba were growing stronger with each passing day.

TOWARDS BUILDING A NEW ALGERIA

★ By Jacques Duclos, Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of France

On July 1, by an overwhelming majority, the Algerian people voted for independence in the form outlined in the Evian agreement reached between the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the French Government.

A sharp blow has been struck against imperialism, and the attainment of independence by Algeria opens a new chapter in the history of the crisis of the colonial system.

This does not mean that the imperialists are no longer thinking of saving the essential part of their privileges while they utilize new methods and negotiate compromises with certain elements in countries that have gained their independence.

What has happened in most of the countries of Black Africa formerly subject to French colonialism bears witness to the existence and the activity of a neo-colonialism that maintains its economic interests and continues its methods of political intervention.

This is certainly the aim of the Gaullist power, which expresses the domination of the capitalist trusts in matters concerning Algeria.

It is no accident that the first ambassador named to represent France in Algeria is the former Minister of Industry, M. Jean Marcel Jeanneney, who is well versed in all matters concerning oil in Sahara.

But all evidence shows that the colonialist manoeuvres, relatively easy in the countries of Black Africa where independence was obtained without mass struggle, will not find such smooth going in Algeria.

The Algerian people have gone through seven years of heroic struggle and quite naturally they will insist on concretizing their victory in deeds.

During the period that preceded the self-determination poll of July 1, De Gaulle allowed the OAS to multiply its destructive

actions with the thought in mind of creating for an independent Algeria a difficult situation that would be favourable to the neo-colonialist manoeuvres.

It was in these conditions that a neo-colonialist like Jacques Chevalier made himself the intermediary between the provisional executive and the OAS in order to conclude an agreement. The French Communist Party publicly warned of the danger contained in the actions of the neo-colonialist, Jacques Chevalier, whose stooge in Oran is former deputy Pierre Laffont.

If the OAS criminals can thus make themselves recognised as go-betweens, it is because the Gaullist power has permitted them to carry through their destructive task from which they expected to profit.

This the Algerian people knew, and the movements that came to light from the midst of the National Liberation Front bore witness to the desire for change that animates the Algerian masses.

Most of the soldiers of the National Liberation Army are peasants, and if these peasants fought for the independence of their country, they also fought for the land. This demand for the land and for a change in the economic structure of the country to get rid completely of colonialist tutelage is becoming an increasingly pressing issue.

Even if not all the details are known as to the differences between Ben Khedda, president of the GPRA, and Ben Bella, its Vice-President, it is known that the latter opposes the measures taken by the GPRA, that is, by

Facts Behind Expulsion Of D. P. Mishra

★ From Our Correspondent

BHOPAL:

The dramatic expulsion of D. P. Mishra from Congress membership for two years has taken the political circles by surprise.

THE expulsion has been welcomed by almost all sections of people inside and outside the Congress. But behind this dramatic development, the intrigue of P.C.C. President Deshlehra, who himself was being driven out from the PCC, has become clearly evident.

While there is no denying of the indisputable fact of bogus and forged membership of the Congress by D. P. Mishra on a large scale, the very timing of this action has become significant. It has meant a complete smash up of the plans and ambitions of D. P. Mishra, sealing any chance of his political rehabilitation to rise to the leadership of the PCC and the Government.

The two major warring factions inside the Congress—headed by Dr. Katju and Deshlehra—have been spurning and brushing aside any line up or alliance with D. P. Mishra.

Tacit Alliance

The Deshlehra group, in a frantic bid to earn the confidence of the Congress High Command, has been very vocal in its opposition to D. P. Mishra and shrewdly and skillfully had been trying to create the impression that Dr. Katju had been seeking tacit alliance with D. P. Mishra against his leadership and that Mishra with the support of Katju is trying to spread his tentacles over the Government and the PCC.

In the recent period, Dr. Katju, though not supporting D. P. Mishra, has at the same time not been opposing him.

And this situation provided a god-sent opportunity to Mishra to take advantage of this situation, more particularly after the defeat of Katju and the debacle of the Congress in the recent general elections.

Shrewd and crafty as he is, he unconditionally lined himself and his followers behind Dr. Katju, thinking and calculating that after the eventual ousting of Deshlehra from the PCC and of Chief Minister Mandloi from the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party, he would be able to gain power and position in any new arrangement.

Cliques & Intrigues Galore

As a countermove to the possible danger, Deshlehra-Takhatmal combine decided to inflict a crushing blow to D. P. Mishra by expelling him from Congress membership and thus eliminating any chance of D. P. Mishra's participation in the ensuing organisational elections to the Congress Committees as also to keep him from being included in the Ad Hoc set up of the PCC which has appeared imminent to Deshlehra.

The entire Congress organisation in Madhya Pradesh is torn up by cliques, intrigues and counter-intrigues. Mandloi was considered a firm supporter of Dr. Katju till the recent elections, but a new alignment soon came into being as soon as Mandloi became the Chief Minister.

Deshlehra, in a frantic bid to prevent Dr. Katju from staging a comeback, rallied all his forces behind Mandloi and Mandloi, in order to stick to his Chief Ministership, deserted Katju lock, stock and barrel. This has led to disintegration of the former Ministerialist group of Katju.

Deshlehra's stock argument with the Congress High Command had been that with the elimination of Dr. Katju both wings of the Congress—organisational and legislative—have become unified and there is no groupism inside the Congress, but if Dr. Katju is imposed on the Government, the group rivalries would again be revived.

While not daring to impose Dr. Katju as the leader of the Congress Legislature Party in view of the new line-up, the Congress High Command could not be goaded to take Deshlehra into its confidence and with the completion of Ramakrishna Rao's investigation into the causes of Congress defeats, it became evident that Deshlehra will have to quit PCC leadership.

It also became clear that to

Takhatmal Jain, together with Deshlehra decided to deal a crushing blow to D. P. Mishra.

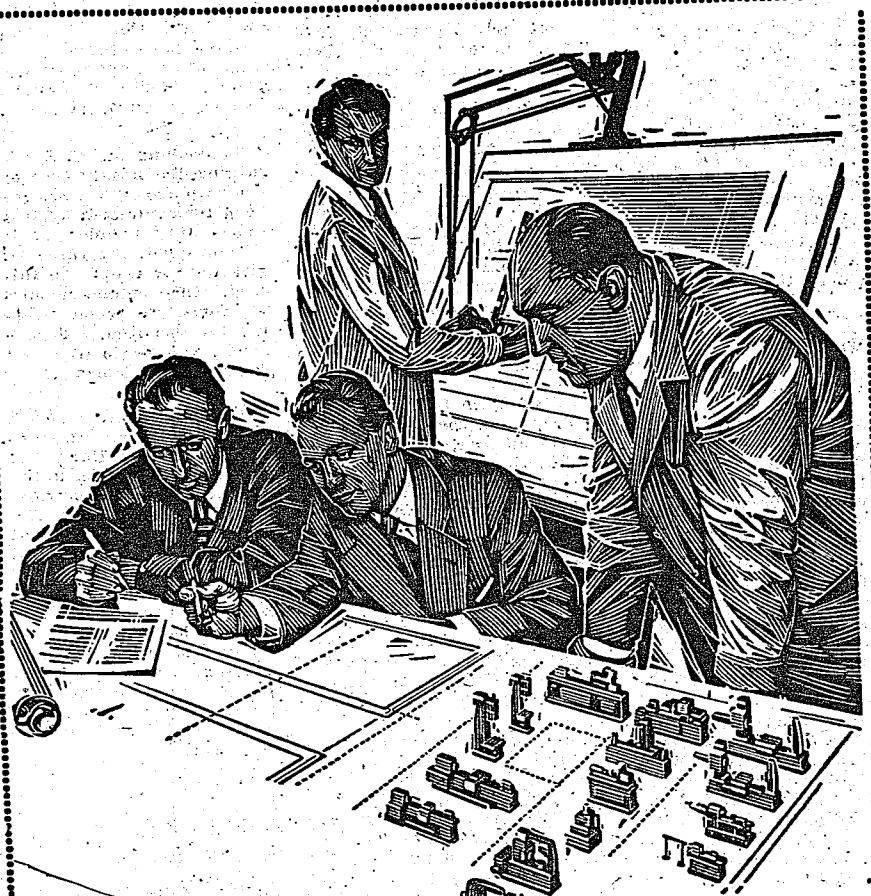
With the inability of the Congress High Command to impose Dr. Katju as leader of the Congress Legislature Party and with the elimination of D. P. Mishra from the Congress, Takhatmal Jain's calculations are that the Mandloi Ministry will be at his mercy and after sometime he can be easily removed from Chief Ministership.

D. P. Mishra, because of his dark political past, his open denunciation of Pandit Nehru in 1952 and onwards, his extremely reactionary views and hardened communal outlook

and because of his connections with the Jan Sangh etc., is being hated and spurned by all sections of democratic opinion.

And in spite of the fact that remnants of his old and some new admirers, who at his bidding have left the PSP and joined the Congress, continue to weave stories about his administrative efficiency, his political rehabilitation has become well nigh impossible.

That is why his expulsion from the Congress, though at the hands of equally hated and equally reactionary Deshlehra group, has come as a big relief to all.



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Profits & Persecution Coexist

★ From Our Correspondent

CALCUTTA:

Is it possible that a manufacturing company can distribute 13,333.33 per cent dividend? Believe it or not, such a thing has actually happened in the case of Good Year Tyre Company.

THE above dividend was declared in 1956. In 1957 the percentage of dividend increased to 15,500.00. In 1958 the percentage was 6,666.67. And that was the percentage in 1960 also.

On one side there is this picture of fabulous prosperity and on the other there is the story of retrenchment and persecution of Indian employees employed in this concern. Already this company has retrenched 35 employees, which it is understood, was resorted to under directions from the high-ups in USA.

In 1958-59 the total number of white-coloured employees in the company was not more than five at any given time. But now this number has increased to forty. This import of officers from America, it is learnt is done, "to facilitate retrenchment of Indian personnel".

This Good Year (India) Ltd. is a subsidiary organisation of Good Year International Ltd. of USA. At the initial stage, Good Year (India) Ltd. had only 15 shares, each worth one thousand rupees.

In 1961, it was granted a licence by the Government of India to set up a factory at Vallabgarh in Punjab. After that it was transformed into a Public Limited Company. But its control is still in the USA and meanwhile its capital has increased from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 2 crores and 15 thousand.

About 80 per cent of this capital is in the hands of

foreigners and it is understood that the granting of licence to this Company for the setting up of the factory was in contravention of the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India.

It is learnt that on the inauguration ceremony of the factory, the Company spent about rupees three lakhs. But no dividend was given to the Indian partners.

The Managing Director of this Company, Mr. Carry—an American, besides other amenities, is given a salary and allowance of Rs. 8,095. Some time back Mr. Carry fell ill and he was advised a change of climate near the seashore. Mr. Carry faithfully observed the advice of the doctor by breathing fresh sea air for six months in a launch hired at the Company's account. The total expense on this health recovery programme is a top secret.

But when a packer in the Calcutta Branch of this Company broke his leg while on duty, he was sanctioned only ninety rupees after two months wrangling.

The Company has sought permission from the Government of India to increase the salary of the Managing Director by another Rs. 800. On the other hand, it has withheld the paltry increase of salaries of Indian staff on the plea of "inadequate funds".

Recently this Company has brought to India a group of sixteen American Technicians to train Indian personnel in tyre making. Every month, it

is learnt, a sum of rupees one lakh is being spent on their boarding and lodging in Asoka Hotel in New Delhi. Nevertheless the Company has refused to grant bonus to Indian personnel despite recommendations from the Labour Commissioner.

It has also imported five air conditioned motor cars for use of engineers at Vallabgarh. But out of these five, two cars ply on the Calcutta roads.

According to another calculation, this Company spends at the rate of forty rupees per hour for the education of children of American employees. But the average wage of an Indian (temporary) employee is only Rs. 2.50 per day. It spends a sum of Rs. 15,000 for sending the dead body of a child of an American employee by air to USA.

No Indian employee is given any allowance or aid for medical treatment. While this company denies dearness allowance to Indian employees, the foreign officers besides their salary are paid house allowance, electricity and gas charges, telephone rent, motor car and car allowance, children allowance, overseas allowance, dearness allowance and so on.

It is surprising that this company has trotted out a plea of inadequate funds to abolish its Sahaganj depot (near Calcutta) and ordered retrenchment of all the Indian staff there.

The 20 per cent share of the company, which has been sold to Indians, also reflects a type of cheating, because these shareholders had to purchase these shares at a higher price. For every 100 rupee share the Indian buyer had to pay Rs. 170.

Good Year Tyres has sixty factories throughout the

The management also, taking advantage of the situation, took recourse to harassment of the workers by withholding the house allowance of workers living in company's market flats on the plea that they were unauthorised occupants. It may be stated here that this dispute is pending with the State labour department and the labour officer had requested the management not to withhold the allowance. The management not only withheld the allowance, but also recovered from workers occupying the flats, rents double the usual rates.

The management also came out with a threat of retrenchment, in order to divert the concentration of the workers over their demands.

The Sahabad Regional Committee of the AITUC in its meeting held on July 13 and 14, considered the situation and resolved to extend fraternal help to the movement of the workers. A mass meeting was held at Dalmianagar on July 14, in which Sunil Mukherjee, M.L.A., Vice-President of the Bihar State Committee of the AITUC, announced support to the workers.

Following the meeting, the workers at Dalmianagar have become more jubilant and are organising themselves for achieving their demands despite the threatening measures of the management.

world and in most of the developed countries where they have factories renovations and modernisations are carried on from year to year. These scrapped off machineries, it is learnt, are polished, painted and repaired and then sent to India.

Besides this, the company has imported raw materials worth about rupee two-and-a-half crores from USA at a higher rate than the prevailing market rate.

It is well known that the tyre industry is an important industry for our economy and rubber is the most essential ingredient for this industry. But foreign control on Indian rubber is almost stifling and it is because of this control that Indian rubber industry has not been able to make much headway. This control is exerted by the American and English firms in other underdeveloped countries also besides India. These companies distribute the market among themselves and fix their own prices.

These foreign companies keep the quality of the tyres at low levels, reduce the thread plys, cut down production, inflate prices by controlling sales and thereby earn huge profits. They even refuse to give tyres to the Defence Department at convenient rates while they supply tyres to Hindustan Motors and Premier Automobiles at low rates.

These companies, particularly the Good Year Company, transfer huge amounts from India to America and other countries. The Good Year

management of this company does not accept the trade union rights of workmen, does not recognise the Union, does not grant incremental scale to Indian employees and provides no facility for recreation and other amenities for the workmen.

These companies have currently started a systematic campaign that they are now faced with stiff competition because the Government of India has granted several licences. On this plea they are trying to cut down the labour costs. But it is apparent that behind these moves is the desire to further strengthen their stranglehold on the tyre trading.

Demand For Probe Into Working Of CESC

CALCUTTA, July 27:

While the Government circles are pinning their hopes on the fourth unit of the Bokaro Thermal plant, which is expected to be commissioned within the next few days to ease the latest power crisis here, need for a high-power probe into workings of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and the DVC's thermal power plants is gaining wide support among the people.

DVC's Bokaro plant's third unit, according to reports here, had to be put out of commission following serious troubles. Though this could not be confirmed either by DVC authorities of State Electricity Board, a spokesman of the Board told IPA that annual overhauling and repair work of the Bokaro plant's third unit was long overdue and the DVC had expressed concern about the unit if repairs were not effected immediately.

Breakdown of both the units of the Durgapur plant has evoked concern and a kind of resentment in the official circles here. Known as the sick child of the DVC, this station was beset with troubles even from the very date of conception which delayed its birth by two years.

The overall responsibility of its construction was entrusted with an American firm Kuljian Corporation, which gave the contract to a West German firm. It was scheduled to have been commissioned in 1959. But on the very date of its scheduled commission, this 150 MW station went out of order, at least three times.

And since then till the day of final commission in 1961,

trouble arose on nearly a dozen occasions. Turbo-generators of this Rs. 19 crores station went out of order on several occasions due to alleged defective design of the operation floor and supply of bad machineries.

The DVC Staff Association has demanded an immediate thorough and impartial probe into the whole matter concerning this plant by a high power commission of the union Government, because constant trouble since its installation period has not only caused the construction and maintenance cost going up considerably, but also contributed to the power shortage in Calcutta and industrial areas resulting in loss of production and laying off of hundreds of workers in various industries.

Meanwhile, the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation which, for the last few days, are getting less power from the DVC—not more than 30 MW per day instead of 99 MW hitherto supplied, according to a non-official estimate—is understood to have requested the State Government to supply adequate good quality coal so

And since then till the day of final commission in 1961,

★SEE PAGE 11

NEW AGE

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TWO LAKH PEASANTS DEMONSTRATE

About two lakh peasants demonstrated at various places of the State on July 24 to voice their protest against enhancement of land revenue.

Thousands of peasants marched to these centres of demonstrations from far off places to express their resentment against the bill. There were centres at which people gathered from as many as 50 to 100 villages and some of them were on legs for a day or two before July 24 to reach the centre in time.

One significant feature of these demonstrations and public meetings on July 24 was the all-in unity of the peasants, irrespective of their economic status or caste.

While the commoners trekked their way on foot or bullock-carts in demonstration to these centres, the landlords, who are also known as "doras" in Telangana also came to these centres to hear the speeches of leaders.

A second important feature was the participation of peasants of different political views. The fact that the appeal for these demonstrations was given by an all-party Convention held on July 17 and participated in by representatives of Communist Party, Praja Party, Socialist Party, Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress, Hyderabad Mazdoor Sangh and other independents, lent it great weight and the result was a big upsurge among following of different parties in all the districts.

Congress was, of course, out of the picture, but certainly not the Congressmen and people who followed Congress creed and voted for Congress only four months ago. As in West Godavari district and many other places, Congressmen associated themselves with the all-party meetings held at district and taluq level.

On the day of demonstration, the meeting held in Bhimavaram of West Godavari was presided over by a member of the Provincial Congress Committee and addressed by leading Congressmen.

Congressmen Also Participate

Congress is completely on the defensive on this question. Not a Congress legislator went to his constituency to explain this bill. Not a single meeting was held anywhere in the State by any Congressman defending the enhancement. The ordinary Congressman has exhausted all his abusive epithets against the government.

The Swatantra Party too chose to stay out of the all-party affair, plucked by some local developments. But, its writ doesn't seem to run in the districts.

For, in Anantapur Swatantra Party was one of the important participants in the all-party convention and

later all-party public meeting. In Gudivada, the meeting on 24th was presided over by a Swatantra Party leader. Such instances can be multiplied.

The all-party meeting on July 17 confined its appeal to the people to only demonstrations on July 24. It, perhaps, wanted to decide the future course of action after the demonstrations were over.

But, there were many places in the State, where leaders, addressing public meetings, talked in terms of launching a Satyagraha, or even formed All-Party Action Committees to chalk out future course of action.

In Repalle of Guntur district, a worker of Bharat Sevak Samaj even resorted to picketing before the taluq government headquarters and was sentenced to four months R.I.

The protest was not merely in the form of demonstrations and public meetings alone. The protest was in the form of signature collection campaign as well. An estimated two lakh signatures were collected, according to reports so far received.

Protest resolutions were adopted by various panchayats, panchayat samitis and the peasants were supported by various mass organisations like the trade unions, youth and student organisations and kisan sabhas, bar associations, municipalities, which passed unanimous resolutions.

When the bill was first published in the press on June 16 the immediate reaction was one of extreme resentment and anger. Every party severely condemned the provisions of the bill as well as the undemocratic manner in which the bill was sought to be rushed through.

Keen Voting In Assembly

All opposition parties—Communist Party, Swatantra Party, Praja Party, United Democratic Party and unattached independents—opposed the very introduction of the bill.

The voting in the Assembly against introduction was 86 and only 125 voted for it. Never in the history of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly since 1956, the voting was so keen and so many voted on the side of opposition.

Then, the opposition wanted the Bill to be sent for circulation in the November session. This too was rejected and the entire opposition staged a walkout at the undemocratic manner in which the government sought to get it enacted.

June 24 was observed all over the State as a protest day against enhanced tax burdens. In Andhra Pradesh it was mainly as a protest

against this Additional Land Revenue Bill. But, it was too early. The peasants could not fully understand the impact of the bill.

The Government timed the introduction in a clever way. June and July are extremely busy months for agriculture, when all the peasants are engaged in sowing and transplantation. Moreover, they are rainy months too and therefore, the public agitation could not be properly organised or carried out. The Government wanted to see the bill through before the peasants are relatively free from work and hence insisted that it must be passed by the end of July. But the government miscalculated

as could be seen from the success of demonstrations. Opposition parties, which were alert, sprang into determined action. The obnoxious features of the bill were exposed through the press. The entire press in Andhrapradesh, barring one or two, roundly opposed this Bill. Even several sections of Congressmen voiced their opposition to the Bill and several leading Congressmen in West Godavari district, in cooperation with leading Communists, Socialists and others in the district organised conferences and called upon the government not to force them to resort to Satyagraha by passing this bill. Some veterans of the anti-

In Madhya Pradesh

ANTI-TAX CAMPAIGN IN FULL SWING

From Our Correspondent

The anti-tax agitation, launched by the Madhya Pradesh Communist party gathered further momentum since July 16 when the first batch of satyagrahis courted arrest. So far 411 satyagrahis have been arrested who belong to as many as 24 districts of the state.

THE satyagraha offered on July 27 was, perhaps, the most spectacular and unprecedented one in Bhopal, when the veteran Party leader and MLA Shaker Ali Khan led a batch of satyagrahis and courted arrest in front of the State Assembly.

The same day a batch of 96 women led by Mohini Devi Shrivastava, leader of the Communist group in the Bhopal Municipal Committee and Akhtar Jehan, another Municipal councillor marched through the streets of the State capital and were arrested before the State Assembly.

The women satyagrahis included some burkha-clad women who had never before come to the streets of Bhopal. They marched undauntedly in the procession and fearlessly courted arrest.

Another example of the fearless spirit of the women satyagrahis was Rukmini Devi Dubey, who launched the satyagraha with an 18-month baby in her arms and an eight year old girl by her side.

A record crowd composed of people from all walks of life and particularly the students had lined up the streets through which satyagrahis passed on their way to destination—the State Assembly.

The Satyagrahis were given a grand cheer everywhere they passed through and right before the State Assembly a large gathering watched their mass arrest.

One significant achievement that the Party can very well be proud of is the fact that other opposition groups in the State Assembly, particularly the PSP and the Jan Sangh were compelled to offer similar satyagraha.

But despite their efforts to send a sizeable number to the prison, they could send together only 134 satyagrahis (IS-77, PSP-57). Their attempts to thwart the Communist leadership of the agitation were proved abortive.

Inside the State Assembly also, the attitude of the Opposition to the taxation policy of the State government has undergone a change. The docile and sedate opposition offered by the PSP and the Jan Sangh turned into a more resolute condemnation of the new levies and on two occasions so far the entire Opposition staged walk outs from the House against the new tax proposals.

Opposition Not Consulted

Opposition members were no doubt taken in Relief and Block Development Committee, he further said, but it was a mere formality. Out of the 4,000 "election" tubewells sanctioned before the last general elections, 1,500 were sunk. But these committees were never consulted about the sites where the tubewells should be sunk.

"You want constructive criticism from the Opposition. But if things go on in this way, we have no other alternative but to raise our voices of protest and to demonstrate," Jyoti Basu added.

In this context, he also referred to the discrimination made in the sphere of trade unions. The BPTUC was generally excluded from all consultative and advisory labour welfare bodies, while the INTUC was given the sole representation in them.

For instance, there was not a single nominee of the BPTUC in the Committee for allocation of quarters to industrial workers, in the list of 30 arbitrators prepared by the Government, in the minimum wages Committee for the Printing Industry and also for the training of Labour Officers.

Dumraon Accident Nambiar's Statement Following Visit To Site

K. Anandan Nambiar MP, visited the site of accident at Dumraon on July 25 and on his return to Calcutta, issued the following statement to the Press:

I HAD just been to Dumraon to have a personal knowledge of the site of the fatal accident and to study the working condition of the signalling, the interlocking arrangements and the strength of operation staff etc.

I found that there is no fool proof signalling system at Dumraon or like station on this section of the Railway. The one

Resettlement Rates satyagraha of 1931-32 took a leading part in this campaign in this district.

In order to give a shape and direction to the agitation against the Bill, a provincial Convention was held in Hyderabad on July 17.

This province-wide strong opposition gave courage to many a Congressman and unnerved many others. When the Congress Legislature Party met to discuss the Bill, strong opposition was voiced by many Congress legislators.

In a further meeting of the Congress legislature party, it retraced its steps a little and proposed minor changes. The unanimous approval of these changes and the cessation of opposition inside the party shows how congress members, feeling the injustice of the land revenue enhancement, still step into the stride, when the whip of discipline is lashed.

The opposition could not be deceived by these petty concessions. Encouraged and spurred by the call to action given by the Hyderabad Convention, agitation against the bill was stepped up and the demonstrations are a result of this effort.

One of the best speeches heard in the present session of the West Bengal Assembly was the one made by Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, on July 23, when the budget demand under the Head "General Administration" was discussed.

THE speech created a tremendous impression in the House, so much so that even the new Chief Minister, P. C. Sen, candidly admitted that it was "one of his (Jyoti Basu's) best speeches during the last 14 years."

Initiating the debate, Jyoti Basu prefaced his speech with an appeal to the Government to release all the political prisoners in the State, most of whom had been in prison for a long period, on the occasion of the next Independence Day.

Discussing the administrative set-up and the policy of the Government, he said that the administration was not being run in the people's interest but for the benefit of the Congress. Not only that; it was being run to suit the interests of particular factions in the ruling party.

The Congress was no doubt the single largest party in the State. "But you should remember that you secured only 46 per cent of the total votes polled," he added.

Referring to the exclusion of the representatives of the Opposition, who had polled the majority of the total votes cast, from Government-appointed committees at various levels, he emphasised that this practice was contrary to democratic principles and would only lead to autocracy.

He cited as examples the Five Year Plan Committee, State Transport Committee, Railway Committee, Medical Students Admission Committee, Hospitals Committee, Calcutta Improvement Trust Committee and the formation of one-party Standing Committees of Calcutta Corporation.

Opposition Not Consulted

Some of these employees, who had been in Government service for ten to sixteen years, were restated by the late Dr. B. C. Roy. Jyoti Basu hoped that the new Chief Minister would reconsider the cases of the other employees.

Pointing out that only seven out of the 25 Associations of the Government employees were recognised, Jyoti Basu said that such an attitude was not an indication of far-sightedness on the part of the Government.

Referring to the ruling of the Supreme Court that it was a legal right of the Government employees to organise peaceful demonstrations, he said that he failed to understand why the State Government employees were still deprived of this right. He urged upon the Government to change the existing Service Conduct Rules.

He criticised the Government for its failure to spend the budgeted money under irrigation, social welfare, housing and other heads. Of the amount of Rs. 2.93 crores earmarked for small irrigation projects, only Rs. 1.83 crores could be spent. About

Strongly objecting to the practice of high Government officials accepting employment in private firms after

retirement, he mentioned the names of five such officials. If this practice was allowed to continue, he stressed, the officials concerned could not be impartial in discharging their duties during their service period. They would always try to keep the big industrial and commercial magnates, their potential employers, in good humour in expectation of future gains.

Jyoti Basu strongly criticised the appointment of superannuated officers in administrative posts in development projects.

Deplorable Living Standards

Speaking about the lot of the lower-paid Government employees, Jyoti Basu said that while high officials were drawing fat salaries, the standard of living of 150,000 employees of the Government was deplorable.

How could an employee drawing the minimum salary of Rs. 60 a month make both ends meet when rice was selling at Rs. 25 a maund and the prices of all other essential commodities were steadily on the rise, he asked.

It was for this reason the Centre had recently sanctioned a D.A. of Rs. 10 for all its employees drawing up to Rs. 150 a month. The State Government also should sanction a similar amount for its own employees.

Jyoti Basu then pointed out how the State Government deprived its employees of trade union rights. Although the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister had categorically stated in Parliament that a Government employee was not punished on political grounds, the State Government frequently took disciplinary action against its employees on "adverse" police reports.

Many employees of the Food Department of which the Chief Minister himself was in charge, had been sacked without being told about the reasons for their discharge.

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Jyoti Basu Criticises W. B. Government

50 per cent of the sum allocated for giving loans under the Low Income Housing Scheme remained undistributed.

He further said that the Government had installed 292 air-conditioning plants so far, but only 32 of them were for hospitals, while the rest were for Ministers and Officers. This order could have been reversed, he emphasised.

He concluded his speech with a pointed reference to the scandalous affair that had taken place in the Government's Botanical Gardens four years ago (a number of top Government officials were implicated in a scandal which involved wine and women), he demanded publication of the enquiry report submitted by a high police official.

The House was taken by surprise when he quoted extensively from this confidential report and mentioned the names of some high officials, who were implicated in the scandal. But instead of being punished, they had been promoted!

Jyoti Basu wanted to know why the Government had chosen to remain silent on this matter. Was it because the Government thought that those who lived in a glass house should not throw stones at others?

Did the Ministry have the apprehension, he asked, that if there was a probe into the scandal, the Ministry itself would be implicated in it? Would it, then, be improper for the people to suspect that it was for this reason that the Government was trying to hush up the scandal, Jyoti Basu added.

West Bengal Teachers' Token Strike

ABOUT 5,000 teachers of 350 Government-aided and unaided secondary schools in Calcutta observed a token strike on July 27.

The demands of the teachers, include setting up of a Committee for co-ordinating different stages of education, security of service, the scope of the Government's grant-in-aid scheme, fixation of the pay-structure of the clerical and subordinate staff of schools on the basis of the pay-scales of similar categories of Government employees and implementation of the assurances given by the late Dr. B. C. Roy in September, 1961.

It should be noted in this connection that of the 1,000 High and Higher Secondary Schools in West Bengal, as

many as 500 are still unaided. The corresponding figures for Assam are 306 and 33 respectively, for Maharashtra 1,030 and 44, for Madras 1,461 and 14.

In the afternoon defying heavy rain, the teachers brought out a big demonstration under the auspices of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association (ABTA). A large number of women teachers and also teachers from ten mofussil districts participated in the demonstration, which marched towards the State Assembly.

It was held up by the police at a distance of about 500 yards from the Assembly building. When the news reached the House, Jyoti Basu requested the Chief Minister to meet the teachers. Meanwhile, a deputation of

WHY GOODS TRAIN WAS BLOCKING DOWN MAIN LINE

*FROM FACING PAGE

On July 21 night, a goods train was received on the up line but for loading and unloading purposes this was diverted to the down Main line and was lying there for over an hour.

Such crossing over to quite opposite lines could be permitted only by the controller and are done only in emergency. The facts show that this should not have been allowed.

But when the 6' down mail (the ill-fated train) was to be received, it could only be done on loop line. Normally Run-through of Mail and Express trains are not allowed on loop lines. The Controller should have noticed this.

If it were a failure of the signalling system, the engine would have travelled over the facing points and got derailed there itself before hitting the stationary goods train. Therefore, having no marks on the facing points, it is clear that the lines were set for the down train on the main line which was already having the goods train on.

This clearly proves that when a train stops on any line on either side of the platform, even by mistake, the cabins could set points for the same line, leading to a head-on collision.

Now, it is my desire to find out whether this accident could have been averted or similar accidents be averted in future even if human elements fail. I find that unless the "track-circuit" system is introduced along with the present signalling and interlocking system, there is no guarantee or safety on this section.

The Railway Administration may argue that there is no money for introducing that system, but that is no excuse for allowing an unsafe system of working to continue.

Further, when the Controller knew that this goods train was

the teachers, consisting of the leaders of the ABTA, went to the Assembly House to present the memorandum, containing the teachers' demands, to the Chief Minister.

The Chief Minister met the teachers' representatives and agreed to receive a deputation of the ABTA on August 6 to discuss the problems of secondary schools.

Jyoti Basu and other Opposition leaders came out of the House and addressed the teachers who were squatting on the road. Greeting them, Jyoti Basu said that the Communist Party and the Opposition would be always by their side in their struggles. He further said that the Press Note issued by the Government on the previous day amounted to a violation of the assurances given by the late Dr. B. C. Roy.

blocking the down main line, what was he doing for over an hour, without asking the cabin man? It was not on the request of the cabin-man that the goods train was brought down line which is an unusual thing, but under specific instruction by the Controller. Did he inquire from the cabin-man as to where the goods train was standing when he directed the reception and despatch of the Down Mail?

It is easy to put the entire blame on the low-paid employees who are doing eight hours continuous work whereas this duty is to be classified as "intensive work" of six hours. Any one who realises the responsibilities of the cabin man of this section would admit that these cabins are to be manned by literate and better-trained men who could realise the immensity of their responsibilities. In single line working in the Southern Railway, Cabins are manned by cabin-station masters of a very high calibre, leave alone the double lines with several times more number of running trains.

As the judicial enquiry is coming, it will not be proper to state anything more at this moment. The Railways cannot shirk their responsibilities by putting the blame on some low-paid staff. It is high time that the railway administrations are told that in the matter of safety they could afford to be satisfied with their own outmoded conceptions. They should place their cards on the table and the public should be vigilant.

I wish the judicial inquiry that is coming to look into all these aspects.

My heartfelt condolences go to the bereaved families of those killed in the accident and to those who are still lying in the Hospital. More than 100 lives are lost according to my information, and properties worth several lakhs are destroyed, all due to utter negligence of the Railway administration. Let us hope that we will profit by the Judicial Inquiry that is coming.

SIGN OF ECONOMIC TROUBLE AHEAD

★ By A. ANIKIN
(From Moscow Kommunist)

The picture on the cover of the brochure shows a young married couple and their two small children. They are supposed to represent another "typical" American family which has acquired shares.

The picture, put out by the New York stock market, presents basic statistics on the number of Americans who own stocks, their sex, age, income, social status, etc. The brochure proudly states that in 1959, there were twelve and a half million Americans who owned stocks, if only one share of the stocks of one company. In no more than three years, the number of stock holders has risen by almost four million.

True, it appears further on that only 3.4 per cent of the stock holders are workers and a mere 0.6 per cent—farmers. That is, just counting heads. As concerns the value and number of stocks the latter hold, in that respect they cut an even more modest figure.

Despite the great hullabaloo that has been raised about the "widespread prosperity" of that country, the vast bulk of U.S. industrial stocks is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie, especially its top layer of monopolists.

Robert Lampman, author of a recent major study on the distribution of wealth in the U.S.A., has estimated that 52 per cent of all stocks belong to individuals rated at over 60,000 dollars. No workers, small farmer or professional person has anywhere near that amount.

And yet it is true that quite a few "lambs" or inexperienced small stock-holders have, as the American business and financial weekly Barron's once put it, been led to market. They are the moderately paid clerks and professionals, the petty bourgeois, the most skilled workers. They have purchased stocks and made themselves "co-owners" of General Motors along with the Duponts, and of Standard Oil along with the Rockefellers.

But during recent months, worry and fear of the future, inevitable concomitants of the "American way of life" have entered the homes of these comparatively comfortable people.

Black Monday

On Monday, May 28, a storm hit the stock market where shares are continually being bought and sold and prices set. In one day prices slumped on the New York stock market by 6 per cent, with a total loss in value of 16 billion dollars. The small stock holders sold their shares in anticipation of a further dive.

The crash was particularly hard because stock prices have been curving downwards for several months, having dropped almost 20 per cent since the middle of March.

On May 29 the drop in prices stopped, when the big financiers decided they had gone low enough and that the

stocks could be bought up again with a fat profit. But that same day the wave of the panic, like the huge breakers that come with earthquakes, reached the other side of the Atlantic and struck Amsterdam. There, much the same thing happened as had happened a little earlier on Wall Street. The panic in West Europe was also preceded by a drop in stock prices.

After those blows, the market calmed down a little. But the situation was characterised by a feverishness, an instability which expressed itself in another sharp dip in prices on June 4.

What can it all mean? Has this been a fortuitous episode, or is the stock market crash connected with deeper processes in the capitalist economy?

The stock market is to a certain extent a barometer of the capitalist economy, and the sharp drop in stock prices points to bad economic weather.

It is no accident that the observers who described the events of May 28 and 29 were not able to resist comparisons with the events of the last ten days of October 1929. The stock market crash then was followed by the worst crisis of over-production in the history of capitalism.

Of course, history does not exactly repeat itself, but the similarity of symptoms is indicative.

Crises Organically Inherent

Economic crises are organically inherent in capitalism. Since the war, every crisis of falling production in the U.S. has been preceded or accompanied by a drop in stock prices. But never before has it reached such magnitude.

Why does the state of the stock market play such a role? The reason is that under modern conditions, practically all production in the capitalist countries is conducted by stock companies which amalgamate the capital of many capitalists and even draw on the savings of the working people, as noted earlier. In the United States, for instance 90 per cent of the entire output of the manufacturing industry comes from stock companies.

Of course, the bulk of production is accounted for by the big companies through which monopoly capital yields its rule.

The stocks issued by those companies represent the titles to ownership, as Marx said, or documents attesting to private rights to a definite share of the means of production, and therefore to a share of the surplus value created by the

labour process. That share of the surplus value is appropriated by the holder of the stocks in the form of dividends.

The size of the dividends is determined by the company Board, and depends on the profits of the undertaking, which in turn depend, all on the volume of production.

All kinds of private property can be sold under capitalism. Naturally, so can the title of ownership, the right to profit, or, in other words, the stock. Its price depends on the amount of dividends it pays; the higher the dividends, the higher the price.

However, the price of the stocks depends not only on the dividends actually paid out in the given year, but also on forecasts of future dividends, on the market's appraisal of the future conjuncture of production, sales, profits, etc. That is the sense in which the market behaves like a barometer.

Rise In Stock Prices

The past few years in the capitalist countries have seen a tremendous rise in stock market quotations. Over the past eight years, stock prices have multiplied more than seven times in the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany), 4.5 times in France, 3 times in the United States, 2.3 times in Britain. What is more, stock prices have lost all relations to the level of production and national revenue on which those dividends rest.

In the United States, the rise in stock prices was ten times the growth in industrial production (stocks having risen 205 per cent since 1953 and production only 20 per cent); in the FRG—seven times; in Britain and France—about 4.5 times.

Accordingly, the fictitious capital which those stocks were supposed to represent was out of all proportion to the real capital behind them, of which they are but the paper duplicates. In the FRG and France the most apparent "classical" causes of the stock market booms were the cyclical upsurge, rise in production and trade. In Britain and the United States, those years, could hardly be called expansion periods; the rise in production was not great; undercapacity production and unemployment have been steadily mounting. Nevertheless in those countries too the stock market boom reached a high.

That is to be explained by the continual "pump priming" of the conjuncture by means of military orders, the rise in commodity prices, growth of market speculation, and high-pressure salesmanship of stocks to the population through pub-

licity, the sale of stocks, right in the factories, etc. However that may be, the contradiction between the inflated fictitious capital and lagging real capital finally came to a head in all the main capitalist countries. That contradiction is one of the expressions of the basic factors which make periodic crises of the capitalist economy inevitable. Crisis solves the above contradiction by chopping down stock prices.

Both theory and the long and repeated experience of history show that the contradiction can only be resolved temporarily by such catastrophic crises.

Stock market crashes affect the working people of the capitalist countries not only in so far as they are stock holders and have been drawn into playing the market themselves; they are affected to an immeasurably greater extent by the cuts in wages, the unemployment and impoverishment those market slumps presage.

Mechanism Of Effects

The mechanism of how the crash on the market affects the economy is that it leads to a curtailment of the already shrinking solvent demand and obstructs commodity sales. For industrialists, the market crash is usually a signal to cut capital investments. It also has a drastic effect on consumer demand, especially for durable goods.

Under present conditions the market crash is exceedingly dangerous for the U.S. economy, where the factors restraining solvent demand for both means of production and consumer goods are already very potent. The crash came on the heels of an economic recession in the United States and threatens in turn to erode its economy still more.

The stock market has focused attention in the United States for some days now. The appraisals of the panic that hit it at the end of May and the whole long slump in stock prices are, as usual, of a contradictory nature.

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Dillon announced, after conferring with President Kennedy, that in their opinion there were no grounds for the heavy wave of selling on the market, as the country's economy was absolutely sound. The head of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Heller, struck a slightly different note by calling the fall in prices at the end of May an unpleasant corrective—meaning, of the excessively blown up fictitious capital. That statement is also intended as a soporific; the "correctives" have been made and now there is much less ground for anxiety, so to say.

But the magazine Business Week has taken a gloomier view of things. "Businessmen and investors are deeply alarmed about the future of the economy," it writes.

The underlying reasons for the drop in stock prices in the United States and especially the break on the market that took place at the end of May, lie in the weakening of American capitalism, in the growth of its internal and external contradictions.

The rate of growth of the

American economy during the past few years has been exceedingly low. There have been four recessions in production since the war: 1947-1949; 1953-54; 1957-58; and 1960-1961. The growth rates have been low in spite of the militarisation of the economy, which imperialism mistakenly regards as a built-in answer to all its problems.

Although at the beginning of 1961 the American economy did crawl out of the preceding recession, its present state can hardly be described as recovery. In 1961, industrial output increased less than 1 per cent against 1960. It is still marking time this year.

The number of totally unemployed is still over the four and a half million mark. Under-capacity production is again assuming larger proportions. At the end of May, the iron and steel industry was operating at only 55 per cent capacity. The sum of newly placed orders for machinery and plant has been dropping off since February and that is invariably a harbinger of the overall curtailment of production. Capital investments have shown no appreciable rise.

The position of the United States in the world capitalist system has grown much worse in the past few years. The U.S.' share in the industrial output of the capitalist world, which in 1947 stood at 53.4 per cent, was no more than 43 per cent in 1961. In its best years, the U.S. accounted for 50 per cent of steel output, but now it is down to 25 per cent. The U.S. monopolies are being forced to a retreat on the foreign markets by pressure from their West German and Japanese rivals.

Fall In Competitive Power

The competitive power of American commodities has fallen and its exports are meeting with increasing difficulties. That has worsened the U.S. balance of payments.

The deterioration would not be so noticeable if the United States were not spending billions annually to keep its armies and bases in dozens of other capitalist countries and supporting rotten puppet regimes.

Confidence in the American dollar has been undermined of late. Foreign states no longer are so eager to deposit their dollar earnings in American banks or turn them into short-term U.S. treasury bonds, and are asking more often for them to be exchanged for gold.

As a result, U.S. gold stores have been dwindling for five years in a row. They shrank by 6.3 million dollars from the end of 1957 to May 1962—or by almost 30 per cent.

In the two months of March and April 1962, the flow of gold from the United States amounted to 300 million dollars. The passive balance of payments and outflow of gold are weakening the economy's resistance to crises.

Internal contradictions are also growing in the United States. The monopolies are plotting another offensive against the people's standard of life. They are trying to take advantage of the break on the stock market to compel the government towards an even more reactionary domes-

PROVOCATIONS ON BERLIN BORDER

★ From P. Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN, July 27:

Every sovereign nation has the right to close its frontiers against hostile forces. Aggressors violating the frontiers of peace-loving nations have always been condemned by our national movement and the Government of free India.

WHAT is happening now in Berlin should cause grave concern to our Government, which is struggling to preserve world peace.

The barbaric provocations projected across the Berlin wall against the GDR capital have been on the increase in the recent weeks.

Firings and murders, espionage tunnels and plastic bombs, border incursions and attacks on suburban railways—these gangster-style crimes are committed by the Western Berlin police and fascist pindaries organised under the West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, who is assisted and supported by the Bonn regime.

Adenauer and Brandt are one in their sinister aims: sabotage any East-West talks on the German question; delay and obstruct a settlement on Berlin.

Provocations once again burst into flames as Gromyko was talking to Kusk in Geneva for a German agreement. A brief account of the latest actions of the criminal provocateurs is given below:

● On June 7, West Berlin policemen assisted by French occupation army drove in armed cars to break through the Berderneklemeke Street area, demolishing the border fencing. Prompt action by the GDR People's Police averted an armed clash.

R. K. Karanjia, Editor of Blitz who was on a short visit to Berlin told me that he was awakened on July 21 midnight by a blast on the Berlin wall which shook his hotel in Thalmannplatz very near the frontier.

Next day the New York Times reported that a time-bomb blew an eight foot hole in the wall. This was the second explosion in 24 hours according to the New York Herald Tribune correspondent's despatch.

These provocations are almost daily occurrences and open for anyone to see so that the leading newspapers of the West are forced to report them. It is gathered from newspapers that several other attempts have been made from West Berlin to destroy the GDR frontier defence installations.

All these acts of violence have the approval of West Berlin Mayor Herr Brandt. Speaking in the Senate recently, Brandt openly confirmed his complicity in such adventurist actions and urged his police to open "covering fire" at the GDR territory. He also invited Western occupation authorities to give "more active support" to West Berlin police.

An influential West Berlin paper Die Welt recently pointed out that "protective measures were a subject of talks between Brandt and Rusk in Berlin and Bonn."

Electric trains on the suburban railways of West Berlin, which are run by the GDR

Transport authorities (ever since 1945 by an agreement with the Soviet authorities) have recently been attacked.

The SHAN—Suburban electric trains—is the cheapest transport for West Berliners. Underground and omnibus run by the West Berlin monopolists costs 35 Fennigs per head while the GDR run suburban train costs only 20 Fennigs.

After a provocative speech and illegal claim on the GDR railway network made by Willy Brandt, fascist pindaries erected hindrances on the rail tracks. Four compartments of an evening train were attacked and damaged by them.

From July 11 to 15 alone, 254 window panes were broken.

Even the Chief of the West German Press Department has rejected Brandt's claim on GDR-owned railway. In a recent statement Herr Von Hase said, the Western powers were not considering moves to place the suburban trains under control of West Berlin City Council.

He added that a commission of representatives of West German and the three occupation authorities had reached the conclusion that the demands made by the West Berlin Mayor Brandt could not be complied with.

I am an on-the-spot witness of some of these criminal acts. I have seen six tunnels dug from West Berlin into GDR territory for espionage, traffic in human and underworld banditry. I have seen GDR frontier security installations which are all within GDR territory damaged or destroyed from West Berlin. I have seen attacks with explosive charges made from West Berlin on GDR frontier installations. I

have seen GDR frontier guards fired upon and killed by West Berlin police. I have heard violent explosions blasting off the Berlin wall.

While two GDR frontier guards have been killed in attacks in May and June, none of the West Berlin police were killed.

All these attacks have the characteristics of an act of aggression. The danger arising for international peace cannot be overlooked.

A Neo-Goering!

BERLIN, July 29: West Berlin police arrested a West Berliner named Ruediger Koenig, who was found lying wounded near the place of a new explosion on the Berlin border on July 25. This is the first time the West Berlin police has arrested a criminal provocateur, though hundreds of crimes against the frontier have been committed before from the West.

IMMEDIATELY after this sensational arrest, West Berlin press was hurriedly briefed by Brandt's press department that the arrested man who planted a bomb in the wall was "an agent of the East German Security Police".

This presentation of the case brings back to my mind the notorious Van der Lubbe story of 1933, when fascists under orders from Hitler and Goering burned Reichstag building and instituted trial against German Communist Party and Georgi Dimitroff. One wonders why the neo-Goering, Brandt, did not forge a party card for criminal Koenig!

Meanwhile contradictory reports in West Berlin and American press themselves prove

that the whole story is a propaganda stunt.

Facts however, show that undoubtedly a big West Berlin terror organisation must be behind the whole series of bomb explosions on the border. I have with me a photograph of an unexploded bomb recovered on July 25 from the site of explosion. The giant size and complicated mechanism of the explosive speaks all against the story of West Berlin press and New York Times that "a home-made bomb was set off by a Communist agent".

Anyone can see that this explosive can be manufactured and used only by a trained group of experts in an organised way. New York Times reported yesterday that four youngmen involved in the recent series of bomb attacks, who are friends of Ruediger Koenig were also arrested by West Berlin police. Political observers, acquainted with the history of cold war and Berlin provocations, can only laugh at the "sort of Communist scapegoat" produced by Brandt.

While Brandt is trying to put Berlin border on flames, West German war Minister Strauss in a broadcast over Bavarian Radio on Wednesday made a fantastic demand to station nuclear weapons along the borders of German Democratic Republic.

Unfortunately, the United States Government, the chief occupation power in West Berlin, is not taking any measure to thwart these acts of aggression against the national frontiers of the GDR. The Soviet Union in its note to the US on July 15, has charged that American occupation authorities in West Berlin, as well as the US Government, have been directly encouraging and supporting the organisers of hostility.

Economic Trouble Ahead...

*FROM FACING PAGE

such is the "solidarity" of the world capitalist economy. But analysis shows that it is not only a matter of "solidarity": the economies of the United Kingdom, the FRG, France and other countries are also subject to the operation of the factors which have gradually capsize the stock market boom that enjoyed such smooth sailing since the war.

In Western Europe as a whole, industrial output in 1961 only registered a 4.5 per cent rise, as against a rise of over 9 per cent in 1960. Judging by various signs, the decline has continued during the first half of 1962 as well.

The growing fight for markets has led to the aggravation of imperialist contradictions between the main countries of Western Europe, particularly Britain on the one hand, and Common Market countries on the other.

In Britain, the growth of production in 1961 was less than 2 per cent. In 1961 that country experienced another currency crisis; we say another because such crises have recurred there every two or three years since the war. The

basic reason for the last, as well as preceding crises was the weakening of Britain's positions on the world capitalist market. Considering her great dependence on foreign markets of sale and raw materials, such a weakening of her positions makes her economy chronically unstable.

The low rates of growth of the past few years are related to a considerable extent to the currency crises.

Britain is now preparing to enter the Common Market, where the West German monopolies have the upper hand. We do not know as yet what form it will take, but one thing at least is clear—that it harbours new difficulties for Britain's economy.

The competitive power of British commodities is low compared to that of the commodities of the other Common Market countries, especially West Germany. The easiest way to sell British commodities cheaper in other countries is to lower the exchange rate of the national currency. That has again raised the question of a possible devaluation of the pound sterling.

There is an influential group of capitalists in Britain, especially among those connected with its export trade, who hold that on entering the Common Market Britain will

*TURN OVERLEAF

Open Way Towards A Socialist Algeria

Programme Of The Communist Party Of Algeria

The recently-published Programme of the Algerian Communist Party is "a programme of national liberation, true democracy and economic and social progress."

"It is the programme for the building of an Algerian State, of national democracy, which should open up the way towards a socialist Algeria," declares this historic document. The first and so far the only statement of aims by any Algerian political group.

In defining "What the Algerian Republic should be," it calls firstly for "an independent republic, sovereign, one and indivisible," making it clear that this implies the evacuation "sooner or later" of French troops and bases.

Algerian unity implies the ending of all privileges arising out of colonisation. This is not incompatible with the guaranteeing of the legitimate non-colonialist interests of the Algerian minority of European or Jewish origin, with their equal representation within the elected assemblies, respect for their particular language, culture and religion, within the framework of Algerian law.

Secondly, the Programme declares that the Algerian Republic should be "a truly democratic republic". This, it points out, implies the rejection of authoritarian methods and of repression of the masses.

True democracy "should also be apparent in the institutions of the Algerian state," to be created by a Constituent National Assembly elected by direct, single, universal and secret ballot by all over the age of 18, with all Algerians over the age of 20 eligible to stand as candidates. This Constituent Assembly

should draw up a Constitution. Its provisions should include: — a single National Assembly elected for four years, with a government formed by it and responsible to it;

— a national non-regular people's army which will help in the tasks of reconstruction to the extent that it is not occupied with national defence... The people will ensure that this army... is not used as an instrument of reactionary and anti-democratic policies, as has been the case in many Middle East and Latin American countries;

— guarantees for human rights, individual liberty and freedom of thought, opinion, press, public meetings, association, worship, the recognition of trade union rights and the right to strike.

Thirdly, the Algerian Republic should be "a Social Republic" — "political independence alone will not bring about the tremendous change in the situation which is required; it should be accompanied by true economic independence and radical social measures."

Analysing the economic situation of Algeria, the Programme points out that it is characterised by "the relationship of domination and dependence imposed by the colonial regime."

"This domination is first of all direct; the landed property owners, ultra-colonialists, possess the best land whilst the French monopolists and foreign monopolists have their hands on the mineral and fuel resources, on

industrial enterprises and the banks...

"Domination is equally indirect; it is exercised by colonial institutions imposed on the people, such as the Customs Union (with France — Ed.) freedom to transfer capital, public investment control, bank credits..."

The Programme makes a critical examination of the financial and economic provisions of the Evian Agreement which brought about a cease-fire in Algeria.

"The Agreement marked a considerable step forward" and "admits the principle of the economic and financial sovereignty of Algeria" but "there are limitations to certain parts of this sovereignty, in particular in the section dealing with agrarian reform and nationalisation of the main wealth of the country."

The Algerian Communist Party demands the complete ending of economic and financial dependence on French imperialism, the breaking of the stranglehold of the French and international monopolies and an end to the privileges enjoyed by the colonialists and feudalists.

It calls for an economic plan to develop the national economy, diversify production (thus ending the dependence on a small number of crops or products characteristic of colonial economies) and improve living standards.

This plan should be based on: — agrarian reform; — the mobilisation of savings for investment, above all in heavy industry; — full employment on work of national interest.

On the first point, the Programme declares that "the Algerian Communist Party proposes the confiscation, pure and simple, and without compensation, of land owned by the big colonialists," pointing out that these number about 7,000 and alone own about 90 per cent of the colonised land.

It calls for the confiscation of the land of the big Algerian feudal land-owners and of big estates belonging to landlords who collaborated with the French colonialists.

The surplus land of big proprietors who did not betray the national cause should also be limited "in friendly fashion and taking into account the value of the land."

Free Land To Landless

The land should be redistributed free to landless poor peasants, to middle peasants with insufficient land (with priority for ex-servicemen of the Algerian Liberation Army and the families of those who died in the war) and also to "small farmers who are Algerian citizens of European origin who have insufficient land (giving priority to those who assisted the Algerian Liberation Army)."

It calls for the encouragement of genuine agricultural cooperatives. Certain big estates (notably the big vineyards producing good wines of which the export forms a big part of Algeria's national revenue) should become cooperatives or State farms run by agricultural workers and technicians.

The Programme's section on industrialisation calls for the nationalisation of Algeria's

natural wealth, including the rich Sahara oil and natural gas deposits, coal, iron, phosphates etc.

In addition to the building of a heavy industry, which it sees as the basis of economic independence, the Programme proposes the extension of light industry, including controlled private enterprise; the encouragement of traditional and modern artisans' cooperatives and the extension of the country's road and rail system built up by the colonialists primarily to facilitate the country's exploitation and the rapid deployment of troops.

The Programme outlines a series of social measures, including steps to aid victims of the war, a fair wage policy of equal pay for equal work, the eight-hour day, health, education housing and women's rights.

Underlining that progress depends upon "the total and enthusiastic mobilisation of our people", the Programme declares that "the first condition for this mobilisation is the conscious and resolute unity in action of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces within the nation."

"The Assembly, on the basis of a common programme, should make itself into a Front of national organisations grouped together, respecting the autonomy of each organisation and within the framework of a common discipline."

"Many patriots and leaders of the National Liberation Front feel that this assembly should be one single party. What should be the programme and ideology of this one party? The attitude of the Algerian Communist Party is opposed to a single party based on nationalist bourgeois ideology. Such a party, even if its leaders spring from the working class or the working peasantry, would sooner or later become the instrument for the domination of the working masses by the bourgeoisie, even if this

bourgeoisie has not, at the present moment a solid economic foundation in the country."

The Algerian Communist Party will be in favour of a single Party based on working class ideology if the political and social conditions are created, the Programme goes on, recalling the example of the United Socialist Party of Cuba.

"But whilst working for a single party formed on such a basis, and for the time when political and social conditions will be ripe for such a party, the Communist Party of Algeria does not support the suppression of parties reflecting the interests of anti-imperialist bourgeois or petit-bourgeois sections."

Abroad, the Programme advocates a policy of peaceful co-existence, non-adherence to military blocs (specifically excluding the use of the Algerian Sahara as a nuclear testing ground), solidarity with Morocco and Tunisia who are on the way to building a united Arab Maghreb based on anti-imperialism, democracy and social progress and cooperative and friendly relations with all countries, above all with the Socialist countries.

"Neither agrarian reform nor nationalisation will be sufficient to build socialism," it declares. Socialism, it goes on, means: — the social ownership of the principal means of production;

— the progressive collectivisation of agriculture;

— working class leadership of the national and progressive forces;

— the existence of a strong Marxist-Leninist Party.

"It is in order to lead our people, together with all Algerian patriotic and progressive forces, that our Party, conscious of its guiding role, has set out this programme and puts it before all Algerians, in this year which ought to be the start of new struggles for independence, for land and bread, for work and education, true democracy and the unlimited progress of our nation", it concludes.

For A New Algeria

*FROM PAGE 5

Beni Khedda, against the general staff of the National Liberation Army. And it is known that there is a constant increase in the military formations of the ALN, who demand convocation of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, for they consider that it alone has the necessary authority to make the required decisions and to prepare for the elections set for August 12.

To make clear the reactions developing in the Algerian masses, it might be emphasised that the newspaper, *El Moudjahid*, organ of the FLN wrote as follows:

"...Already the ominous customs of the former colonial administration are springing up again... We see the danger growing of a bourgeois infiltration which French neo-colonialism is trying to encourage by way of capitalist economy and its agents..."

And the idea of the unity needed by the Algerian people is strongly expressed in the organ of the FLN youth, *The Voice of Youth*, which writes:

"The condition essential to the continuation of the economic and social revolution remains unity, that unity which has given the Algerian people its triumph over a powerful enemy. Only through unity will we be able to maintain the integrity of the territory so dearly acquired."

As to the Algerian Communist Party, it declared, in an appeal dated July 7: "to find a genuine and democratic solution to the present crisis, the Algerian Communist Party will support every initiative, every measure, whatever its origin, whether it be the meeting of the CNRA, followed by a National Congress open to all anti-imperialist forces without exception, or a national commission of conciliation, with patriotic personalities of all tendencies, etc..."

All these efforts, said the Communist appeal, should result in letting the people have their say. And the appeal proposed the speedy election, according to proportionate representation, of a Constituent Assembly; the designation by the latter of an Algerian Government; the creation of a united front of all national forces, encompassing all organisations, all parties without exception, a front that would be based on the discipline of all and at the same time the respect for the independence and freedom of expression of each organisation.

The people's forces of Algeria are moving, and the French Communist Party, which is proud of having struggled against the war on Algeria and for Algerians' right to independence, gives its assurance, as do the Algerian Communists, to the entire Algerian people of its fraternal support in the struggle against all manoeuvres that should be attempted by the neo-colonialists.

Gupta Evades Issue Of Taxation In UPCC Meeting

Mainly two weapons were used by Chief Minister C. B. Gupta to evade discussion of his taxation proposals and to smother hostile criticism of fellow Congressmen at the UPCC meeting which had been called at Lucknow on July 28 and 29: Nehru's reported illness and secrecy of cabinet decisions.

It was known that a big section of the UPCC members were greatly agitated over the Gupta Ministry's proposals to levy fresh taxes on the rural population in the name of development, etc., and they had prepared themselves to have even a show-down on this issue, if necessary, in the UPCC meeting called despite Gupta's intense opposition.

Out of the five non-official resolutions which had been tabled by the UPCC members for discussion in the meeting, four related to the taxation proposals. All of them opposed further impositions on the people in the countryside.

Members Demand: No Further Taxes

For example, the resolution sent in by Keshav Pandey, a UPCC member from the eastern districts of U.P., just demanded that,

"No further taxes should be levied on the Kisans of the State and there must not be any direct or indirect increase in the land revenue that they have to pay..."

Digambar Singh, in his resolution, stated,

"The economic condition of the Kisans of most of the districts has deteriorated as compared to before. In very large numbers the Kisans are taking loans from Cooperative banks. This debt goes on increasing every year. Further deterioration of the condition of the peasants would inevitably lead to further fall in the production of food-grains... Hence, the UPCC draws the attention of State government towards this situation and demands that no additional taxes should be imposed on the peasantry of the State. It further asks it to give all possible help to the kisans..."

Ram Dayal Panchal's resolution referred to the widespread anxiety of the people and said,

"This meeting of the UPCC is aware of the deep anxiety that has been caused among the Kisans of the State by the news that the U.P. Ministry is going to enhance taxes on land revenue, etc. The Committee is of the firm opinion that the economic condition of the kisans is not such that they can bear the weight of any increase in land revenue. Therefore, this Committee strongly demands of the U.P. Government that land revenue must not be increased in any form..."

It was also understood that though the names of comparatively less-known members of the UPCC had been used to give notice of these resolutions, the stalwarts of the UP Congress and the Council of Ministers would fully join them when the discussion came.

And even though Nehru had

spoken a day earlier in Allahabad about the taxes, his remarks had been too general and did not particularly strengthen the hands of Gupta and his supporters.

He had also spoken of the need to make the rich pay for the plans and also about the need to exercise economy and avoid extravagance. These remarks could, in fact, be easily construed to be lending support to the contentions of those Congressmen who were opposing the taxes.

The situation appeared seriously tilted against Gupta. And, therefore, consciously or unconsciously, whispering appeals were launched to

"avoid quarrels and ugly scenes during Panditji's visit. He is not well and if he sees our bitter fights, he may get worse..."

Some of them went to the extent of suggesting that "this might be his last visit and therefore we must not do anything that might hurt or pain him."

Besides this, in the meeting of the Executive of the UPCC which was held before the UPCC meet, Gupta said that there could be no discussion on the question of tax increase because the "proposals are absolutely confidential and cannot be discussed in any manner before they are placed before the legislature. Any discussion on them at this time would be against parliamentary tradition..."

Before giving this argument in response to the insistence of several members of the Executive to discuss the proposed taxes, Gupta had said, "What is there to discuss about them among Congressmen! The Congress Working Committee, Planning Commission and Parliament have already approved the Plan. Now we have only to implement it and find resources to do so..." etc.

When this argument did not cut any ice, he took resort to the specious plea about parliamentary tradition.

"This concern of the Indian people for general and complete disarmament is all the greater because of the fact that we are engaged today in a gigantic effort to develop the economy of our Motherland... we come to this Congress to say: Disarm, cut down the war budgets and divert at least a fraction of the billions now spent on armaments to the development of the underdeveloped regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, so that we can go forward to higher living standards rapidly in the next few years..."

"The Indian people today are deeply disturbed and concerned at the strengthening of military pacts in Asia, the SEATO and the CENTO in particular. These pacts and the foreign military bases, which follow them, intensify differences amongst neighbours and increase world tension."

"The supply of armaments of the most modern variety to Asian countries by foreign powers, compels non-aligned countries also to divert a large portion of their resources for their defence budgets, thus impeding and delaying their plans for economic advance and raising of living standards."

Similarly, Mohan Lal Gautam, his bitterest foe, was allowed to be elected unopposed to the State Congress Parliamentary Board. Gupta would have never permitted this were he not in a very

tight corner both in the Council of Ministers and the Congress organisation.

All this, specially the appeal made in the name of Pandit Nehru, has enabled the Chief Minister to escape criticism. But neither the opposition to his proposals, nor the crisis created in the Congress and its ministry as a result of the proposed levies, is over.

For, it is known that, even though no discussion was allowed in the Executive of the State Congress, several members made it very clear that "the State government must not take any major step in the direction of enhancing taxes, specially the land revenue, without prior consultation with the UPCC and the Congress Assembly Party... The government must not do anything which the UPCC may find impossible to support..." (AAJ, July 30)

Similarly, even though the resolutions were not allowed to be discussed and for the first time in many years, the discussions in the UPCC were conducted in camera and the press was debarred from them, it is known that, the issue of the taxes had loomed large in the meeting.

An overwhelming majority of those who stood up to take part in what were told to be only "informal talks" severely attacked the idea of increasing the taxes.

They objected to the tactics employed to smother discussion of this vital issue and said, "You

The speakers demanded "economy" and to "regal extravagance and corruption," "realisation of the huge arrears from the textile and sugar industrialists and a smaller, workable ministry." Gautam himself made a powerful speech in support of these demands.

Speakers warned, as before, that the Congress and its ministry in the State "would be doomed" if Gupta did not listen to their advice not to put any more burdens on the people.

From *****

Ramesh Sinha

pl, specially the people of the countryside.

Some of them referred to the fact that this year only 16 lakhs had enrolled members of the Congress, when last year there were 26 lakh members of the organisation.

Even those who did not oppose the idea of taxation outright said that the taxes should be graded according to income. Some others suggested that if taxes have to be levied, a prior inquiry should be made of the conditions of the people.

Some others referred to the opposition movement that is rising in the villages against the taxes.

They objected to the tactics employed to smother discussion of this vital issue and said, "You

may shut us up in the name of discipline and what not, but you will not be able to shut up the people whose voices can be heard against the taxes all over the countryside..."

It is true enough, because even when this muffled discussion was going on, the entire town of Gorakhpur, under the united leadership of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party, was observing a complete hartal against the taxes and rising prices. Reports

From *****

Ramesh Sinha

indicate that it was the biggest and most complete hartal seen in Gorakhpur for a long time.

The PSP, which had been comparatively lukewarm till recently, has now set up a high-power nine-man committee, which includes Triloki Singh, Genda Singh, etc. also, to organise the struggle against taxes.

The SP has given a call to observe August 9 as the "Anti-tax Day" all over the State.

The CPI has had another of its zonal meetings at Ghazipur to prepare for the coming struggle. Members of Lok Sabha Jai Bahadur Singh and Sarjoo Pandey were also present in this meeting apart from the local and State leaders of the Communist Party.

Evidently the decks are being cleared.

DISARMAMENT — A Compelling Need

*FROM FRONT PAGE

tions of our people for the end of the arms race and the cold war, for real international co-operation based on peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between the different systems.

"This concern of the Indian people for general and complete disarmament is all the greater because of the fact that we are engaged today in a gigantic effort to develop the economy of our Motherland... we come to this Congress to say: Disarm, cut down the war budgets and divert at least a fraction of the billions now spent on armaments to the development of the underdeveloped regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, so that we can go forward to higher living standards rapidly in the next few years..."

"The Indian people today are deeply disturbed and concerned at the strengthening of military pacts in Asia, the SEATO and the CENTO in particular. These pacts and the foreign military bases, which follow them, intensify differences amongst neighbours and increase world tension."

"The supply of armaments of the most modern variety to Asian countries by foreign powers, compels non-aligned countries also to divert a large portion of their resources for their defence budgets, thus impeding and delaying their plans for economic advance and raising of living standards."

Similarly, Mohan Lal Gautam, his bitterest foe, was allowed to be elected unopposed to the State Congress Parliamentary Board. Gupta would have never permitted this were he not in a very

"This aspect of disarmament — the ending of all military pacts and the liquidation of foreign military bases — concerns us vitally."

"The Indian delegation wishes to draw the attention of this Congress particularly to the serious moves to extend the possession of nuclear weapons to new countries and regions. While demanding that nuclear weapons be not introduced into new countries under any circumstances, we propose the establishment of nuclear-free zones in South East Asia and in the Middle East..."

As I write, the newspapers carry announcements by the U.S. Government of plans for new high altitude tests. But equally, they carry news of actions and plans for action by the people. Bertrand Russell plans resistance against nuclear rockets on September 9 in London. In India all peace organisations are likely to observe Gandhiji's birthday — October 2 — as a "Disarmament Day".

We Must Unite All Peace Forces

"We realise fully that the common worldwide efforts for disarmament and peace are of decisive importance for the movement for national independence and strengthen it in the most effective manner. With the abolition of military pacts and the removal of foreign military bases, the movement for independence will gain new impetus..."

Here, in a nutshell are the special compelling reasons which make all Indians ardent protagonists of the movement for disarmament. It was this which brought together eminent and representative men and women of the most varying opinions in the Indian delegation to the Mos-

cow Congress. It is this which can and must unite all the peace forces in this country in a gigantic movement against nuclear war.

Let us recall the spirit of the great demonstration in Calcutta organised in July on the initiative of the West Bengal Peace Council in protest against the U.S. High Altitude Test of the memorable whole-day vigil in Bombay at the end of June against the U.S. threat of high altitude tests.

Let the Indian people go forward, hand in hand with the peoples of all lands, in the front lines of the struggle for struggle, for disarmament and against the threat of a nuclear war — united and together, all peace organisations, all organisations of the masses, believing in peace, in a real united front of the peace workers of this land.

This is our task, this is our pledge for Hiroshima Day.

(August 1, 1962)

West Germany: No Economic Miracle

*FROM OVERLEAF

have to simultaneously lower the exchange rate of its currency. That state of affairs can hardly contribute to the stability of its stock market. The panic on Wall Street found the soil ripe for it in London City as well.

The apologists for capitalism are making much of the "economic miracle" in West Germany to prove what great potentialities are allegedly still latent in the capitalist economy. It is true that there has been a considerable rise in production in Federal Germany.

But as time passes, it is becoming increasingly apparent that this increase stems largely from transitory, short-lived factors.

The economic conjuncture in the FRG has deteriorated considerably over the past year in spite of its militarisation. The following figures show that clearly enough: growth of industrial output in 1960 was 11 per cent, and in 1961—5.8 per cent; in the first quarter of 1962, output was only 2.5 per cent above the level for the same period in the preceding year.

A very important element of Federal Germany's growing production since the war was its increasing expansion on the foreign markets. But that stimulus has lost its effectiveness in the past year. In 1960, the physical volume of Federal German exports increased 15 per cent, and in 1961—only 6 per cent. At the turn of 1962, the "credit side" or preponderance of exports over imports in Federal Germany's trade balance actually disappeared for the first time in many years.

These basic factors knocked the bottom out of the stock market boom which resulted in the really monstrous inflation of stock prices. The reaction of the West German markets to the panic in New York is an ominous danger signal. The same can be said of the reaction of the markets in France, Japan, Italy and a number of other countries.

The instability of the capitalist economy is growing and the stock market reflects the fact in its own way. The crash is undoubtedly a harbinger of further upheavals in the capitalist economy.

(Kommunist, No. 9)

Declaration Of Cairo Conference

The conference of developing countries recognizes the existence of internal problems of economic development facing these countries, including the mobilization of human, material and financial resources, and the need for the rapidly increasing per capita income through accelerated economic development to be the cardinal aim of developing countries, says a declaration adopted unanimously by the closing session of the economic conference of developing countries in Cairo on July 18.

The conference recommended the drawing up and implementation of the appropriate effective instruments of economic growth, says the declaration. It adds that the "countries that suffer from the pressure of population on resources available should accelerate their rate of economic development, and in the meantime take appropriate legitimate measures to deal with their population problem". The declaration says that the conference recognizes the need for developing countries to take appropriate measures of agricultural reforms for raising agricultural productivity, and stresses the importance of diversification and industrialization in broadening the national economy, increasing the national income as well as in creating new job opportunities.

It called upon the developing countries to improve means of transportation and communication among them, in order that this diversification and industrialization bear fruit in the internal, inter-regional and international fields.

The conference recognizes that a deficiency, common to developing countries is the lack of adequate skilled manpower and of technically and scientifically skilled personnel. The declaration points out: "It therefore considers vital that all developing countries should launch more intensified programmes of technical-scientific training to a much larger proportion of their population."

Emphasis On Stability

The conference stressed the importance of the maintenance of financial and monetary stability, the encouragement of saving and the mobilization of resources for economic development, and considered that public and institutional savings should be developed as major sources of domestic financing and development. Care should be taken to coordinate domestic sources of financing with the foreign resources available, and the developing countries should give special care to the mobilization of savings and formation of capital through proper utilization of human resources, the declaration says.

It emphasizes that "the experience gained by developing countries in their internal development is increasing continuously and it is of the greatest value for cooperation both among themselves and between them and the developed countries."

The declaration says that "the conference considers that expansion of trade between developing countries, particularly on a regional basis, can make a useful contribution to economic development and recommends that appropriate measures be taken to promote this objective".

The conference calls upon the

connection with any negative effects of integration policies of industrial countries, and adopt as a matter of urgency, a programme of measures for the abolition of tariff and non-tariff and of all other discriminatory economic barriers adversely affecting the exports of developing countries", the declaration underscores.

It said that the conference urged that concrete and resolute steps be taken within the framework of the UN to stabilize international primary commodity markets in short term and in the long run, "on a fair and remunerative basis and taking into consideration the trend of prices of manufactured goods". The conference recommended the immediate and energetic implementation of the programme of action adopted by GATT with a view to improving the prospects of the exports of developing countries, and participating governments to cooperate effectively within the framework of GATT with a view to protecting their common interests, the declaration says. It adds that the conference considers the establishment of a compensatory financing system a matter of great urgency and invites the international monetary fund to examine measures for a more effective balancing of payments of developing countries.

Regional Groupings

The conference expresses its apprehension that regional economic groupings of industrialized countries will adversely affect the interests of the developing countries, if conceived and operated in a restrictive and discriminatory manner". The declaration points out: "International trade should expand on the basis of equality and non-discrimination and that action should be taken to minimize the consequences of various economic communities and associations of the industrialized countries on the economies of the developing countries and on world trade. The declaration urged the industrialized countries to adopt positive and continued measures to ensure that the developing countries' exports to their markets were enabled to expand steadily on a non-discriminatory basis, to enable the developing countries to rectify their balance of payments position."

The conference considered the possible impact of economic groupings on the economy of developing countries and agreed that in formulating their policy of economic relations with the industrial economic groupings, the developing countries should take into consideration the effects of such relations on their programmes of industrialization and on their trade structure", the declaration points out.

International Trade

In its chapter on problems of international trade, the declaration says that the conference is aware that the problems facing the developing countries in this field call for continued action and mutual consultation on their part. It recommends the governments of the participating and other developing countries to continue consultations in order to exchange information and views on economic relations with industrial countries, to concert the attitudes to be adopted by them with regard to economic questions examined by international organisations, and to exchange views and prepare the ground for concerted action con-

Foreign Aid

"The conference affirms its support for international aid based on mutual respect and common benefit, and recognizes the usefulness to developing countries of all aid given on this basis", the declaration says. It noted, however, that the present volume of international aid was not sufficient and its forms and methods were not satisfactory, which resulted in widening the gap between the

Preamble

A PREAMBLE to the Cairo declaration of developing countries, adopted at their closing session in Cairo on July 18, expresses concern of the countries taking part in the Cairo meeting over the differences in the standard of living in different parts of the world, and underscores that in spite of the general recognition of the need to step up the economic development of underdeveloped countries, no adequate concrete and positive measures have been taken to offer these countries a possibility of speedier advance and development.

The preamble therefore points to the necessity of the developing countries being offered maximum facilities, so that they may fully utilize their natural wealth and resources.

In respect to the preservation of peace and further progress, the preamble stresses the need for joint actions by the developing countries, by

which they could solve many of their problems and ensure speedier development on a larger international scale. It particularly points to the indispensability of mobilizing all internal forces and means of these countries, and eliminating the negative effects of individual international factors. In this connection the preamble points out that the United Nations has asked for implementation of full decolonization, as an indispensable basis for economic development of peoples and for complete realization of their sovereign rights.

The Cairo Economic Conference considers that the economic and social problems of developing countries may be settled effectively by means of joint efforts on both the national and international planes, within the frameworks of the UN Charter and international cooperation and assistance, says the preamble in conclusion.

developed and developing countries, and affected adversely world economic activity and progress by diminishing the quantum of trade.

Consequently, it adversely affected the demand for imports from and level of economic activity in the industrial countries. The conference urged that steps be taken to correct the situation in the distribution of international aid, which had also tended in the past to be uneven. It drew attention to the necessity of ensuring the continuity of international assistance and of integrating international assistance with national economic development plans and programmes.

"The conference emphasizes that international financing must be designed to promote the economic and social development and economic emancipation of developing countries, which can be best achieved through public financing in the form of low-interest, long-term credits and other forms that do not burden unduly the balances of payment of developing countries", the declaration points out.

"The conference appeals that the recommendation of the General Assembly concerning the allocation of one per cent of the combined national incomes of the economically advanced countries for the economic development of developing countries be implemented as a matter of urgency", the declaration underlines. It goes on to say that the conference stressed that the general tasks of international financing could be most adequately achieved through channelling of such assistance to a greater extent through the UN, and urged that "SUNFED" should start its work without delay.

The conference appealed to the economically developed countries to increase the volume of international financing aid for development and to implement the solemn declaration on the allocation of a portion of any savings from disarmament to a fund for the economic development of developing countries.

The declaration further stressed that all measures intended to develop scientific, technological and human resources in developing countries were becoming of vital importance, and the UN programme of international technical cooperation and other mutual programmes of technical assistance had been and should continue to be of great value and help to developing countries. The conference urged a substantial increase in the funds provided by the UN and advanced countries for technical, professional and

managerial training in developing countries.

It stressed the need to adapt scientific research and technological developments to the specific conditions and requirements of these countries, and recommended the exchange of experts and technicians between the developing countries, on the one hand, and among the developing and developed countries, on the other.

The conference invited the participating countries to cooperate closely in the UN and other international bodies with a view to ensuring economic progress and strengthening peace among all nations, and recommended their governments to strengthen the economic and social activities of the UN.

For A World Economic Conference

"The conference declares itself resolutely in favour of the holding of an international economic conference within the framework of the UN, and calls upon developing countries to work for the convening of this conference at an early date, in 1963", the declaration points out.

The conference requested its chairman to send the declaration to the governments of participating and other interested countries and to the UN Secretary General "so as to be included in the agenda of the 17th session of the UN General Session as a separate item", the declaration emphasizes. It goes on to say that the conference urged the countries taking part to keep continuously in touch on all matters relevant to the implementation of its conclusions.

"In particular, consultations should be established, whenever appropriate, to ensure cooperation between the participating countries in the presentation of the conclusions reached in Cairo, in the meetings of the UN General Assembly and of other international agencies", the declaration points out.

It adds that the participating countries agreed to call meetings, seminars, expert groups and conferences to further the development aims of developing countries and the cause of a just and equitable economic cooperation among all nations. The conference also urged that mutual consultations and studies should be initiated to ensure the proper presentation of the developing countries' points of view at the proposed UN world trade conference.

Bank Tribunal Award

Analysed By AIBEA Central Executive Committee.

Following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the A-I Bank Employees' Association which met from July 27 to 29:

AFTER 27 months of its appointment the Award of the National Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes) has been published. This is the second wage revision in the ever progressing Banking Industry in course of last 12 years.

During the period the Banking Industry has registered an all round progress and today it has stabilised its position and is on the threshold of an era of abundant prosperity. After the expiry of the last Award in March 1959, the bank employees sought for revision in the wages on the basis of progressive evaluation of social justice and settled principles of industrial law and conventions. This Award manifests a tendency of a retrograde step as it has rejected all such principles and conventions. The unanimous decision of the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference setting out norms for need-based wage has been criticised and ridiculed. The Tribunal has demonstrated an arrogance of superior wisdom which even seeks to spurn the socialistic goal of the country.

The findings of the Tribunal smack of caprice and bias against the workmen and are devoid of judicial approach. The case of the workmen was presented with the help of innumerable exhibits full of facts and data. Nowhere in the Award the Tribunal referred to these arguments and exhibits but complained of "lack of data". The Tribunal failed to realise the difference between the functions of an Industrial

Tribunal and a Civil Court.

The Award has no doubt granted some increase in the existing wages, but the same bears no relation either to the minimum needs of the workers or to the paying capacity of the Industry. The increase is very low in comparison to the existing emoluments of other middle class employees in comparable concerns and is insignificant in the context of the high price level. Even the meagre increase is not uniform and in majority of cases the rise is between 2 and 3 per cent. Unwarranted reliefs and concessions at the cost of the poor employees have been granted to the big banks including the State Bank of India and the foreign Exchange Banks who did not plead their incapacity to pay. No justifiable reason has been assigned for not classifying the Subsidiary Banks in 'A' class. The wage scales are defective and faulty. To what extent the scales are illogical and ridiculous will be clear from the provision of annual increment of rupee one for subordinate staff and yet efficiency bar has been put to earn this one rupee annual increment when the value of a rupee at the present cost of living has been reduced to 30%. Cases are not lacking where the wages of the bank employees stand frozen for a few years to come.

Many issues of vital importance to the employees such as the pay scales for supervisory staff, promotion policy, abolition of guarantee cashier system, weekly rest to watch and ward staff etc. have been left undecided on one plea or other.

The response to the strike call has been unprecedented. It was practically a spontaneous action by the students against the steep rise in fees. Boys and girls, students of Arts and Science, Law and Medicine, Engineering and Commerce are all on strike.

Strike has been extremely peaceful so far. Students have been holding meetings and demonstrations. They have set up an action committee with representatives from various colleges and the meetings are addressed by the Students themselves.

The anger of the students can be well appreciated from a glance at the increase that has been effected in the fees:

Thus there has been nearly 50 per cent rise in the fees which has seriously affected the student community. Government argues that the fees in the old Mysore area was low and since the cost of educational institutions have gone up, the Government has to introduce compulsory and free primary education and also since the fees charged in the neighbouring states and also in the other colleges in Mysore State itself are higher, the increase in the fees is justified.

These arguments have failed to convince the students and the public. After all, the additional income to the Government by this increase in fees is only about Rs. 5 lakhs. This can

The Tribunal has agreed in principle to abolish Class IV area, but in doing so, it proceeded with the imaginary difficulties of the Banks and extended the continuance of this Area for another four years.

The principle of merger of dearness allowance with basic wage has been reduced to a farce, as the only benefit that could accrue to the employees from such merger has been taken away by providing that the pay in relation to provident fund, gratuity and/or pension is to be taken at 80/75 per cent of the new basic pay in the case of clerical and subordinate staff respectively. Such a formula is unparalleled and is an innovation fraught with dangerous possibilities for the working class as a whole.

The Tribunal has drastically curtailed and withdrawn many of the other benefits which the employees earned in the shape of pay and allowance and has also attacked some other rights and privileges. It has given a free hand to the banks to exploit the employees and further, has blocked the employment potential in a rapidly growing industry like banking by lifting the ceiling on the overtime work.

The All India Bank Employees Association co-operated with the Tribunal notwithstanding the fact that it was foisted on the employees much against their will, but the Tribunal failed to do justice to the legitimate claims of the bank employees. The Award manifests prejudicial approach against the working people. The Tribunal, instead of resolving the disputes referred to it, has added more to the problems of the bank employees.

This Central Committee meeting of the All India Bank Employees Association is, therefore, of the con-

The Tribunal, appointed in March 1960, rejected in December 1960 the demand of the employees for interim relief on the plea that the main award would be out in six months' time admitting that after the matters have been heard fully, if the case warrants, a provision can be made for giving effect to the Award from earlier date. In June 1962, the Tribunal admitted that the case has been made out for an increase in the wages but refused to give retrospective effect to its award from such date.

At a time when the Industry reached the height of its prosperity, having increased its net profits in 1961 by 41% over 1960, the Award has given to the employees serving in the leading banks an increase of wages of 2 to 3%. Taking the Bank employees as a whole in the country, the increase is between 6 to 7%.

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considered opinion that the Award is unsatisfactory and disappointing. The Award requires improvements and adjustments. It is necessary to remove the anomalies, inadequacies and contradictions apparent on the face of the Award.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that necessary improvement and adjustments will normalise industrial relations, otherwise, industrial peace envisaged as the objective of Industrial adjudication will be frustrated. A flat of quasi-judicial body like that of an Industrial Tribunal cannot resolve industrial disputes, if it fails to enthuse the employees.

The All India Bank Employees Association believes that the Banks will take note of this widespread dissatisfaction amongst the employees and in the interest of all concerned will sit across the table and bring about a settlement.

The Central Committee being fully conscious of the anxieties and feelings of the employees all over the country, calls upon them to repulse firmly any attack sought to be made on their existing rights. The Central Committee further calls upon the Bank employees to mobilise support to the efforts of the All India Bank Employees Association to secure improvements, adjustments etc. as are necessary for the redress of legitimate grievances arising out of the Desal Award.

MYSORE

Agitation Against Increased Fees

From Our Correspondent

Thousands of students from all over the old Mysore area of the State have gone on a Protest Strike against the sudden increase in the College fees by the Government. The proposed increase affects nearly 15,000 students of the old Mysore area of the State who are studying in the Colleges affiliated to the Mysore University.

be made up by other means and not by raising the fees. Opposition to this action of the Government has been voiced by the various political parties in the State. Strong opposition was also voiced inside the Assembly. The Karnataka State Council of the Communist Party has openly supported the Students' strug-

	Old Rates	New Rates
Pre-University Arts and Commerce	Rs. 90	Rs. 144
Pre-University Science	Rs. 90 plus	Rs. 144 plus
B.A. or B.Com. B.Sc.	Rs. 27	Rs. 104 special fee.
	Rs. 126	Rs. 183 3/4
	Rs. 126	Rs. 183 plus
		Rs. 12 special fee.
M.A. degree	Rs. 144	Rs. 250
M.Sc.	Rs. 144 plus	Rs. 250
	Rs. 45 (Laboratory charges)	Rs. 256 plus
		Rs. 15

gle and called upon the Government not to stand on prestige but to settle the strike in an amicable way.

The Party has also congratulated the students for the peaceful, disciplined and united struggle. Even sections of Congressmen have voiced their opinion against this sudden increase in fees. Ex-Minister of Education Chandraki spoke in the Assembly criticising the Government for raising the fees at this stretch. He said, this has hit the people. This should have been done gradually, he said.

Leading papers like Prajavana and Samyukta Karnataka have also written editorials criticising the Government.

(July 29)

GUJARAT PROTESTS AGAINST RISING PRICES, TAXES

★ From Our Correspondent

Ahmedabad, July 31.

Unprecedented scenes of mass enthusiasm and action were witnessed today in Ahmedabad and several other places like Baroda, Nadiad, Broach, etc., in Gujarat.

THE Natan Janata Parishad headed by Indulal Jainik, MP had issued a call for a general strike, hartal, meetings and processions and marches on Assembly and Government offices on July 30 to register popular protest against rising prices, growing

taxation, for introduction of teaching of English from V form, for martyrs' memorial and for keeping Ahmedabad as the State's capital.

Preparations were going on for a whole month and dozens of

meetings were held in Ahmedabad and other places. Nonetheless, nobody expected that popular response would be so great.

Actually, from early morning, the whole city was out on the streets. All schools and colleges observed complete strike and some absolutely ditched principals had also to bow before the will of the students. All shops, the bigger markets, the share bazar, hotels and restaurants and even cinema houses, remained closed for the day.

From eleven in the morning, big processions from every ward began converging on Manek Chowk, the place from where the main procession was to start. At 1.30 p.m. a huge procession over a lakh strong started and after two hours reached the area near the Vidhan Sabha, beyond which its entry was banned by the Police Commissioner. The human mass swelled to over two lakhs and they turned into a vast mass meeting.

The Janata Parishad had prepared a memorandum briefly reflecting public opinion and popular sentiment regarding the points mentioned above. It drew a vivid picture of the rising cost of living and consequent poverty, the growing burden of Central and State taxation, Government's wanton policy of constructing a new capital at the cost of over 30 crores of rupees and its obstinate refusal to allow the construction of a martyrs' memorial in memory of the 31 martyrs of the Maha Gujarat movement, etc.

While the mass meeting was going on, a deputation of four leaders of the Janata Parishad, led by Dinker Mehta and accompanied by three MLAs of the independent progressive group including its Secretary Manu Palkhiwala, went to Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Chief Minister of Gujarat. They had prolonged discussion at the end of which Dinker Mehta pointed out that there existed a deep gulf between the Congress Government and the people.

The Government failed totally to appreciate the sentiments

of the people as well as the grim realities of life under Congress rule. For, Dr. Jivraj had pointblank stated that there had been no rise in prices during the last three years, taxes were not heavy and martyrs' memorial at the place of their martyrdom would not be permitted. The deputation made out an irrefutable case but the Government maintained its dead obstinacy.

The great mass meeting was addressed by Indulal Jainik and Dinker Mehta gave a report of the talks with the Chief Minister. He also pointed out that July 30 was not the last but the first day of a great and growing struggle in which the people had delivered the first powerful blow.

The demonstrations today were on a much vaster scale than ever before. Even the great meetings and processions of the Maha Gujarat movement appeared small

ler compared to these. A new chapter of mass awakening and struggles has opened up for the people of Gujarat.

The Swatantra Party and PSP were nowhere in the picture. It is now being realised that these parties have nothing else as their programme, except contesting elections and disrupting popular unity. The Swatantra Party leaders have declared this in so many words.

The Communist Party in Gujarat, its units in the whole State fully and actively participated and worked for the success of this day. At Baroda, Chandubhai Patel and at Broach Thakorebhai Shah led the day's demonstrations. At Ahmedabad, Razzak, Hanuman Singh, Gordhan Patel, Nalini Mehta and others were in the forefront along with several leaders of the Janata Parishad like Dr. Somabhai, Dr. Ashoke Mehta, Pranlal Shah and others.

PUNJAB GRAIN-DEALERS' STRIKE

Following is a statement issued by the Secretariat of Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India in connection with the grain-dealers' strike in Punjab:

IT is unfortunate that the grain dealers of the Punjab have chosen to go on general strike as a protest against the Marketing Rules recently enforced.

The Secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the CPI firmly supports such of the changes sought to be introduced by the new Marketing Act and Rules as are beneficial to the peasant-producers who sell their produce in the market.

For quite a long time the peasant-sellers have suffered from market malpractices and have been burdened with illegal, improper and unjust charges. It is necessary that full justice is done to them through regulation of market practices.

At the same time the Secretariat calls upon the State Government to implement the Act and the Rules in such a manner that unnecessary hardship and harassment is not caused to the honest traders and other market

functionaries and the interests of labour are fully protected.

Without detracting from the concessions given to the peasants, concessions may be allowed to the traders in the matter of grant of licenses, quantum of license fee, interval allowed for payment of market fees. They should be given full protection against harassment at the hands of corrupt officials.

The Secretariat further demands of the Government to hold elections to Market Committees forthwith so that both producers and traders can elect their representatives to the said Committees and through them seek redressal of their complaints.

The Secretariat appeals to all the honest traders to re-adjust and reconcile themselves to necessary changes in old market practices in the interest of peasant producers and labour. The welfare of peasants will in the ultimate analysis be conducive to their own welfare.

DELHI POWER CRISIS

★ From Front Page

detail, we will find that the Punjab authorities themselves have adopted a very callous attitude in regard to the power requirements of Delhi. (They have displayed the same kind of callousness in regard to release of water in Jamna, the main source of water supply to the capital.)

In such a situation, the minimum step (and perhaps the only step) for the Delhi authorities to take would have been to build up their own generating plants to increase production of electricity in Delhi.

No serious attempt has been made in this direction since 1947. On three occasions, projects for installing thermal plants were mooted. They were approved by the Delhi State Electricity Board. But they were given up because certain officials in the Government of India came in the way.

Now they have started building a power station (with a capacity of 20,000 KW). But this project

also has been delayed by at least three years — thanks to the unhelpful attitude of the Government of India.

Certain people very high up in the Government of India were opposed for a long time to give a certain plot of land for the construction of the building for the thermal plant because they were interested in giving it to Gandhi Smarak Samiti.

Thus bureaucratic inefficiency and callousness and lack of foresight and planning have contributed to the present misery of the people of Delhi.

The present crisis may be over in another three to four weeks. But that will not be the end of the trouble. Power breakdowns in Delhi are frequent. Therefore, what is needed is some serious step to augment the power supply in the city.

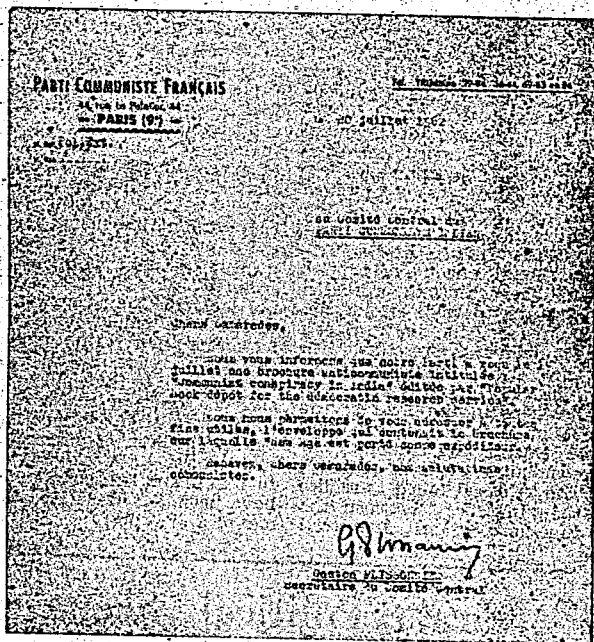
Meanwhile, there must be some sort of joint control over

Nangal power sub-station in Delhi. It is strange that the Delhi Electric Supply Undertaking has no say in the affairs of the sub-station. It is entirely the business of the Punjab officials.

Secondly, the big industrial units in Delhi must be asked to work their own generators which are now lying idle because they can get cheaper power from the DESU. This will save several thousands of KW of electricity which can be made use of by others who need it and do not get it now.

The Government of India has now appointed an Inquiry Committee to go into the question of the present power crisis. But what is there to enquire about? Don't they know how the present situation has come about — how the Government of India itself is responsible for the present crisis? It is high time that instead of more Committees etc., some concrete steps are taken to alleviate the difficulties.

WHO WILL ANSWER?



When a particular thing is despatched to somebody by post, it is only natural to expect that the addressee will receive what is being sent to him.

Of course, there may be cases where the entire thing is lost or misplaced. But in cases where the recipient gets the packet all right but with changed contents, it is quite natural to presume that there is some monkey trick somewhere.

A few days back, we received a letter (see photostat) from Gaston Plissonnier, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, which informed us that on July 19, the CPF received in the New Age (Monthly) packet, an anti-communist publication entitled "Communist Conspiracy in India", published by the

Popular Book Depot. The New Age (Monthly) was not there.

Gaston Plissonnier has also sent us the cover of the packet in which the New Age was actually posted. The packet was sent per book post and the printed label on it clearly showed its contents.

It cannot therefore be the case that this change in the content was just due to careless repacking after someone had opened it out of curiosity, let us say.

We leave it to our readers to guess the reason behind this manipulation since they are well aware of the working of our postal department. But the question is who will officially answer for it — the postal authorities, or the special branch?