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# NATIONALISE BANKING

## Lessons Of The Crash

### Editorial

**THE SORRY STATE OF** affairs of the Palai Central Bank, revealed by the Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha on August 9, does not affect Kerala alone. The Bank has branches and a clientele all over the country, and as such its crash will lead to tragic consequences for several thousands of depositors and employees in the entire country.

It is, therefore, but right that the attention of the Government of Kerala, members of Parliament from Kerala and other States, and public opinion in general, should be concerned with the question of how to avert the catastrophe that is awaiting the depositors of the Bank numbering over 80,000 and the employees numbering over 5,000.

It is also right that proposals should be made that either the State Bank of India should take over all the assets and liabilities of this Bank, or that the State Government of Kerala or the Central Government should come forward and guarantee the revival and smooth functioning of the Bank, etc.

Efforts in this direction should not, however, blind the authorities concerned to certain very important aspects of the problem.

Not even the stoutest defenders of the Palai Central Bank authorities can deny that there is something wrong with the way in which the affairs of the Bank have been managed. While the spokesmen of the Central Government and of the Reserve Bank have not so far given a satisfactory reply to the criticisms made by the directors of the Bank that the figure of the liquid assets of the Bank as given by the Minister is incorrect, even the directors of the Bank have not challenged the other and more important facts stated by the Minister. They have not, for example, challenged the statement that the Reserve Bank had repeatedly given instructions to the Palai Bank and that these instructions were violated.

Nor have they denied the fact, brought out by the Minister for Revenue and expenditure, Gopala Beddy, that the Reserve Bank has not so far licensed the Bank, since it has not satisfied itself with the way in which it has been managed. Statements pertaining to the unusually high percentage of irrecoverable and 'sticky' advances have also not been denied.

Under these circumstances, it is the duty of the Central Government to inform Parliament and the people as to the true state of affairs of the Bank and who are responsible for bringing about such a state of affairs, as well as the way in which the Reserve Bank has used or failed to use the powers conferred upon it by the Banking Companies Act in order to see that the weaknesses of the Bank are overcome in time and the interests of the depositors adequately safeguarded.

### Save Depositors, Employees!

We would, therefore, demand of the Central Government a searching enquiry into the whole case by a committee of enquiry consisting of well-known economists and other individuals experienced in banking and presided over by an eminent Judge.

The appointment of such a committee of enquiry and the work of that committee should obviously approach the work of saving the interests of the depositors and employees. It is, however, obvious that all the deposits made in the Bank can be repaid in full and all the employees of the Bank guaranteed their employment only if either the State Government or the Central Government or the State Bank of India comes forward and compensates for the losses that have indisputably been made by the Bank.

If this is done, the question will naturally arise: Is it right and proper that public money is utilised to compensate for the losses incurred by a private bank, while other private banks which are, at present, making profits but which may some time or the other make losses in their turn are allowed to remain in private hands? In other words, if the State or Central Government takes upon itself the responsibility of reimbursing the losses made by any bank on the perfectly justified ground that it is the responsibility of a welfare State to protect the interests of the large number of depositors, is it not then the corollary of such an acceptance of governmental responsibility that all the banks should be nationalised? A repetition of the Palai Central Bank affair or the affair of Laxmi Bank or other banks can be averted only by the State taking over all the assets and liabilities of all scheduled banks.

Powerful forces are, however, working not only against nationalisation of banks but also against a thorough enquiry into the Palai Bank case itself. Efforts are being made to make it appear that not only the depositors and employees of the Bank, but even its directors and other persons who have been responsible for its mismanagement should be saved. The whole strength of the ruling parties in Kerala is being used to see that public money is utilised to prop up the Bank as it is, without taking rigorous measures against those responsible for the present situation. These efforts should be firmly resisted and defeated.

August 17, 1960.

# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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## C. P. I. EXECUTIVE MEETS: COMMUNIQUE

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which commenced its meeting on August 10 in New Delhi concluded its session in the afternoon of August 17.

The main subjects which were taken up for discussion were—the Central Government employees' strike, the situation in Punjab, the recent disturbances in Assam and the language question, the question of preparations for the Party Congress and matters connected with it, and the Draft of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee on the Central Government employees' strike, the Punjab situation and the Assam disturbances have been released separately.

Some of the shortcomings of Party units and Party members which came to light in the course of the Central Government employees' strike were also criticised by the Committee and necessary steps to overcome these weaknesses are being taken.

The Executive Committee welcomed the Twelve-Parties Communiqué issued at Bucharest and endorsed the same.

Excepting Comrades Dange and Bhowani Sen who are ailing, all members attended this meeting. Also attending this meeting were invitees Comrade Yogendra Sharma, Secretary, Bihar State Council of the Party and Comrade Achintya Bhattacharya, Member of the Party's National Council from Assam.

The Executive Committee decided to send a two-man delegation consisting of Comrades K. Damodaran and Harekrishna Konar, to attend the forthcoming Congress of the Vietnam Laodong Party.

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad has left for Kerala on August 17.

Comrades P. Ramamurthy and Z. A. Ahmad have been deputed to attend the forthcoming meeting of the Assam State Council of the Party, study the situation on the spot and report.

Comrades B. T. Ranadive and M. Basavapuniah have been deputed to attend the meeting of the Maharashtra State Council of the Party being held from August 20 on the eve of their State Party Conference.

As the discussion on the Draft Third Five-Year Plan and the outline of the Political Report have remained inconclusive, the Central Executive Committee decided to meet again from September 4 to 7 in Delhi.

The meeting of the Central Executive and the National Council to finalise the draft documents for the forthcoming Party Congress has been provisionally fixed to be held from November 2 to 15 in Bombay.

## Resolution On Assam

THE text of the Central Executive Committee's resolution on Assam reads:

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India notes with deep distress and revulsion the recent disturbances in Assam.

The urge for giving the Assamese language its cherished status is just. But in the name of advancing the cause of this language, orgies of murder, arson, looting and other forms of violence were unleashed by anti-national and anti-social elements. For several days Assam passed into the hands of

frenzied rioters and hooligans. Almost all the districts in the State were, in one degree or another, affected and the victims of this holocaust were the Bengali-speaking people, many of whom have lived in Assam for generations.

In the pre-independence days, the Assamese and the Bengali-speaking people fought shoulder to shoulder against the alien rule and made their joint contributions to India's freedom movement. After independence, the shared aspirations for building the country and for a better life impelled them in

many common endeavours and struggles.

It is a tragedy not only for the people of Assam but for all India that these noble traditions should have been today so badly upset and disturbed by an outburst of chauvinistic anti-national fury. The Bengali-speaking people became victims on a large scale. In some places, the Assamese speaking people, too suffered. A number of people have been killed and many more injured. Well over 50,000 men, women and



# REACTION'S BID TO FAN PROVINCIAL PASSIONS CHECKED

## Big Protest Demonstration On Aug. 13

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The streets of Calcutta resounded with slogans on August 13, when a big demonstration was taken out jointly by the Communist Party, Marxist Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre, RCPI and Workers' Party in protest against the Central Government's inaction and criminal negligence in the matter of protection of the minorities in Assam.

BENGALIS and non-Bengalis, women, students, teachers, professors, doctors, workers and other sections of the toiling people participated in the demonstration which raised the slogans: "Build up everywhere the movement for the protection of minorities," "Foil the reactionary conspiracy to take away democratic rights," "Why does the West Bengal Government keep mum instead of putting pressure on the Centre—we demand an answer," etc.

Earlier, a meeting was held on the Maidan. Amar Basu, MLA (Marxist F.B.), presided.

The resolution passed at the meeting considered the present situation in Assam to be "far from normal" it was, therefore, of the opinion that "much remains to be done in the way of restoration of normal conditions in the riot-torn State."

### Powerful Movement

The meeting decided to start a powerful movement to bring sufficient pressure on the Central Government for the realisation of the following demands:

- Adequate measures by the Centre.
- Setting up of a judicial enquiry presided over by a Supreme Court Judge.
- Proper rehabilitation of the refugees.

The resolution further called upon the people of West Bengal "to be alert over the conspiratorial move of reactionary forces for rousing communal and provincial tension and starting a fratricidal strife."

The rally and the demonstration were an organised expression of the democratic traditions and healthy instincts of the people of Calcutta. There was little doubt that the demonstration in particular symbolised the urge of the people to defend and extend democratic unity by defeating the attempts at fomenting communal and provincial strifes.

The mass demonstration, therefore, was an effective rebuttal to certain reactionary elements who have been desperately trying for some time past to whip up provincial and communal passions on the Assam issue.

During the first two weeks of July, when reports of ghastly happenings in Assam

became to come in, they left no stone unturned to provoke clashes in this State.

But prompt intervention by the Communist and other Left parties and the strong democratic instincts of the broad masses of people prevented any untoward incidents from taking place. The historic Statewide general strike and hartal on July 16 in protest against the atrocities in Assam and the inaction of the Centre muzzled the reactionary elements for the time being.

But the people of West Bengal had expected that the Central Government would take some effective steps to restore confidence among the minorities in Assam, arrange for their proper rehabilitation and institute a judicial enquiry into the disturbances.

Public resentment began to grow when it was realised that the Centre would not adopt any measures. Prime Minister Nehru's statement on his return from Assam and the Congress Working Committee's resolution were brazen-faced attempts to gloss over the sins of the Assam Congress and the State Government.

### Dangerous Call

Reactionary elements now found very fertile ground to work upon. Tension began to mount again. The Jan Sangh and the so-called "West Bengal Reorganisation Committee" sought to add fuel to the fire by giving the call for hartal on August 15. Such a call, in an atmosphere of tension, particularly in Greater Calcutta, was fraught with dangerous consequences.

So the five Left parties—Communist Party, Marxist F.B., SUC, RCPI and Workers' Party—promptly intervened, and decided to organise a central rally and a protest demonstration.

They further issued a joint statement on August 13, pointing out that they had nothing to do with the call for hartal on Independence Day. "Such a call on a holiday when, except for the transport services, all offices and establishments are closed, has no meaning," they added.

They stressed that all democratic forces in the State should unite and chalk out a plan for a strong and broad-based movement to force the Governments concerned to

As Independence Day drew near the wounded people of West Bengal decided that they would not celebrate August 15 in the traditional manner. The State Council of the CPI called upon the people to express their protest by displaying black flags and wearing black badges. The Marxist Forward Bloc made a similar appeal while the PSP issued directives along the same lines to its units.

The All-Bengal Teachers' Association decided to observe August 15 as "All-India Minorities Protection Day". The Calcutta Corporation, which is ruled by the Congress Party, passed a resolution on August 12, saying that there would be no celebrations this year.

The resentment of the people was so strong that even the West Bengal Governor, Miss Padmaja Naidu, had thought it advisable to cancel the State reception, which was proposed to be held at Raj Bhavan on Independence Day.

Defending the State's action, Dr. B. C. Roy told Pressmen on August 12 that the Prime Minister was perhaps theoretically right in his comments on the non-celebration of Independence Day in West Bengal in the customary manner.

But the State Government, he said had to take notice of the people's sentiments. Many said they would not attend the reception at Raj Bhavan. The Governor cancelled it in consultation with him. He felt that not to celebrate the Day was the correct approach.

## DAY OF PROTEST

Thus it was that Calcutta observed August 15 as a day of protest in a restrained and dignified manner. The usual sight of State Flags flying over housetops and flagstuffs in parks was not witnessed. Instead black flags went up and lakhs of people wore black badges. All functions and festivities were cancelled. In keeping with West Bengal's glorious traditions, Bengalis and non-Bengalis joined hands and maintained peace and the day passed off peacefully.

## Victimisation Continues

DESPITE the assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister, victimisation of Central Government employees in West Bengal continues.

K. G. Basu, President of the Co-ordination Committee of the Employees' Unions and Associations in this State, told a Press Conference in Calcutta on August 11 that although hundreds of suspension and dismissal orders had been withdrawn due to pressure of public opinion, the attitude of the officers was still one of ruthless retaliation.

Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharya, MLC, Secretary of the Calcutta Citizens' Committee, also pointed out in a statement that the heads of Central Government offices had not yet desisted from taking

summarily dismissed, and about 200 are still under suspension. Participation in the strike is the only ground made out in the charge-sheets served on some of these employees. About 150 employees have been demoted without being told what their crimes were. Similarly, 250 permanent hands are being treated as casual workers, the effect of which will be a reduction in their wages to the tune of Rs. 40 per month.

### Territorial Armymen

Employees, who are members of the Territorial Army have had to face the most brutal repression. The overwhelming majority of the 865 employees arrested and detained by the army authorities have been punished either with imprisonment or with fine. Those sentenced to more than three months' imprisonment have been lodged in Alipur Central Jail. They are being treated as "C" class prisoners although the positions they occupied in their respective offices entitled them to "First or Second class travelling allowances."

Those sentenced to prison-terms for less than three months have been detained in military custody. Fines were imposed on some Territorial Army personnel in Siliguri. But they were again placed under "close arrest" and packed off to Calcutta.

Recognition of most of the employees' unions has been withdrawn, and those situated in the premises of Central Government establishments have been locked.

A deputation of the Central Government employees recently met the Additional Chief Secretary, West Bengal Government, to discuss with him the situation faced by the employees in the post-strike period.

The deputationists laid particular emphasis on the following points:—

● Although the Government had taken the decision not to punish the employees for merely participating in the strike, many of them were still under suspension on this ground.

● In some offices, the position regarding the number of employees against whom disciplinary actions had been taken remained virtually unchanged.

● The State Government should consider the question of releasing the convicted and detained Territorial Army personnel on the occasion of Independence Day.

The Additional Chief Secretary told the employees' representatives that the State Government was already in correspondence with the heads of Central Government offices. He, however, promised to expedite the matter.

Meanwhile, it is reliably learnt, these brasshats have decided to form some sort of a "Coordination Committee" in order to "cope with" the mounting public opposition to their high-handed actions. Recently, they adopted a resolution expressing strong resentment against the State Government's "interference" in their "internal affairs" and requesting the Centre to take necessary steps in the matter!

On the Eastern Railway alone, 796 employees are still under suspension and the services of 327 have been already terminated. Of 197 members of the Central Council of the Eastern Railwaymen's Union, as many as 185 have been suspended.

On the South-Eastern Railway, 76 employees have been

# PALAI BANK CLOSURE

## Responsibility Of Central Govt. And Reserve Bank

by PROF. K. N. RAJ

DELHI SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

(This article was originally published in the daily Mathrubhoomi.)

According to the statement made by the Finance Minister on the closure of the Palai Central Bank, the Reserve Bank of India had issued several instructions to the Bank in regard to its advances policy ever since 1951. These instructions, according to him, were not complied with, and each inspection conducted by the Reserve Bank showed further deterioration in the affairs of the Bank. Ultimately, therefore, when a run started on the Bank, it was considered more expedient to force the liquidation of the Bank than give it assistance to tide over the crisis.

THE plea of helplessness on the part of the Reserve Bank and the Central Government, which this account suggests, is certainly not warranted by the provisions of the Banking Companies Act of 1949 which gave very wide powers both to regulate and control the affairs of all banking companies. It must be remembered in this context that the Palai Central Bank was not only a 'scheduled bank' (Class A) but the largest of such banks (excluding the State Bank of India) functioning in Kerala.

The Banking Companies Act gave powers to the Reserve Bank not only to determine the policy in relation to advances to be followed by banking companies generally but to give directions to particular companies regarding specific loans and advances given by them. The Bank could give directions not only in regard to a banking company but in respect of all transactions into which it might enter. Section 36(1) (a) of the Act says that the

Reserve Bank may "caution or prohibit banking companies generally or any banking company in particular against entering into any particular transaction or class of transactions."

The Finance Minister's statement indicates that these powers were used in the case of the Palai Central Bank. But what is not clear is why the Reserve Bank did not take further action when the instructions given to the Palai Bank were not followed. According to the Banking Companies Act, no bank has the choice whether or not to follow the instructions given by the Reserve Bank under the Act. "Each banking company," it says, "shall be bound to comply with any directions so given."

By way of further action, the Central Government and the Reserve Bank had a variety of courses to choose from. Section 35(4) of the Act runs as follows:

"The Reserve Bank shall, if it has been directed by the Central Government to cause an inspection to be made, and

may, in any other case, report to the Central Government on any inspection made under this section, and the Central Government, if it is of opinion after considering the report that the affairs of the banking company are being conducted to the detriment of the interests of its depositors, may, after giving such opportunity to the banking company to make a representation in connection with the report as, in the opinion of the Central Government, seems reasonable, by order in writing—

(a) prohibit the banking company from receiving fresh deposits;

(b) direct the Reserve Bank to apply under Section 38 for the winding up of the banking company."

Before applying sub-section (b), the Reserve Bank could, therefore, have prohibited the Palai Central Bank from receiving fresh deposits at a much earlier stage.

It is of interest, in this connection, that the total deposits of the Palai Central Bank, which amounted to only Rs. 4.4 crores at the beginning of 1951 had been allowed to grow to Rs. 6.6 crores by the beginning of 1956 and Rs. 9.8 crores by the beginning of 1960. Surely the Reserve Bank owes an explanation to those who have been adding to the deposits of the Palai Central Bank in the belief that, if there was anything seriously wrong with the bank, the Reserve Bank would take action under sub-section (a) of Section 35(4).

In fact, even if the Reserve Bank did not take action under this sub-section, the

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### KERALA COMMUNISTS WARN

## Don't Cover Up Daylight Robbery

ANY attempt to cover up the maladministration and daylight robberies in the Palai Central Bank and the liquidation proceedings that have started following the orders of the High Court on a petition filed by the Reserve Bank. Tens of thousands of middle class families who had deposited all their savings with the Bank and numerous small businessmen who were depending on this Bank to run their industries and trade have all been left penniless.

Justifying the liquidation proceedings the Union Finance Minister told the Lok Sabha that from 1951 onwards the Palai Central Bank was not functioning properly, that the Reserve Bank knew about it even then, and that in 1956 and in 1958 the Reserve Bank after inspection had found the situation had further deteriorated.

The people of Kerala have been shocked by the closure

AUGUST 21, 1960

NEW AGE

## KEEP OUT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

— E. H. S. Nambudripad

COMRADE E. H. S. Nambudripad has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on August 14, 1960:

I am glad that the Chief Minister and Home Minister of Kerala are having consultations with the Central Government and the Reserve Bank of India with a view to saving the tens of thousands of poor and middle-class people who have invested their savings in the Palai Central Bank, as well as to save the banking industry in Kerala. I hope the Prime Minister and Finance Minister will do all that is possible for them to save the bank and its depositors.

I would, however, request the State and Central Government to see that whatever steps they take for this, will not give an opportunity to the people who have been responsible for mismanaging the affairs of the Bank to go scot-free.

The facts brought out by the Reserve Bank through the Finance Minister are such that impartial people throughout the country should demand of the Central Government that it shows no mercy to those who brought about such a state of affairs. It is true that the Directors of the Palai Bank have a different story to tell. I would, however, point out that, as between the two versions, the public will ordinarily believe the version of the Reserve Bank, unless it is positively proved to be untrue. After all, the administrators of the Reserve Bank have no reason to be particularly vindictive and discriminatory against any particular Scheduled Bank.

If unfortunately, the enquiry that has been promised by the Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, proves that the Reserve Bank's version, which he had given on the floor of the Lok Sabha, was incorrect and that the activities of the Palai Central Bank authorities were irreproachable, it will then be the duty of the Central Gov-

ernment to mete out exemplary punishment to those in the Reserve Bank who have been responsible for such a serious crime. Instead of taking such rigorous measures against those who have been responsible for the Palai Bank debacle, whether they be the directors of the Palai Bank itself or the authorities of the Reserve Bank, efforts are being made to hush up the whole affair in the name of saving Kerala and India from Communism.

I may draw the attention of the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Central Government to a passage in the editorial written by the Malayala Manorama (which is taking the role of a mentor of the present State Government of Kerala) on August 12: "Several persons who have had to incur the displeasure of the Communists during the liberation struggle in Kerala are connected with this banking institution. Under these circumstances, it is absolutely necessary in the interest of Kerala that the State and Central Governments, as well as the Reserve Bank do take suitable steps to revive this bank."

Mr. Thanu Pillai would kindly excuse me if I point out to him that political considerations are weighing with at least some of his Ministerial colleagues. I would request him to see that these considerations are not allowed to have any influence on the discussions that he is having with the Central authorities.

I would also request the Prime Minister to enquire whether these political considerations had anything to do with the delay in taking appropriate action against the Palai Bank at the appropriate time. The doubt becomes legitimate that had it not been for these political considerations, the Reserve Bank would have been stricter at earlier times and saved the bank when the saving was possible.

We wish to bring it to the notice of the people that those who have now come on the stage with fairly-tales of a conspiracy against a particular community and to organise an agitation on that basis.

If it is true, as the Reserve Bank has indicated, that 38 per cent of the advances made by the Bank are irrecoverable and 20 per cent are "sticky", then the conspiracy

is of those who were at the helm of the Bank's affairs to cheat the tens of thousands of depositors and the Government and run away with crores of rupees. When indications of this daylight robbery were available ten years ago, the Reserve Bank which kept quiet all the time, has a serious moral responsibility for the present situation.

At the same time we demand that the Government take steps to ensure that the middle class depositors (who will number about seventy to eighty thousand) are not made to suffer for the misdeeds of a handful of anti-social profiteers.

The Communist Party has again and again called for the nationalisation of banks which have become instruments in the hands of big money to speculate with the deposits of the people. The present instance in Kerala has again proved how necessary this step has become.

PAGE THREE



# ASSAM

FROM FRONT PAGE

children have been uprooted from their hearths and homes. Apart from tens of thousands who have sought shelter in the camps within Assam itself, already 27,000 persons have gone to West Bengal. The exodus still continues.

The Central Executive Committee expresses its profound sympathies for all those who have suffered from these disturbances and the Committee, in particular, assures every support to the minorities in securing justice and necessary safeguards for their legitimate rights and interests.

These ugly happenings in Assam the like of which India has not known since the partition days, have not only caused unaccountable sufferings and humiliation to the Bengali-speaking minority; they have indeed wrought incalculable harm to Assam and its future. The fabric of Indian unity which one must always enrich and strengthen, has suffered a severe blow.

There is ample evidence to show that these large-scale atrocities were inspired and organised by reactionary, chauvinistic elements and certain vested interests who occupy important positions in Government and administration, as well as in the ruling Congress Party and public life. It was no surprise, therefore, that the Assam State Government, which is largely under the direct and indirect control of such disruptive and treacherous elements, failed completely to discharge its responsibility in maintaining law and order and protecting the minorities.

Some sections in the administration at different levels even went to the length of encouraging and abetting the rioters. Faced with the growth of democratic forces and internal factional dissensions within the ruling circles, some Congress leaders sought political diversion through linguistic conflicts and used them for serving their factional ends. Some local leaders and elements of the Praja Socialist Party also took leading part in inciting the people against the minorities.

This shameful abdication of authority by the State Government in a situation which called for resolute action, has disgraced our entire political system, tarnished the name of Assam and lowered the prestige of our country in the eyes of the world. Needless to say, but for the acts of omission and commission by the Assam Government, the violent mobs and those who guided them from high positions would not be having a field day.

Despite this failure of the State Government and the breakdown of the Constitution, the Central Government chose to shut its eyes to the unprecedented violent developments, let alone protect the minorities, whereas the Constitution demanded of it both vigilance and action.

For the Assam disturbances, the Central Government must, therefore, own up its share of responsibility. Even now, the Central Government persists in its deplorable attitude and tries to cover it up by all manner of platitudes and pretexts. It seems that the leaders of the Central Government and the Congress High Command place their narrow party interests above that of the Constitution and the country.

The Central Executive Committee considers it necessary to state that even during the days of disturbances, in a number of places, the Assamese-speaking people came forward and courageously defended the minority communities. Similar solidarity was shown in certain areas where the Bengali-speaking people predominate. The Communist Party is proud of the role played in defending the minority community and in halting the rioters by the members of the Assam unit of our Party. But it has to be admitted that the democratic and patriotic forces in Assam were not strong enough to bar the path of the rioters.

The Assam disturbances have caused serious repercussions in West Bengal. Some misguided and disruptive elements are trying to whip up passions. But the Central Executive Committee notes with gratification the admirable manner in which the people of Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal and their democratic movement have rebuffed these elements and maintained peace and accord among different communities. The Committee hopes that the people of West Bengal will keep up this noble initiative. In this connection, the Central Executive Committee cannot but deplore the ugly incidents in North Bengal, where an Assamese officer was killed and an Assamese political leader mobbed and manhandled.

The Central Executive Committee is fully conscious that a just and democratic solution of the long-standing language problem must be found, not only in order to eliminate a major

source of conflict and friction, but also for the larger cause of advancement and well-being of the entire people of Assam.

The pressing need of the hour, however, is the speedy restoration of normalcy and rehabilitation of the victims of the riots.

As for the language question, the Central Executive Committee recognises that Assamese should be the principal official language of the present State of Assam. But in the existing set-up, it is of vital importance that the languages of the Bengali-speaking people and the Hills peoples are also given their rightful place and adequately safeguarded so that the minorities are fully assured of their due opportunities and rights in cultural, administrative and other spheres of public life.

These minorities are not only large in numbers but most of them happen to live in compact areas of Cachar and the Hills Districts.

In view of all this, and having regard to the recent developments, it would be extremely inadvisable and harmful to try to impose unilaterally any final decision on the language question on the minorities.

The Central Executive Committee ventures to propose that a round-table conference of the representatives of all major communities in Assam should be convened when this question can be discussed in a calm atmosphere with a view to finding an agreed solution. The Committee would appeal to the Prime Minister to take the initiative in this matter. Given mutual goodwill, understanding

and a sense of the correct perspective, a satisfactory solution of the problem should not be difficult to evolve.

The Central Executive Committee is firmly of the view that the disturbances in Assam, which have shaken the conscience of the whole country, must not be allowed to go unaccounted for. The Central Executive Committee urges upon the Central Government to institute without further loss of time a judicial enquiry by a Supreme Court Judge into these disturbances. The behaviour of the State Government and its police and the role of the Central Government must form a part of this probe. Such a step has become urgent not only in the larger interests of the country, but also for restoring confidence in the minorities and for reforming the administration.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India notes with hope and encouragement the efforts of the public-spirited people belonging to all communities in Assam to repair the damage and restore normal conditions in which the good-neighbourliness and friendship among communities may again prevail. The Committee sends its best wishes to all those who are engaged in this great work. The Committee urges upon the authorities to facilitate and help such popular initiative and efforts in every possible way.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is confident that the patriotic people belonging to all linguistic groups will devote themselves to rebuilding the road back to accord and unity which is so essential for the progress and prosperity of Assam.

Neither restoration of normalcy nor rehabilitation can be exclusively left in the hands of the State Government which has so miserably failed to discharge its constitutional and administrative responsibilities. In such a situation, it becomes incumbent on the Central Government to direct the State Government to take all necessary measures to bring a sense of security among the minorities, speedily rehabilitate all those who have been uprooted or dislodged from their avocations and thus guarantee full protection to the minorities. The Central Government has

ample powers under the Constitution to do this. For this purpose, Assam must be given all required financial and other assistance.

The Central Executive Committee notes with regret that even at this hour, the Central Government is trying to shirk its responsibilities, while the policies and measures of the State authorities in the matter of law and order or rehabilitation are far from satisfactory. The Assam State Government must be made to mend its ways and adopt a correct approach.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to the people of the country to contribute their mite for the relief and succour of the distressed through any responsible organisation or agency of their choice.

# Resolution On Punjab Situation

THE Central Executive Committee's resolution on the Punjab situation reads: The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern over the present situation in the Punjab following the agitation for a Punjabi Suba, launched by the Akali Party.

Though the Akali leaders proclaim as their aim the democratic objective of a linguistic State, yet their actions expose the communal character of their agitation. The use of Gurudwaras in furtherance of this movement, the communal appeal to Sikhs, the exclusion of the Punjabi-speaking district of Kangra from their Punjabi Suba with the sole purpose of reducing the proportion of the State's Hindu population, reveal the communal character of the Akali movement.

The Congress Government, instead of finding a just solution of the problem, has sought to suppress the movement. Democratic rights and elementary civil liberties have been curtailed. An ordinance has been passed the like of which even the British Government dared not pro-

mulgate under its rule. In a number of districts, all meetings have been banned. Restrictions have been imposed on newspapers. Political life has been stifled in the State.

In 1956, at the time of reorganisation of States in India, the Government was forced to concede the fact that the Punjab consisted of two distinct linguistic areas and agreed to divide the State into two zones for purposes of administration. Under the scheme, the language of administration in the two regions was agreed to be the language of the region, viz. Punjabi and Hindi.

However, the scheme, although proclaimed through a Presidential order, had been put in the cold storage all these years.

Quite apart from this, they entered a sordid agreement with the communal leaders and agreed to place the Punjabi district of Kangra in the Hindi zone with which it had no contiguity whatever and from which it was separated by over 150 miles of Punjabi-speaking areas. The sole consideration was that the people of this district were Hindus. Thus, the Government

had in reality agreed to a division of the State on the basis of the religion and community of the people of the regions.

The Central Executive Committee notes with regret that these acts of the Government have encouraged the Hindu communal forces to oppose the legitimate demand for a Punjabi-speaking State. The activities of the Akali Party, the Hindu communalists and the policies followed by the Government, have divided the people along communal lines, making their united mobilisation difficult.

The Communist Party had been consistently demanding the reorganisation of the State on a linguistic basis since a long time. In the Memorandum submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission, the Party had reiterated the demand and stated that such reorganisation should be based solely on the language and contiguity of the areas and communal or religious considerations should have no place whatever.

The Central Executive Committee is of opinion that, when linguistic States have been formed throughout the country, there is no ground whatever for refusing to reorganise Punjab alone on the

basis of language. It is convinced that every day of delay in such reorganisation will only add strength to the forces of communalism and disruption.

The Central Executive Committee, therefore, demands that the Central Government should immediately reorganise the present Punjab State that contiguous Punjabi areas, including the district of Kangra, are formed into a separate Punjabi State and contiguous Hindi areas of the present Punjab State be formed into a separate State of Greater Delhi.

The Central Executive Committee fervently appeals to the people of the Punjab to rally behind the democratic demand for the linguistic reorganisation of their State. It appeals to all to isolate and defeat those forces that keep the people divided and thus create conditions for a united struggle. For, their own security, as well as democratic advance, can only be ensured by their unbreakable unity forged in the struggles for democratic demands and for a better and prosperous life.

(Other Resolution on Page 6)

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# TRADE UNION RIGHTS DAY

by K. G. SRIWASTAVA

The Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress at its session in New Delhi from August 8 to 10 last year, in a resolution on the 17th Indian Labour Conference, stated:

"... it is unfortunate that the concretisation and clarification of the (tripartite) conventions were being attempted in such a way as to put more curbs on trade union rights, and permit the Government officialdom to interfere in the day-to-day running of the unions, ban formation of new unions which were not to their liking or obstruct their growth.

"The Committee takes a grave view of the fact that the 17th Indian Labour Conference could not make any headway in the matter of recognition of trade unions. Curiously enough, official thinking on this question had been more on how to effect de-recognition rather than provide guarantees for compulsory recognition of trade unions.

"The Working Committee also notes that attempts are being made as was evident at the Madras Session of the Indian Labour Conference, to enact legislation in the different States, on the lines of the notorious 'Bombay Industrial Relations Act', impose further curbs on trade union rights and exercise greater Governmental control on the functioning of trade unions. Though the attempts in this direction made at the 17th Indian Labour Conference were, in the main, defeated, the Working Committee warns the workers and trade unions to be ever vigilant on this question and thwart every measure contemplated by the Government to curb democratic trade unionism and impose Government-sponsored unions of the INTUC on the working class."

Concluding, the resolution exhorted the working class: "It is necessary to act more unitedly to change the situation in favour of the workers."

This is no new phenomenon in the trade union movement. In a capitalist society, Governments run in its interests always try at first to deny trade union rights and when forced, to curb them under the cloak of new laws and amendments to existing laws. This tendency is sharpened when working class struggles in a particular country, at a particular stage, are either more in number or intensified in a particular sector in which the rulers have vested interests.

## Historical Background

The Indian trade union movement has passed through the same stages.

After the post-World War I working class struggles, the Indian Trade Union Act (XV of 1926) was put on the Statute Book. The Trade Unions Act of 1926 at that time gave a sort of right of association under certain conditions, but the procedure of registration and the wide discretionary powers of the Registrar of Trade Unions have in many places been used in delaying abnormally registration of trade unions.

Even today after its working for about 35 years, Registrars are misusing their discretionary powers. The recent attempt at the 17th Indian Labour Conference to give Registrars still more powers to interfere with the

functioning of the trade unions was opposed by the trade union movement. Generally trade unions are not required to be registered in other countries and in this country at that time, the British Government thought that through this legislation they would be able to check the growth of the trade unions. As in the case of many other laws, the working class utilised it in spite of the handicaps and the number of registered trade unions in the country was growing.

The Government of India had already embarked on its plan for curbing the rights of trade unions and workers in the year 1959 itself, as the extract from the AITUC resolution at the beginning said. In the 17th Indian Labour Conference, it was halted to some extent in the sense that "it could have been more serious but for the opposition shown by the trade unions," as the resolution itself stated.

In the wake of the strike struggles towards the close of 1959 and early 1960, culminating

the great struggles of 1928-29 brought forth the first Industrial Disputes Act, 1929, in Bombay State. In the wake of the post-World War II struggles of the working class in 1946-47 came the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. The threat of strike of P & T and other Central Government employees in 1957 brought in Rules 4(a) and 4(b) of the Government Servants Conduct Rules.

## First Act

The present phase of struggles started with the one-day token general strike of 24 lakh jute workers on December 14, 1959 in West Bengal, the strike in State Bank offices throughout India from March 4 to 24, 1960, and the all-India strike of bank employees on March 19. The threat of all-India textile strikes (one-day token strikes observed in many centres) and the glorious five-day strike of Central Government employees from August 12 to 16, have brought the announcement from the Government about bringing legislation to ban strikes in the so-called "essential services" and to debar "outsiders" from the trade unions of workers and employees in these sectors.

The bourgeoisie always makes and amends laws with the purpose of making strikes more difficult, if not impossible, and suggests procedures that will hamper, delay and obstruct the workers resorting to their last weapon.

## Fundamental Right

It is true that the working class movement takes some time to recoup and recover from these new laws and curbs. The new laws, said to be alternatives to the method of strike to achieve workers' demands, work in some cases and for some time and to that extent they succeed. The bourgeoisie forgets the oft-repeated statements and declarations of the trade union movement that it wants to settle issues peacefully and constitutionally as far as possible and practicable and only when this is not possible, it resorts to the method of strike. The trade unions have learnt the method of utilising the existing machinery or whatever is constituted anew to settle their issues.

Occasions do arise when the capitalist machinery provided in these laws to settle workers' grievances fails (sometimes due to the failure of the capitalists and their Government in not following it scrupulously) and the last weapon of the workers to strike remains the only course open to them irrespective of its legality, illegality or other risks involved. (Every strike connotes a risk to the workers — firing from loss of life in police action.) When the workers resort to the last weapon, they are sometimes victorious, sometimes beaten. The bourgeoisie comes with still more laws and curbs. And the cycle goes on till the working class is victorious and wins the battle for Socialism.

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working class. By satisfactory mutual agreements and their sincere implementation, the use of this right might be restricted but the right cannot be surrendered. It is the life and soul of the working class movement.

## New Conditions

Earlier also, several attempts had been made, specially among Central Government employees to persuade the leadership to barter away this right in exchange for committees, councils, adjudications, arbitration, etc. Rightly they never surrendered it.

In 1950, Government of India introduced in Parliament two Bills, the Labour Relations Bill and the Trade Unions Bill to replace the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, and the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926. These Bills lapsed but before introducing them again, V.V. Giri, then Union Labour Minister, discussed them through a questionnaire and in the 12th Indian Labour Conference held at Nainital (October 8 to 11, 1952).

There was a proposal in the Bill to treat Government

Labour Conference at Madras (July, 1959). The AITUC's note on the subject said:

"The AITUC is of the opinion that we have come to a stage where unions in certain sectors of our economy can find enough cadres and leadership to manage all their affairs, provided the union leadership is guaranteed protection from victimisation in any form. No union functionary should be dismissed, discharged or transferred during his occupancy of the union post. Secondly, no dismissed or discharged worker shall be considered as an outsider for the unions of his industry or trade. Thirdly, one-fourth of his working time shall be available to the office-bearer for his trade union work."

"Only unions in an industry like coalmining, plantations and Class IV employees are not yet in a position to contribute suitable cadres for specialised sides of trade union work, such as correspondence, drafts of agreements, court work, etc., for which, outsiders are required by them. Hence the AITUC is prepared to discuss which industry or trade can even now be urged to accept a total elimination of outsiders, if the other national trade union cen-

tres would agree, and the employees and the Government would provide the above guarantees."

Neither other central trade union organisations nor the Government or employers agreed to the above and it was decided to maintain the status quo.

## Victimisation Offensive

The Government now taking advantage of the strike situation "wants to victimise thousands of trade union functionaries of Central Government employees' unions and, at the same time, bar outsiders from the trade unions. It wants functionaries who are victimised by the Government arbitrarily in their trade unions. This is direct interference in the functioning of trade unions by the employers."

Thousands of Central Government employees who were charge-sheeted, suspended, removed from service, prosecuted and convicted, have not been taken back in their jobs. The Government and its spokesmen announce that they are following a policy of dealing with the employees leniently. Maybe due to the fault of the red tape or the desire of local officials to dig out the past and take revenge on trade union functionaries and active workers, harassment is still going on on a big scale. Some State Governments, notably Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab, have not withdrawn cases on any substantial scale while States

Again, in 1953, the Defence Ministry, in the name of its being a vital section of the administration, had come out with the proposal for setting up a Standing Negotiating Machinery. The All-India Defence Employees' Federation welcomed the formation of the Standing Negotiating Machinery and entered into agreement with the Ministry on the same. But the united leadership of the Federation refused to surrender the right to strike.

The Ministry then started imposing new conditions in recognition, viz., dismissed employees not being accepted as honorary members of the union, strictness in balloting for strike including supervision by the officials of the establishment, etc., etc. Some unions accepted these conditions, others did not. But when the actual strike came, whatever else might have stood in the way of its success, it was certainly not these rules and curbs.

In the unions of railway, P & T and other Central Government employees, those recognised some decades ago do not have any curbs, though the ones recognised in recent years have to abide by provisions regarding balloting, notice, etc.

The question of ban on outsiders in trade unions was discussed in the 17th Indian

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# C. P. I. CENTRAL EXECUTIVE'S RESOLUTIONS

## On Central Govt. Employees' Strike

THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India warmly congratulates the lakhs of Central Government employees who went on strike for the just cause of defending the real wages of the working people against its continuous slashing down by the rising prices.

The Central Executive Committee also congratulates the workers and the public throughout the country who rallied in support of the Central Government employees.

The Government of India, which parades before the people the Five-Year Plan performance and boasts of increase of 16 per cent of per capita consumption during the two Five-year Plan periods, not only did not ensure the working people a share in this advertised increase, but refused even to protect the purchasing power as it existed a decade ago of its own employees manning the vital sectors of our economy.

Faced with this adamant attitude of the Government and when no machinery for settlement of the disputes was available to the employees, they were left with no other alternative but to strike.

### REPRESSION

The entire machinery and resources of the Government were utilised in an unprecedented manner to crush the strike. Prime Minister Nehru dubbed a strike on trade union demands as a challenge to the Government, as if the conceding of the just demand of the employees by the employer, which in the case was the Government, would lead to its removal. The Radio and the Press were misused to give distorted facts and mislead the public.

The Government which has persistently refused to take any action against the speculators and profiteers, immediately came down on the employees with an Ordinance banning the strike, against all norms of democratic rights. The entire machinery of repression was let loose on the workers. Within two days of the strike, over 18,000 employees were arrested and hundreds were summarily tried and convicted. Intimidation of striking workers and their families was resorted to by the police on an unprecedented scale. Many of the arrested employees and their leaders were handcuffed with the sole object of humiliating them. In many places arrested employees were beaten.

The striking workers at Dohad were brutally fired upon and four of them were killed. Contrary to the aims and objects of the Territorial Army and contrary to the promises made to the employees at the time of recruitment that the Territorial Army was intended to be used only for the defence of the

country, against aggression and for internal order in cases of emergency, mobilisation orders were served on members of the Territorial Army, for blacklegging and breaking the strike, and those who refused to obey such orders have been proceeded against under the Army Regulations.

### VINDICTIVENESS

The Central Executive Committee is gravely concerned with the situation prevailing among the Central Government employees as a result of the vindictive measures taken by the Government after the withdrawal of the strike.

Cases are still pending against thousands of employees and they are not being allowed to rejoin duty. Notices of dismissal were served on thousands of employees. Still more thousands have been suspended and charge-sheeted. The number of Central Government employees who have not been allowed to join duty nearly a month after the strike has been withdrawn is over 20,000.

Contrary to the propaganda of the Government that it is not vindictive, the instructions that the Government has issued to the officers in regard to the people served with notices clearly indicate that the Government wants to utilise this occasion to victimise the trade union activists. Moreover, the fate of tens of thousands have been left to the mercy of the local and departmental officials.

This would only result in strengthening the bureaucrats and making them all-powerful on the one hand and breeding sullenness and discontent among the employees born out of a sense of humiliation and frustration which can never be a guarantee for efficiency and clean administration.

The Government has further withdrawn the recognition of the trade unions of Central Government employees that went on strike.

The Central Government further proposes to ban strikes "in essential services" and thereby deprive the workers and employees in these services of their democratic rights to struggle for decent living standards.

### DEMANDS

All these measures have been deliberately taken with a view to strike terror and spread demoralisation among not only Central Government employees but among all the workers in the country, strangle the trade union movement and impose trade unions of Government's choice on the workers and employees.

The Central Executive Committee protests against these unprecedented measures of victimisation and attack on trade union rights and demands of the Central Government —

Following are texts of resolutions on the Central Govt. Employees' strike and Congo adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India in its session in New Delhi from August 10 to 16, 1960.

- 1 Immediate withdrawal of pending cases and release of all those convicted;
- 2 Cancellation of all dismissal and supersession orders, reinstatement of the employees dismissed and suspended; and
- 3 Restoration of the recognition of the unions.

The Central Executive Committee hopes that the unity which was achieved among all the Central Government employees' organisations will be maintained and strengthened.

The Central Executive Committee is firmly convinced that withdrawal of these measures of victimisation is necessary not only in the interest of the Central Government employees, but also in the interests of the entire trade union and democratic movements in the country. For, with the weakening of the trade union, the main organised instrument of the democratic movement, which has been fighting against the policies of the Government of giving a free run to the profiteers and speculators, will be weakened and the common people will have to bear still more heavily the burdens of these policies.

The Central Executive Committee, therefore, calls upon all Party units and Party members to carry on a sustained campaign against the measures of victimisation of Central Government employees and mobilise the broadest support. It welcomes the call given by the HMS, UTUC and the AITUC to observe September 2 as TRADE UNION RIGHTS DAY and calls upon the Party units and members to ensure the broadest mobilisation of our people on that day.

### STATEMENT

## DANGE'S FOREIGN ACCOUNT

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India in session in New Delhi from August 10 to 16, 1960, has issued the following statement:

For some time past, reports have appeared in the Press about an account being kept by Comrade S. A. Dange in a foreign country and transfers from it to India from time to time.

The question was also raised in the Lok Sabha on August 11, 1960.

Comrade Dange has been ill for some time and,

## SOLIDARITY WITH CONGO

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings to the Government and the people of the Congo, congratulates them on the achievement of the independence of their country and declares its complete solidarity with their heroic struggle against aggression and in defence of the sovereignty and integrity of their motherland.

The events in the Congo Republic, which began with the deliberate armed aggression by the Belgian imperialists, demonstrate clearly before all peoples the menace of neo-colonialism which threatens all Africa and Asia today.

The Belgian aggressors, despite the unanimous resolutions of the U.N. Security Council, refuse to withdraw their armed forces of occupation and vacate their military bases on Congolese soil—bases which are openly part of NATO war-plans. Compelled to recognise Congolese independence, they are desperately manoeuvring to retain their colonial interests.

The withdrawal of the Belgian forces is being deliberately delayed. Separatist forces are being encouraged to split Congo. The so-called "Government" of the Katanga, the richest Province of the Congo, threatens to break away, acting on the orders and strength of the Belgian army and advisers who are the real rulers of Katanga. It is the old tactic of divide and rule, dismemberment and partition. The economy of the Congo is sought to be throttled, so that the imperialist grip over it is retained.

The U.S. imperialists, as sections of the U.S. Press, and even important U.S. political leaders have indicated, are striving to "fill the vacuum", take over or at least share the rich spoils of the Congo with the Belgian imperialists. They seek to use

the United Nations Command and Flag to assist them in this endeavour. The people of the Congo thus face a new peril to their independence.

The Communist Party supports the stand taken by India in the Afro-Asian group in the U.N. and reiterated now by Prime Minister Nehru—demanding the speedy withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo and supporting the integrity of the Republic, refusing to recognise any imperialist-created division such as that being attempted in Katanga.

It has been the solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries with the Congo which has been a powerful factor in upholding the cause of Congolese independence. It has been the firm support offered by the Soviet Union to the Congo Republic, which has been of vital significance in staying the hand of the imperialists.

The situation, nevertheless, continues to be grave and the feverish and desperate efforts of the imperialists spell danger not only for the Congo but for all Africa, for all countries which have newly won their independence.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon the Government of India to join hands with all other peace-loving Governments to take resolute action, both under the U.N. and, if necessary outside the U.N., to bring about the immediate expulsion of all Belgian forces from all parts of the Congo and the liquidation of all NATO bases in the Republic, and to ensure the safeguarding of the independence—political and economic—and the integrity and unity of the Congo Republic.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India offers its wholehearted cooperation to all parties, groups and personalities who stand for peace and independence, to rally Indian public opinion in support of Congo and against imperialist aggression and interference.

therefore, he is unable to attend the meeting of the Central Executive Committee.

The Central Executive Committee does not wish to state anything on the particular issues which are the subject matter of adjudication proceedings and, therefore, are sub judice.

The Central Executive Committee, however, learns from Comrade S. A. Dange, who is a Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions that he has been getting some donations from the WFTU giving aid or relief to men, women and children who fall in distress due to strikes

or lock-outs, for relief to victims of floods or such other calamities, for defending trade union workers involved in cases, for establishing and running trade union schools, for help to the families of workers who have been killed or wounded during struggles in defence of their demands and for similar other purposes.

Comrade S. A. Dange has been handling the funds in his capacity as the Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The Central Executive Committee wants to make it clear that the Communist Party has had nothing to do with them.

# BEWARE OF THIS VIPER IN THE BACKYARD

"The foundation day of a sovereign Hindu Rashtra will be our new Independence Day..." These are the words of Guruji Golwalkar, the not so secret father of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the political front of the RSS.

Over eight years ago this organisation of "Hindu" fascism decided to have its political front organisation, founded the Jan Sangh and swearing by democracy, secured recognition as one of the Indian parties under the Constitution.

Since then, under false colours and mouthed honeyed words, it has been pursuing its aim of subverting the country's progress and taking it back, politically, to a dictatorship of "Hindu" obscurantism; economically, to a largely laissez faire economy of profiteering, blackmarketing and landlord exploitation; and internationally, to an Indian link-up with the Western warmongers and colonialists led by the USA.

Let us examine its planks one by one.

The political programme of the Jan Sangh says: "It is on the basis of Bharatiya sanskriti and maryada alone that a healthy democracy... can take shape." The party seeks an "ideological polarisation" against Socialism and everything having truck with the progressive programme of Socialism.

When the whole of progressive mankind has accepted the slogan of Socialism as the only means of liberating the suffering masses from hunger, poverty and illiteracy, the Jan Sangh openly vows to put the clock back.

What has it to offer in its place? What does it mean when it mouths the words, "unity of the nation" "Bharatiya sanskriti and maryada"? The political front is shy of elaborating these slogans. If you seek their clarification in the Jan Sangh's resolutions which it passed at its last session at Nagpur or in the Presidential address to that session you will seek in vain.

### Concept Of Nation

It is an unwise job for the baby Kangaroo, so it has been left to Papa Kangaroo. And truly, Guruji Golwalkar mimes no words in explaining the object. "The RSS holds," he tells us, "that the nation can be organised by infusing a sense of filial devotion for the motherland in every individual, by a realisation of the national truth..." And what is the "nation"? What is "national truth"?

The nation is "our land which sustains our life" and land means precisely, the earth, "without worshipping which no auspicious function was performed." It means the "particles" of clay, the drops of water, the mountain peaks... It certainly does not mean the people, because land is the original thing, it existed "even before our society came into existence."

And this land, according to Guruji was born to provide sustenance to Hindus only. "The Hindus have been living here since times immemorial... It is the Hindu Samaj alone that has been living here as sons of the soil. This is a historical fact!"

The idea is further clarified:

"It is said that the Hindus and Muslims both live here, this is a composite nation. But it must be appreciated that one is an invader while the other has been resisting aggression. How can these two be bundled into one nationhood?"

The Jan Sangh will not even accept the plea that "Muslims, Christians, etc., all have been brought up here..." No, says Guruji: "They betrayed society. It would be well if they are reminded of this fact, and persuaded to redeem themselves from their earlier sin..." For Guruji even the Sikhs can claim existence in the Jan Sangh pattern of "national unity" only if they recognise that they are a Hindu sect. He objects seriously to the slogan: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Isai, apas men hain Bhai-Bhai.

Even the vast majority of Hindus by birth, who subscribe to the slogan: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Isai, apas men hain Bhai-Bhai.

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### Economic Programme

It is hardly necessary to stress that such an anti-people "rashtra" can be a paradise only for the worst anti-people interests and only they can strive for it. No wonder the blackmarketeers ("free" traders) and landlords are the mainstay of the Jan Sangh party.

This is again amply borne out by the Jan Sangh's economic programme. Notwithstanding its occasional demagogy about eliminating poverty, etc., the party is not interested in the country's economic reconstruction. It professes no faith in the dictum that the real might of a country can be developed, only through consolidation of its economic strength. Thus, it is the only

which poses economic development against defence needs.

### Plan Vs Defence

Its Nagpur resolution on the economic situation stated, "During the last twelve years the Government has been laying all-out-emphasis on the economic development even to the exclusion of defence and other needs..." Why should the anti-people vested interests care for economic development? It is "defence" as against economic development that suits their convenience, because thereby they can prevent the country from undertaking economic reforms. At the same time they seek to win popularity by posing as the real defenders of the country. That this game does not succeed is a tribute to the

## JAN SANGH OUT TO

## MAKE INDIA PROFITEERS' PARADISE, WESTERN SATELLITE

cribe to "foreign isms" like Socialism will not have a place in the Jan Sangh polity. This party of "democracy" will have nothing but an open dictatorship of "Hindu" obscurantism!

Where all this leads to is quite obvious. The Jan Sangh does not believe in the independent Indian nation which has been achieved not by communalism (the Jan Sangh or the RSS were nowhere in the picture in the freedom struggle) but by the common struggle of the Indian people who adopted secularism as one of their fundamental planks. The Jan Sangh aims to subvert this free Indian nation and establish in its place "a sovereign Hindu Rashtra" That will be our "new Independence Day," Guruji openly declares. The viper in the backyard is exposing itself.

basic health and soundness of the Indian people.

The Jan Sangh is sore about national planning. "Impulsive planning," as it puts it, is the root of the evil in India today. Jan Sangh pundits even had the audacity to explain that the Mendertes regime in Turkey fell not because the people had seen through it as a regime of American stooges, but because it indulged in "impulsive planning." The Jan Sangh is not enthused over plans to build up the public sector (its slogan is "no expansion of the public sector"), heavy industries or land reforms. State trading and co-operative farming are anathema to it. "Government policies," its resolution notes, "create a scare in the market. The recent rise in food prices is due to Government's ill-conceived policies of State trading in foodgrains."

Thus the Jan Sangh will not accept any curbs on the profiteering interests. For blackmarketing it will lay the blame not on the blackmarketeers but on the "scare created by Government policies."

### Plea For Laissez Faire

The Sangh openly pleads for laissez faire when it declares: "Doctrinaire approach... should be given up and opportunities created for individuals and voluntary associations to contribute their best for the development of national economy." Let private entrepreneurs and "voluntary associations" (i.e. private profit-based companies) have the field day in Indian economy, and, of course, do not talk of ending private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of labour even as a remote goal, says the Jan

Sangh. That is the plain meaning of its deceitful talk of "Bharatiya sanskriti and maryada" in opposition to "foreign isms."

What stand does the Jan Sangh take on international affairs? The party has been at great pains to hide its real foreign policy. Its leaders even declare that "we are for non-alignment." But it is only a mask which is to be thrown aside at the first opportunity that offers itself. The Jan Sangh's resolution on international situation as it stands today, clearly states: "While admitting that the foreign policy... can be changed in the light of the changing world situation, in the context of the present geographical and military situation of India and in view of our plans, aspirations and balance between the world Powers and weighing the situation in regard to our friends and enemies, the Jan Sangh considers it advisable that the policy of non-alignment be continued for the time being."

Thus non-alignment is only a counsel of opportunism. Should the balance of

most crudely and brazenly revealed in the utterances of its teacher and master. Guruji Golwalkar declared:

### Expansionist Ideology

"Today's Bharat is not the Bharat which our ancestors described... The picture of Bharat which our ancestor handed down to us was a grand one. Trivishap—which erroneous pronunciation has converted into Tibet... comprised a province of Bharat. So also Gandhar presently known as Kandhar in Afghanistan. Be it for a second, but does this complete picture of the Mother in all its effulgence and radiance occur to us? The answer is 'no'."

And then he exhorts: "Of what avail our manhood, if we are not to fight even for the honour and integrity of the motherland? Our Bharatiya sanskriti tells us clearly not to submit to dishonour. He who does so submit, is neither man nor even woman."

As history teaches us, this false nationalism has been

forces turn in favour of the anti-peace, anti-co-existence and aggressive interventionists of the Western camp, the Jan Sangh will throw all caution to the wind, it will then throw its lot where Chiang Kai-shek and the whole anti-national, anti-people gang has thrown it. That is the clear logic of the viper's line.

### Campaign Of Hatred

The Jan Sangh, as is well known, conducts the most rabid campaigns of hatred against the peace-loving Socialist world. It hates like poison any growth of friendship between the Indian and the Soviet or Chinese peoples. On the other hand it has many links, open and secret, with the aggressive and warmongering circles of the West. Thus Khrushchov's peace missions abroad, which were hailed wholeheartedly by the Indian people, were dubbed by Guruji Golwalkar as "globe-trotting in search of something fresh to eat."

A policy of fascist aggression, hatred and enmity between the peoples of different countries, ingotism and sabre-rattling alone can suit the obscurantist ideology of the Jan Sangh. Its anti-China campaign, which dubs as traitors everyone including Nehru, is motivated not by patriotism, of which this party is completely innocent, but by the above-mentioned subservience to the Western camp.

What the Jan Sangh is ideologically wedded to in matters of foreign policy, is again,

the forte of fascism. In the world today it is also the "nationalism" of the Chiang Kai-sheks and their ilk, of elements who have betrayed their people. Parties which have no regard for the interests of their people and country alone can subscribe to such an ideology. In fact, it is no ideology but the cheapest form of demogogy in an attempt to win over the people.

The Jan Sangh, however, has failed to attain its objective. This failure stands recorded in its own General Secretary's report which bemoaned the fact that the party's "membership has not registered any increase." It also bewailed the "gap between expectations and achievements" and consequent "disappointment" and demoralisation among its workers.

More and more of the latter are coming to realise that this party is the party of rank communalism, of betrayal of all the gains made by the Indian people. It is a party that would put the clock back in order to make India a paradise for the profiteers and landlords, and a satellite of Western imperialism. It is the party of national betrayal.

### -GARUDA

[All quotations in this article are taken from texts printed in the English weekly organ of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh published from Delhi. Sri Golwalkar's words are from his speech delivered in March, 1960 in Delhi and published in the same weekly.]



# DISARMAMENT, COEXISTENCE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

## Main Issues At All-India Peace Conference

Nearly six hundred delegates participated in the Conference of the All-India Peace Council held at Calcutta from August 5 to 7. Some thousands attended the various public functions and meetings held in connection with the Conference.

A majority of the delegates represented various Calcutta and West Bengal organisations—Peace Committees, trade unions, youth and student organisations, women's organisations and Kisan Sahas. There were more delegates from outside the host State (from nine States) than has been normal at recent sessions of the Council. There were more national leaders of the Peace Movement present than at previous sessions.

And the great interest in the session and its decisions in other countries was demonstrated in the large number of messages received (from sixteen national peace committees and above all one from Prime Minister Khrushchov himself) and in the participation in the Conference Seminar of representatives of the High Commissioners of Ghana and Pakistan.

The Conference divided itself into Commissions: on the key political issues of

the Appeal points out the significance of disarmament for India:

"This Appeal for disarmament is in full conformity with the sentiments and aspirations of the Indian people. It is in consonance with the spirit of our country's devotion to peace, our fervent desire for complete disarmament and our dreams of a world without arms and without war. Disarmament is in the interest of our own country—economic as well as political—and has always constituted an essential plank of India's policy of peace."

The resolution emphasised the importance of Afro-Asian participation in disarmament negotiations:

"Following the events which led to the suspension of the Summit talks at Paris, President Nasser and Prime Minister Nehru pointed out sharply in their joint appeal to the leaders and nations of the world that the responsibility for peace and war rests not only on the great Powers... Every nation, whether big or small, must bear its full share of responsibility for the world situation.

"Afro-Asian nations in par-



★ Pandit Sunderlal addressing the All-India Peace Conference.

ticular have long been bypassed in such negotiations. Their participation in discussions on key international questions is sure to be a powerful contribution towards agreements for complete and controlled disarmament."

The main issues of disarmament of immediate significance to India have been highlighted in the Appeal. The resolution said:

"The stress laid in the above Appeal on the necessity for the abolition at the first stage of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons and of all foreign military bases, and on the importance of the ending of nuclear tests and the recognition of the independence of all countries, is fully supported by the Government and the people of India."

India has a special role to play in bringing about such a conference. Every message received from abroad underlined the role which India can play at

this time—to bring about disarmament. Professor Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of Peace, in his message had drawn pointed attention to the initiative which India could take towards the convening of an all-nations conference which would secure agreement on complete and general disarmament by successive stages.

The Calcutta Conference's Appeal to the Government of India to take the initiative in cooperation with other peace-loving Governments to create necessary conditions for such a Disarmament Conference is thus of special significance.

Round the New Peace Appeal will be centered all the activities of the Indian Peace Council in the coming months. At the first stage, signatures to the Appeal of

minent and representative personalities in every State will be secured. Each State will collect at least 500 such signatures to the Appeal in the immediate period ahead. At the same time, mass endorsements of the Appeal at public meetings are to be secured—a target of a million. Meanwhile, preparations are to begin for a Conference on "Disarmament and the Economic Development of India" to be held early next year, with the participation of economists, businessmen, representatives of mass organisations and others. These preparations will help to highlight the importance of disarmament for India.

A resolution of special interest is the one giving support to India's policy of peace and non-alignment.

★ A partial view of the audience at the Peace Conference.



## THE SESSION

THE inaugural session of the Conference of the All-India Peace Council was held at the big hall of the Calcutta University Institute, which was packed beyond capacity. Pandit Sunderlal, President of the AIPC, was in the chair. The representatives of Ghana and Pakistan and the Acting Soviet Consul-General in Calcutta attended the Session.

Messages of greetings were read from Prof. J. D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee, World Peace Council, and Peace Committees of the Soviet Union, China, Iraq, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Australia and from the Goan Political Convention.

When the message from Nikita Khrushchov, Prime Minister of the USSR, was read out, the whole audience stood up and greeted it with thunderous applause.

Welcoming the delegates attending the session, Vivekananda Mukerjee, Editor of Yugantar and President of the West Bengal Peace Council, stressed the urgent need for a meeting of the Big Powers for bringing about disarmament.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand said that if disarmament was not achieved, the atmosphere of cold war would continue and consequently, the danger of complete destruction in course of a devastating world war would remain. In this situa-

tion, he said, it was necessary to emphasise the fundamental principles of Panch Sheel.

Rev. Father Williams, founder of the National Church of India, said that the forces of colonialism and war were hatching new 'conspiracies'. Hence, in order to defend peace, all peace-loving peoples must resist these forces unitedly.

Major-General S. S. Sothey pointed out that peace could be ensured only by liquidating the forces of war and imperialism. No real aid could be given to the nations which were fighting to win or to defend their independence, unless the backbone of imperialism was broken. Underlining the need for the newly-liberated countries to achieve their economic independence, he said that there were still opportunities for the imperialists to exploit India. Hence we must fight for our economic independence. This meant that we should develop our own resources for common good and not for profit.

Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition in the West Bengal Assembly, assured that no efforts would be spared to mobilise the masses of people in West Bengal behind the decisions of the Calcutta session of the AIPC.

Referring to the network of military bases and aggressive military blocs, he warned that world peace and the sovereignty of India and other peace-loving countries would be gravely endangered if we forgot

the changing tactics of the imperialists.

Chatur Narayan Malviya, former Chief Minister of Bhopal, emphasised the need for building up a powerful movement behind the demand for an All-Nations Disarmament Conference.

S. S. Mirajkar, President of the ATTUC, said that Peace Committees must be set up in factories and villages.

Mrs. B. M. Eraganza of the Goan Political Convention referred to the unequal fight carried on for 14 years by the people of Goa, Daman and Diu against the Portuguese fascists, and said that it was the ignorance of the real character of such a regime that had made "those at the helm of Indian affairs" bring the problem of the liquidation of colonialism in a part of India to a miserable deadlock.

She concluded by emphasising that "so long as the three spots of India's western coast—three spots, moreover, open on the sea—are left in the hands of an avowed enemy of India, India's very independence and world peace will remain in jeopardy."

In a hard-hitting speech, Pandit Sunderlal pointed out that the source of real danger to India was not the Communists or Communist countries, but those who wanted to throw our country into the lap of U. S. imperialism. The independence and peace of India were now in great danger.

## MESSAGES

### —FROM KHRUSHCHOV

THE message from N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, to the Calcutta Conference of the All-India Peace Council reads:

"I extend my cordial greetings to the participants of the session of the All-India Peace Council. Active struggle for disarmament and the settlement of disputed questions among States through negotiations is the most important task of our time. Soviet people being profoundly devoted to the cause of peace welcome warmly the peace-loving efforts of the Indian fighters for peace. I sincerely wish the participants of the session success in their honourable work for the benefit of peace throughout the world, for the benefit of friendship and cooperation between peoples."

### —FROM BERNAL

THE message from Prof. J. D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, reads:

"I am very glad to have this opportunity of greeting you on behalf of the Presidential Committee, and expressing my admiration of the prompt response shown by the All-India Peace Council to the appeal for a world disarmament conference which was launched at the recent meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace."

"It is deeply significant, and highly encouraging, that you in India have shown this initiative. You have realised the necessity for a real mass campaign in support of the idea of such a conference, which would bring together the representatives of many points of view all over the world and provide a forum in favour of disarmament

and world peace that no Government could possibly ignore. It is to be hoped that your great country can play an important role in bringing such a conference about.

"The Indian Government's firm policy of neutrality, which has the understanding support of the people, has steadily enhanced the status of India in the field of world politics. This stable policy of neutrality and peace in foreign affairs, despite the economic and social difficulties which face the Indian people, has been and will be of the greatest value to the cause of world peace."

"I wish your campaign all success, and look forward to receiving reports of the proceedings of your Conference in Calcutta, and of the progress of your campaign for the world conference."

### ALGERIA

The resolution urging the Government of India to recognise the Algerian Provisional Government also reflects Indian sentiment today: "All the independent countries of Africa, all the Arab countries and some countries of Asia have recognised the Algerian Government. This Conference appeals to the Government of India to consider the early recognition of the Algerian Government. This will not only give strength to the Algerian independence movement but will also help a great deal in further strengthening India's ties with resurgent Africa..."

The Conference has also called for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the Government of India. It is an anomalous situation that India recognises only the Federal Republic of Germany, with its revanchist fascist Government. Consistent with our policy of non-alignment and peace, recognition of the GDR despite the threats of the Adenauer Government, would be a contribution to the settlement of the German problem.

The Calcutta Conference ended with the holding of a Seminar on "Afro-Asia and the Problems of Peace and Independence." The speeches at this Seminar by the representatives of the High Commissioner for Ghana and the High Commissioner for Pakistan stressed the urgent importance of Afro-Asian solidarity at this moment of world history.

It is Afro-Asian solidarity, they said, which can hold the hands of the imperialists, help forward to

the traditions of our country.

In Bengal, it has been the tradition to pay homage to a poet by holding a mela or a fair. Thus, for instance, for over seven centuries and a half a mela dedicated to the poet Jayadeva, has been held year after year at the village of Kenduli in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. At these fairs people congregate on their own and there is a free exchange of ideas.

We also hope to see in this great congregation of peace, amity and progress, international leaders of thought and action alongside the intellectuals and the common people of our country. Our aim is to acquaint the people of all countries with the multi-national culture of India and to introduce to the people of our country, the national and international leaders of thought and culture.

We have also decided to mark this occasion by publishing a selection of Rabindranath's writings on world peace, national independence and humanistic subjects in general as well as an anthology of poems, articles, stories, songs, paintings or sketches contributed by eminent writers and artists from all over the world as homage to the Poet. We have been assured by the World Peace Council of its full cooperation in the difficult task of compilation and translation involved in bringing out the second anthology.

It is also under consideration if it is possible to go beyond such celebrations and make some permanent provision for the promotion of studies in Tagorians and thus forge a bond of fellowship between peoples of different lands. This task can, of course, be taken up only at the proper time, according to our capacity and in conformity with the wishes of our people.

Rabindranath's Centenary will certainly be celebrated in all towns and villages of Bengal and also in all the States of India. We have to do our utmost to help all efforts in this direction as much as it lies in our power.

A Tagore Centenary Peace Festival, All-India Committee has, therefore, been formed for the implementation of these proposals. The office of this Committee is at 7, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta-19 (Telephone No. 44-5151).

## Tagore Centenary Peace Festival

THE month of May 1961 will mark the completion of a hundred years since the birth of Rabindranath Tagore. For all those who have faith in the future of humanity, this will be an event of very great significance. Cultural and humanitarian organisations throughout the world will, each in its own sphere, celebrate the occasion in a befitting manner.

In this connection we recall particularly the fervent appeal of the World Peace Council to all countries to observe 1961, the centenary year of our Poet, in a worthy way. The Centenary will find its fulfilment through such diverse celebrations at home and abroad.

As Rabindranath Tagore's fellow countrymen, our responsibility in this respect is naturally very great and we have decided to shoulder it. We feel, however, that the Centenary should be celebrated in a manner which would have had the approval of the Poet himself and, at the same time, it should be in keeping with

the traditions of our country. In Bengal, it has been the tradition to pay homage to a poet by holding a mela or a fair. Thus, for instance, for over seven centuries and a half a mela dedicated to the poet Jayadeva, has been held year after year at the village of Kenduli in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. At these fairs people congregate on their own and there is a free exchange of ideas.

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# YASHPAL'S NOVEL OF CONTEMPORARY INDIA

**JHOOTHA-SACH (Part II—Future of the Country).** Viplav Prakashan Grih, Lucknow. Price: Rs. 14.

THIS is a novel about contemporary India and deals more particularly with problems connected with the rehabilitation of the refugees from Western Punjab. It forms the second part of the story which dealt with the Punjab before freedom and the uprooting of a vast mass of humanity after the partition of India.

The first volume described the people of Lahore, their houses, the lanes and streets in which they lived, with a deep emotion and a feeling of nostalgia for a world which is no more. Yashpal is now a seasoned campaigner and in this novel he rises to heights never previously touched by him.

## Refugees' Struggle

He takes a very big canvas, introduces dozens of characters on it, fills the story with teeming life and movement, awakens passions of horror and bitterness, but holds out the hope that a better world is possible for those who are today dispossessed and disinherited. He describes in this second volume the struggle of the Punjab refugees to build a better life for themselves.

The whole work takes on an epic quality of grandeur, so big is the canvas. It covers over twelve hundred pages and introduces to us over a hundred characters. After Prem Chand's *Rambhoomi* it is the biggest work of fiction undertaken by any Hindi writer.

The scene is laid in Jullundur, Delhi and Lucknow. The refugees live in camps, struggle for survival, take to odd jobs and small business, and lift their heads above the waters. The author launches a full-scale attack on corruption inside the Congress machinery. Mr. Sood, reminiscent of a U.P. leader latterly fallen from grace, issues permits for this or that and tries to oust a member of the Planning Commission under the Prime Minister's very nose. His rout in the general elections is celebrated as a great victory by the people.

Capitalists like Agarwala, an old loyalist, now join the Congress. Other leaders like Prasadji and Awasthi seek to ruin refugee girls who seek help from them.

There are numerous characters in the novel who inspire respect. The best of these are Dr. Nath, Masterji, Panditji, Gill, Kanak and Tara. The central character, Puri, a weakling declines steadily in quest of prosperity and becomes a slave of Sood.

The story moves steadily and smoothly onwards, its movement staid and exciting like that of life itself. The rise of Tara from disaster and ruin, makes a wonderful and bracing tale.

In the background we have the movement of such impor-

tant national events as Gandhiji's fast to save the Muslim minority in India from the wrath of backward communal elements, his martyrdom, and funeral at Rajghat. Congress rule, plans to build up a new and strong India, struggle for trade unionism, opposition to Congress misrule form other elements in this exciting tale.

## A Nation's Endeavour

Yashpal recounts this powerful story of a nation's endeavour to rise phoenix-like from the ashes of disaster with much confidence and eloquence of words. There is, however, a certain ebb of force compared to the first part. The zest and wistfulness with which Punjab folk-songs and customs had been described in the first volume, have now suffered a

decline. What songs and rituals could there be for the unfortunate ones living in camps? There are the usual slips in language too: "laksh" for "lakshya"; lapses of idiom: "Banti ne samachar dena tha" (page 125).

In references to sexual relationships Yashpal has been an outspoken writer. Refugee women in the novel inspire lust and a brutal fleshy hunger in so many. The description of sexual incompatibility between Puri and Kanak takes the Hindi novel one step nearer to the tradition of *Lady Chatterly's Lover*. In aesthetics there is surely much room for restraint and discipline in such matters. Yashpal prefers the path of blunt, outspoken truth.

The descriptions of feminine nudity in the first volume were often distressing, but they served to bring home to the reader the carnage and holocaust in the Punjab. The two volumes of this novel tell us frankly how low men can fall and also their capacity to rally and fight back.

—P. C. GUPTA

# GORKY ON LITERATURE

**MAXIM GORKY ON LITERATURE, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Available at People's Publishing House, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi. Pages 397. Price: Rs. 2.50.**

MAXIM Gorky is always and everywhere delightful, thought-provoking and great. One finds his inevitable greatness all over again in this new selection of his articles. In robust and almost bigoted faith in men no one equals Gorky. In his essay "On Books" which was published in French translation in 1925 he writes:

## Man Creates Beauty

"There is no beauty in the nature that surrounds us and is so hostile to us; beauty is something that man himself creates out of the depth of his soul. Thus the Finn transfigures his bogs, forests and rusty-coloured granite, with its scanty and dwarfish vegetation, into scenes of beauty, and the Arab convinces himself that the desert is fair.

"Beauty is born of man's striving to contemplate it. I take delight not in chaotic and segregated mountain masses, but in the splendour man has endowed them with. I stand in admiration of the ease and magnanimity with which man is transforming Nature, a magnanimity which is all the more astonishing for the earth's being, if one gives the matter a close thought, a far from easy place to live in.

"Think of the earthquakes, hurricanes, snowstorms, floods, extremes of heat and cold, noxious insects and microbes and a thousand and one other

things that would make our life quite intolerable were man less of a hero than he is." The same view of thought and the same powerful style is perceived in all the essays gathered in this rare selection, which the compiler has divided in four sections—Gorky on His Literary Experience, Articles on Literature, Literary Portraits (of Chekhov, Lev Tolstol and Sergei Yesenin) and Letters about Literature (containing hitherto little known letters to Chekhov, Tolstol, H. G. Wells, Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig, A. N. Krupskaya and A. N. Tolstol and some others).

## Active Romanticism

In "How I Learnt To Write" which finds a prominent place in this selection, Gorky upholds active romanticism against the passive variety which "tries to reconcile man with his life by embellishing it or to distract him from the things around him." But active romanticism strives to strengthen man's will and "in great artist's realism and romanticism seem to have blended." Thus Gorky did not reject active romanticism—the one that "raises man up against the life around him."

And in a letter to Chekhov, he wrote: "I have just read your *Lady (With a Dog)*. Do you know what you are doing? You are just murdering real-

ism. And murder it you will... This form has outlived itself... After you no one will be able to go along this path, for no one will be able to write of such simple things in the simple way you can."

Innumerable gems of thought lie strewn over the pages of this volume. It includes an unfinished letter to Tolstol written under the impression of his "departure" from Yasnaya Polyana and his death. We discover a curious amalgam of like and dislike for the man whom Gorky called "a national writer in the truest

sense of the term." "There is much in Lev Nikolayevitch (Tolstol) that has often aroused in me feelings akin to hatred, much that falls like a heavy burden on my soul. His inordinately swollen ego is a monstrous phenomenon." And yet he writes: "Pushkin and he—there is nothing greater and dearer to us..."

Books, wrote Gorky, are the gospel of the human spirit. This volume of his writings is most eminently one such.

—G. K. S.

# WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

JULY ISSUE

**WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, July 1960. Price: Re. 1.**

THE outstanding feature of this issue of the *World Marxist Review* is its enormous variety. In place of an editorial we have the statements of Communist Parties of different countries on the torpedoing of the Summit Conference by the U.S. imperialists. This helps us greatly to evaluate the reasons for the American provocative actions as well as to grasp firmly the main lessons for the future advance of the world peace and democratic movements.

N. Inozemtsev in a brilliant article makes an analysis of the trends and perspective of the foreign policy of the United States. He emphasises that the political struggle now being waged by the "class forces in the country exerts an influence on the imperialist aggressive policy of the U.S. rulers." He also states that the foreign policy of the United States has to "take into consideration both the alignment of forces in the capitalist world and the balance of power between the two world systems—the Socialist and imperialist."

## Crisis Of U.S. Policy

With this as its starting point he analyses the changes and the vacillations in the foreign policy of the United States—pointing out that a crisis has come about in the policy of "position of strength."

He makes the position prior to the Summit and, indeed, after its failure clear by stating, "what has changed is not the nature of American imperialism or the basic aims of its foreign policy, but the internal and external conditions under which the U.S. policy is being implemented." Calling for the maximum possible "popular activity of peace he concludes, "war in our epoch is not inevitable; but neither is peace inevitable. Only the combined efforts of the peace-loving peoples, their resistance and stubborn struggle can bar the path to war and win world peace."

Enrico Vercellino contributes a most illuminating article on the policy of building the broadest possible united front in the capitalist countries. He analyses the changes that have taken place in the economy and the

political set-up in the capitalist countries. He emphasises the enormous growth of the political activity of the masses in the recent period and at the same time points out how greatly has increased the degree of monopoly concentration in the economy in the past decade.

He then goes on to state, "in these factors we see the objective possibility for broader alliances. The identity of interests and aims of diverse and even essentially different political forces impel them towards united action or temporary co-operation."

Taking into account the experience of a large number of countries he develops his theme that the Communists, even before taking power, must make the maximum use of opportunities in capitalist society to give relief to the people and demonstrate that the Communists are adept at administration. Local bodies, he adds, should be utilised not only for this purpose but also to draw in to united work diverse strata of people with differing political views.

In discussing the forms of alliances he makes the point that "alliances are formed, consolidated, developed or renewed (if they were temporary) in action and only in action. The feature of the present alliances is that they are open to sections, which were not the traditional allies of the working class.... "Often it is a case of partial or temporary alliance and co-operation. These alliances are, or can be, the result of joint action from below or of agreement reached at the top. In the course of the popular struggle these temporary alliances and agreements can gain in strength and become permanent."

## Attitude To Nationalisation

Friedl Furnberg gives us the history of the Communist attitude to nationalisation under capitalism. He makes it clear that the working class is for nationalisation even though it realises that the State-owned enterprises are a part of the capitalist system. He stresses the importance of nationalisation "especially in view of the struggle of the working people

KARNATAK

# THIRD PLAN INJUSTICE

THE people of Mysore State were shocked when the Draft of the Third Plan was published. They were shocked because the most important and vital schemes for development of the Mangalore Port and the Hassan-Mangalore Railway had been left out of the Draft Plan.

This has been a crying demand of the people of the State and they were very disappointed to find the Planning Commission cold-shouldering this demand. Even before the official publication of the Draft Plan, when the Special Correspondent of the *Hindu* reported that these vital projects were not included in the Third Plan, strong protests were voiced editorially by the *Hindu*, *Deccan Herald*, *Prajavani*, *Janashakti* and other papers.

## Protest Grows

Protest has grown since the official release of the Draft which has confirmed the earlier reports.

The Communist Party was the first to condemn the injustice. The Secretariat of the State Council of the Party passed the following resolution:

"The Secretariat notes with grave concern the report that the development of the all-weather Mangalore port and construction of the Hassan-Mangalore railway are not included in the Third Five-Year Plan.

"These two projects are essential not only for the development of the State, but also for earning much-needed foreign exchange for the country by facilitating the export of high-grade and low-grade iron-ores. Experts had examined the question of location of an all-weather port in the West Coast and recommended Mangalore as the most suitable site. The Southern Railway had surveyed the Hassan-Mangalore railway project and found it feasible and profitable.

"It had been stated on the floor of Parliament several times that the Mangalore all-weather port coupled with the Hassan-Mangalore railway would receive sympathetic consideration by the Central Government. Assurances had been repeatedly given by the Central Government that these projects would be included in the Third Plan.

"It is reported that the Mysore State Mineral Development Board is keen on these two projects and in fact has offered to find the resources required for them.

"Despite all this and in utter disregard of the long-standing demand of the people of this State and in violation of all the assurances given on several occasions in the past, the Central Government and the planners have now decided not to include these projects in the Third Plan.

"This is not the first time

that the Central Government has ignored the just claims of the people of Mysore State for starting of new industries and projects. The Centre has in fact been adopting a policy of discrimination against Mysore.

"The Secretariat emphatically protests against this unjust decision of the Central Government and the Planning Commission and calls upon all sections of the people to join in this protest and urge the inclusion of these projects in the Third Plan giving them due priority."

This resolution of the Communist Party was widely welcomed by the people and now the Pradesh Congress has also come out openly criticising the Central Government on this issue. The Mangalore Municipal Council has protested against the non-inclusion of these projects in the Plan.

The meeting of the State Council of the Communist Party which is to meet next month will discuss this issue and chalk out plans for a broad campaign to get these projects included in the Third Plan.

It is to be noted that the Central Government had adopted a similar attitude towards the Sharavathi Valley Project also in the past and only a strong agitation in the State compelled it to give the necessary assistance for this project.

## Faction Fight

There is a strong feeling among the people that the Centre's discriminatory treatment of Mysore State is due largely to the weakness and instability of the Ministry in the State due to the internal quarrels in the Congress have been responsible for the failure to exert enough pressure on the Centre with regard to the development of the State. Several newspapers have already commented on this fact.

The present Jatti Ministry which came to office two years ago is now facing a crisis. Sharp differences have arisen inside the Cabinet on the proposed Land Reforms Bill fixing uniform rent and ceilings on holdings. These differences have unduly delayed the enactment of the legislation. The draft Bill has been before the Select Committee for the past one year and nobody knows yet when the Committee will be ready with its report. Differences have been reported in the Cabinet on several other issues also.

Above all the election of S. Nijalingappa as the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee defeating a candidate put up by the Ministerial wing some time ago has sharpened the conflict between the Congress Executive and the Ministry. The whole series of elections from the Mandal to the State level were keenly fought throughout the State by these two wings of the Congress. Today the Pradesh Congress is dominated by S. Nijalingappa who

# Congress Squabbles Block

## Fight For Right Share

is out to overthrow the Jatti Ministry. The pro-Ministry section has been almost completely kept out of the various committees set up by the Pradesh Congress President.

Fortyfive members of the Congress Legislature Party have now submitted a charge-sheet against the Ministry levelling charges of corruption, favouritism, withdrawal of cases against their followers, nominating their own followers in the various committees, etc. As a follow-up to the charge-sheet they have already come forward with a no-confidence move.

The Congress High Command has been apprised of the situation. Chakravarti, one of the permanent Secretaries of the AICC, went round the State studying the situation.

Congress President Sanjiva Reddy came all the way from Delhi to sermonise Congressmen on the need to maintain unity in view of the forthcoming General Elections. His appeal has been in vain.

A meeting of the Congress Legislature Party has been held to discuss the charge-sheet and the anti-Ministry group is confident that the Jatti Ministry will be forced to resign even without a formal no-confidence motion.

The differences in the Congress have become so acute that in the elections to the Taluk Boards two sets of Congress candidates contested the same seats in some areas. The Bangalore District Congress Committee, for instance, set up its own candidates for the seats in Bangalore District.

But since this Committee is pro-Ministry, the Pradesh Congress Committee nominated another act of its own candidates and suspended those who were contesting on behalf of the District Congress Committee.

It is the development of the State and the interests of the people that have seriously suffered because of these sharp conflicts. Prices of food-grains and other essential articles are shooting up. Corruption is rampant and people's miseries go on mounting. They are getting disgusted with the Congress rulers who have failed to give even a stable Government to the State in spite of the overwhelming majority which the Congress has in the legislature.

You are a wise man and a wise father. You are making sure that the new shirt will fit your son next year too when he will have grown bigger. You have an eye on his future.

Along with his physical growth, however, the boy will grow mentally. And you have to plan for his larger future. He will of course have to have the best in education—with possibly a few years of higher training abroad. All that will need a capital sum.

Be as wise as you are now and make sure you will have the necessary funds at the proper time. Life Insurance is the easiest and surest way to do so. Put by a little in an Education Policy now and guarantee the best education for your son and the finest of future careers.

make it a little bigger



There is no substitute for LIFE INSURANCE

NEW AGE

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NEW AGE



# Rumania Looks Ahead

THE Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held recently in Bucharest endorsed the directives of Rumania's Six-Year Plan and the Economic Outline Program for 15 years.

The main target of the economic Plan for 1960-65 is the development of the technical and material basis of Socialism and the conclusion of the process of establishing Socialist relations of production throughout the economy in order to complete the building of Socialism.

During the Plan, the average annual rate of increase in industry will amount to some 13 per cent, as against a rate of some ten per cent between 1954 and 1959. The level of development Rumanian industry is to obtain is illustrated by the fact that the industrial output of 1965 will represent three-quarters of the total output obtained during the First Five-Year Plan. A one per cent growth in the output of Socialist industry in 1965 will represent 1,450 million lei as against 695 million lei in 1959 and 220 million lei in 1950.

In the main branches producing means of production, a stronger development is envisaged, exceeding the average growth in industry: steel output will grow 2.3 times, machine-building—2.2 times, the chemical, rubber cellulose and paper industries—3.3 times and electric and thermopower—3.3 times.

The growth in the output of the consumer goods industry—some 2.1 times in the light industry and nearly double in the food industry—will ensure the satisfaction to an ever-increasing degree of the steadily growing requirements of the population.

Of the total industrial output in 1965, more than 50 per cent will be obtained from existing capacities, more than 30 per cent as a result of the retooling, reconstruction and development of existing enterprises, while the new enterprises will account for some 18 per cent.

## Changes In Agriculture

Deep-going social and economic changes have taken place in the life of the Rumanian villages in recent years. The Socialist sector of agriculture comprises over 81 per cent of the number of peasant holdings and of the arable area of the country.

The number of peasant families belonging to the Socialist sector has risen from 382,000 in 1955 to 2,920,000. State farms, collective farms and agricultural associations now cover an area of eight million hectares of arable land.

Some 680,000 peasant families are still outside the Socialist sector, that is less than one-fifth of the total. They own an area of 1,800,000 hectares, mainly in the mountain localities. Thanks to the strong appeal exercised by the Socialist co-operative sector, these individual holdings, too, are turning towards Socialist agriculture.

## Bigger Incomes

Material incentives for the peasantry has been provided by the abolition of the compulsory quota system and its replacement by a system of contracts and direct purchases. This has contributed to a considerable increase in agricultural output which in 1957 exceeded the 1956 production by nearly 23 per cent and in 1959 by over 30 per cent.

The growth in agricultural output and the delivery to the State of large quantities of produce at advantageous prices have made for bigger incomes of the peasantry. In 1959, for agricultural pro-

duce delivered to the State, the peasants received 7,500 million lei, 1,700 million more than in 1955. This was in addition to the income they obtained from direct sales of their produce on the market and to the considerably increased amount of produce they consumed themselves.

By 1965, gross agricultural output is to increase 70 to 80 per cent as compared with 1959. This increased output will be achieved by means of an intensive and comprehensive development of agriculture, by harmoniously combining the various production branches, taking into account economic, soil and climatic conditions.

## National Income

Special efforts are to be directed towards continuously raising the level of mechanisation and utilisation of chemical fertilisers in agriculture. In 1965, there will be one tractor for every hundred hectares of arable land, compared with one

Rumania is held in great esteem by our people for the inestimable help it has given along with the Soviet Union to develop our oil industry. Rumania has been able to give us this magnificent aid because on August 23, 1944, the Rumanian people threw off the old order and began traversing a new path—the path of Socialism. On their national day this year, let us congratulate them and wish them greater victories and still more rapid progress.

tractor for every 270 hectares in 1959.

The directives of the Plan provide for an increase in the national income of 1.7 to 1.8 times. Industry and building will have an increasingly larger share in this, so that in 1965 they will account for more than 60 per cent of the national income. The consumption fund will be 1.6 to 1.7 times bigger than in 1959, accounting for more than three-quarters of the entire national income.

## Wages Will Go Up

On this solid foundation, by 1965, real wages will be 40 to 45 per cent above the level reached in the second half of 1959, by means of an increase in nominal wages and gradual cuts in the prices of consumer goods, while the real income of the peasantry will go up about 40 per cent, mainly as a result of the considerable increase in agricultural output and the sale of produce to the State under contract and by direct purchase.

Consumption of foodstuffs and industrial products will rise considerably as a result of the higher purchasing power of the population. The amount of goods to be sold by the State and cooperative trade network will be doubled.

As compared with the 1954-59 period, the State's investments for the development of public education, cultural establishments, health protection, scientific research, housing and other socio-cultural activities will be nearly double. Apart from investments, socio-cultural expenditure will constantly increase, amounting to nearly 20,000 million lei in 1965.

The implementation of the provisions of the Six-Year Plan, the first stage of the long-term programme whose outline has been drawn up, will open up new and ever-brighter vistas before the Rumanian people: the completion of the construction of Socialism and the prospect of the gradual transition to the building of Communism.

# IN ADDITION TO WAGES

## — Benefits Rumanian Workers Enjoy

GREETINGS from Sinaia and Predeal, Eforie and Vasile Roaita, Borsec and Calimanesti, Herculance and Busteni, Sovata, Poiana Tapului

Stocks of picture postcards with views from the finest beauty spots in Rumania; postcards with a few happy lines in the most diverse styles of hand-writing;

"Greetings and good wishes. Vlad Dumitru."

"We are having lovely weather. I wish you were here. Florea Calpareanu."

"Best wishes to you all from this pleasant little corner. Dolna Cabulea."

The first-named is a lathe operator, the second a fitter and the third a graduate engineer.

Dozens of postcards arrive at the offices of the trade union committee; friendly messages, hastily scribbled down between the excursions and conveying something of the enjoyable experience of those on holiday.

In 1959, in accordance with the provisions of the collective agreement, all the employees of the Sema-natoarea works got their paid holidays, and the works arranged for a good many of them to spend their vacations at spas and health resorts.

As a matter of fact the

highest percentages over-fulfilling the provisions of last year's collective agreement were obtained in respect of sponsored holidays. There were 490 pledges, but the actual number came to 872 which means that the provisions of the collective agreement were exceeded by over 77 per cent.

Die operator Lon Minca, who is the trade union committee member in charge of social welfare, gave the above figures and pointed out another aspect.

"To make the whole thing really clear, we ought to consider some further details," he said. "Let us take the case of fitter Florea Calpareanu. He went on a 25-day holiday to Borsec. He paid 75 lei for his all-in ticket.

"Now, what is the real value of the ticket? That is, how much did the State pay for Calpareanu's holiday? 1,250 lei. One of our canteen waitresses, Eugenia Costescu, was at Calimanesti for 21 days; she paid 110 lei. The full value of the ticket, which included medical treatment, was 1,000 lei. One more instance: lathe operator Vlad Dumitru, who spent three weeks at the seaside resort of Vasile Roaita, paid 88 lei, but his ticket cost 1,000 lei.

Who provides the funds to cover the difference?

The State. Which goes to show that the national income reverts in various ways to those who produce it; the working people. In 1959 social and cultural expenditure financed by the State totalled 12,100 million lei, or 25.2 per cent of total budget expenditure. Part of this socio-cultural expenditure is controlled by the Central Trade Union Council.

"Generally speaking," Ion Minca went on, "the amounts contributed by each employee for his holiday and medical treatment depends on how much he earns. As you see, that is to the advantage of each of us.

"But apart from the usual holidays, we must not forget the special leaves granted according to the provisions of the collective agreement."

"What kinds of leave?"

"Leave for pregnancy and lying-in: 52 days before the child is born and another 60 days after. The amounts paid for that kind of holiday in 1959 totalled 24,218 lei. And do not forget that we are a metal works which employs few women, most of them are office staff. Sick-leave grants totalled 711,995 lei."

Medical examinations are free of charge and they are given at the works medico-sanitary centre,

which has sections for surgery, internal diseases, dentistry, etc. Last year, as provided in the collective agreement, new medical appliances and instruments worth 12,900 lei were supplied to the medico-sanitary centre. Some 2,000 lei were spent on medical supplies for the anti-influenza drive. And the works physicians are as closely preoccupied with preventive as with curative measures. This explains the fact that medical examinations reached the respectable total of 56,858.

The result of this solicitude, backed up by labour safety measures, was that in the last four years there have been no new cases of silicosis or other occupational diseases.

"To round off the picture," added the trade union committee's social welfare officer, "I should tell you that the trade union organisation has also looked after the files of pensionable staff, taking steps, where necessary, to speed up matters. In 1959, fifteen employees of the works were pensioned. And don't forget that, in accordance with the decision taken at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party of July 13-14, 1959, old-age pensions were increased on an average by 63 per cent."

# week in parliament

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN RAJYA SABHA

Wednesday's debate over foreign affairs in the Rajya Sabha—with the Prime Minister's reply held over for the day—was significant in that after the last three months' stormy developments in the international sphere it was for the first time that any House of the Indian Parliament was discussing the world situation.

The Prime Minister initiating the debate refused to specify where responsibility for the breakdown of the Summit lay and the Congress speaker who immediately followed him, Satya Charan, although he declared that the sending of the U2 spy plane over the Soviet Union was wrong, insisted on balancing the two sides, saying that the U2 affair was not enough reason to justify refusal to meet at the Summit.

The confusion was sought to be cleared up by P. N. Saprú who in a forceful and well-documented speech showed how such things and insistence on the right to continue with them was incompatible with "international conventions". Very effectively he showed how the U2 affair and subsequent developments had put in the dock all those who called for abandonment of India's non-alignment policy. At a time when Governments who are members of military blocs and have leased military bases to foreign Powers are themselves beginning to realise the threat these constitute to their security, he showed how utterly bankrupt those politicians were who suggested the adoption of such a course by India.

He pointed out, necessarily meant clearing the path of those who stood in the way of the Belgian troops' withdrawal, and that was no

mere internal affair of the Congo. It was a U. N. responsibility. Not only that it was now being evaded, but so many intrigues were afoot to see that the U. N. did the very reverse of what it was charged with.

Bhupesh Gupta's wide ranging speech which lived up to the debate touched on the latest developments in Laos. He welcomed the return of neutralist Souvanna Phouma as Premier, hoped that the Government of India would help and support this development and see that the International Commission constituted under the Geneva Agreements was enabled to return to Laos. He demanded a change in our representative's stand in the Vietnam Commission.

He referred to the Prime

Minister's visit to Turkey while the Menderes regime was nearing its collapse under the hammer-blows of the Turkish people's struggle. Wittingly or unwittingly such visits were utilised by anti-popular regimes to bolster up their prestige. (What about the forthcoming visit to Pakistan, one felt tempted to ask.)

He reminded the House how at the Commonwealth Conference, faced with the powerful combination of the white Premiers, Nehru had failed to press the demand for expulsion of South Africa at a time when the entire world was looking to him "to give the lead in the matter."

He made a passionate plea for an end to discrimination against the German Democratic Republic in the matter

of recognition. While this peace-loving friendly State was denied recognition, the other German State where militarism was reviving at a rapidly alarming pace was the only part of Germany with which we had diplomatic relations. He wanted India to have diplomatic relations with both German States.

He welcomed the new Government of Ceylon under Mrs. Bandaranaike.

An amazing performance had been given earlier in the debate by K. K. Shah, reputed to be a close associate of Morarji Desai. Setting out to describe the "atmosphere in Europe" he spoke of India and West Germany as two ends of the "Free World."

Giving an exposition of the West German approach

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## PUBLIC SECTOR SELL-OUT

TUCKED away in a small corner of the "resources" chapter of the Draft Plan is a very dangerous sentence: "For raising some resources for the public sector it has been suggested, for example, that participation of private capital in existing or new public enterprises might be encouraged. This is being examined."

It has not been mentioned that this suggestion has come jointly from two very powerful Ministries—Finance and Commerce and Industries. Nor is there any hint that the real credit for this sell-out of the public sector should go to our beggar-in-chief in Washington, B. K. Nehru. He is now in the capital to put personal pressure on his high-placed relatives.

He is said to have sent a lengthy note from the U.S. capital theorising on the "observed divorce" of ownership and management in America. It seems there are many moneybags who own plants and firms but leave the management to the "boys".

He, therefore, feels that the public sector concerns could very well float shares. To begin with Government could continue to hold the majority of shares and let the Indian monopolists buy up the rest. Management could remain with the Government and it would have only to spend about half the amount it does at present to get this right. Thus would the American pattern be repeated in India of management without full ownership, so B. K. Nehru says.

Privately he is reported to have assured the Indian monopolists and their American partners that this was only the first step and

# SCRAP-BOOK

the only way to calm the "socialistic conscience" of the Prime Minister. Later, on grounds of inefficient management, the private sector could move in more decisively—could take over fully. Another repetition of the American pattern, no doubt.

A gem of an idea. The common people pay huge taxes and strengthen the public sector only to have it handed back to the biggest tycoons. This is exactly how it worked in Japan in the early years of this century—with all the horrid results we know. Are we to go the same way?

## MENACING VISITOR

SOME time ago, Cochin Harbour said good-bye to a most menacing visitor. Let us hope it is good-bye and not an revoir!

The vessel is the American Navy's heavy cruiser USS "Canberra". She is a 16,700 ton ship and steamed into Cochin on July 27. She is the flagship of Rear Admiral John McNay Taylor and her crew of over 1,300 men and officers is commanded by Captain Walter H. Baumberger.

But the most important detail is that the "Canberra" is a guided missile carrier and her normal deployment is with that floating menace—the U.S. Sixth Fleet which sails the Mediterranean.

This is the first time in many a long year that Cochin, i.e., India has played host to such a large American warship, and it is

the first time ever that we have invited a guided missile carrier to our shores.

Why on earth should this be? Who is responsible for allowing this deadly and hateful ship to mar the beauty of the Indian sea-line? Will the Government oblige the public by letting it into the secret?

## UNFULFILLED PROMISES

THE people are sick to death over the broken promises, the yawning gap between word and deed which is the leit motif of Congress activities over the past decade. But we have recently come across a report which gives us the literal underlining of this fact.

The MLAs of Andhra have just been supplied with the Second Report of the Assurances Committee of the Assembly. According to this Report, various Ministers made as many as 1,130 promises and assurances on the floor of the Legislature during the period November 1958 to March 1960. But as many as 718 of these promises and assurances were never fulfilled.

The Irrigation and P.W.D. Minister heads the list with 233 promises of which only 46 were fulfilled. A close second is the Revenue Minister with 142 promises and 14 performances. The Finance Minister, preferring discretion to valour, made only eight promises and was naturally able to keep seven of them.

A great record! An interesting idea would be to

have similar reports on the same type of activities by the Central Ministers. What a report we would have then!

## SWATANTRA "FREEDOM"

RAJAJI goes from one duplicity to another. He has now further defined the "freedom" concept behind the formation of the Swatantra Party.

The need for this display of dialectical skill arose because of the statement the sage of Swatantra had issued supporting the proposed anti-Hindi campaign of the DMK during the Rashtrapati's visit to Madras. Naturally the other stalwarts of the party in the North are terribly upset—they are more or less taking the Jan Sangh stand.

Hence the new Rajaji formula for his party: "In the Swatantra of my conception, we do not bind down members to preconceived notions... where there cannot be unanimity, the members of the party can hold on to their views without let or hindrance. I exercised this freedom."

How very convenient: Swatantraites in the South can run a tearing campaign against Hindi. Swatantraites in the North can join the Jan Sangh to ram Hindi down everywhere and at once. This is "freedom". But the dictionary would call it "dishonesty". Perhaps, for Rajaji there is no difference between the two.

—Onlooker



# TRADE UNION RIGHTS DAY

like Maharashtra have done better in this respect. Others are moving very slowly in this matter.

Similarly, departmental heads are also, at some places, using their full discretion in delaying matters. At many places, the subsistence allowance to suspended workers for the month of July 1960 have not yet been paid.

Workers who are under suspension are not allowed to enter the premises of their work place.

## Withdrawal Of Recognition

The recognition of trade unions of Central Government employees is being withdrawn. In railways, the AIRF and its affiliated unions have lost their recognition. In the P & T, all the nine unions have lost recognition. Recognition of trade unions in the civil aviation and income-tax departments has also been withdrawn. In Defence, even those unions which withdrew the strike notice in the morning of July 12 have been served with show-cause notice asking why their recognition should not be withdrawn. The recognition of the All-India Non-Gazetted Audit & Accounts Association was withdrawn two years ago; their union office in Bombay, in the premises of the Accountant-General's office, has been barricaded.

Territorial Army personnel who were arrested in connection with the strike in Calcutta are subjected to very heavy punishment — 27 out of the total 692 employees arrested were convicted and sent to Alipore Jail to undergo rigorous imprisonment and 42 have been fined so far. The fate of the others is not yet known.

Charge-sheets under Rules 4 (a) and 4 (b) of the Government Servants Conduct Rules are being served on a number of employees. Harassment inside the place of work is at its highest. In P & T and Income-Tax, trade union officials who were on foreign service (leave) have been recalled and they are being posted outside Delhi, their union headquarters. Impediments are being created and threats given at the time of collection of union dues and even relief money for the employees.

With the withdrawal of recognition arbitrarily ordered, in many cases, even without show-cause notice, no recognised union exists except in the railways. Who will be responsible for the chaos that will result because no recognised trade union and method of redressal of grievances of the employees exist? That the departmental rules are insufficient to borne out from the fact that in spite of these rules, the unions had to do a lot of individual cases, too, besides general issues, at all levels.

The Labour Ministry has failed to persuade other employing Ministries like Railways, Transport and Communications, Defence, etc., to agree to the Code of Discipline, on which Gulzari Lal Nanda lays so much stress in settling industrial disputes and rightly or wrongly considers a sheet-anchor of his

labour policy in the Second Plan period. Unions of Central Government employees were ready to abide by the Code — in fact, some of them are bound by it as they are affiliated to central trade union organisations which have ratified the Code.

The Code of Discipline does not debar strikes. It only insists on all existing avenues being utilised before strike is resorted to. The Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees honestly tried to settle their demands through negotiation up to the bitter end — even at the cost of creating an illusion of settlement among the employees at zero hour.

For violation of the Code of Discipline, explanations are called for, investigations conducted, tripartite enquiries made as in the Jamshedpur, Bombay Premier Automobile, and Calcutta Tramways strikes; the reports are considered at the Tripartite Implementation and Evaluation Committees and even then, for the first offence, only warnings are given. Only in exceptional cases is recognition withdrawn and that, too,

for a maximum period of one year.

But in the present case, Government has withdrawn recognition arbitrarily without even issuing show-cause notice.

We challenge the Government to have an enquiry into the strike similar to the ones held in the Bombay General Strike and Calcutta tramway strike and give the employees the opportunity to prove that they did all that was possible to avert the strike and make a settlement through negotiations. It was the adamant attitude of the Government that was responsible for the strike. Even though it was open to the Government under the Industrial Disputes Act to refer the dispute to arbitration or adjudication, it preferred to deal with it politically with the help of the Ordinance, military and civil force and the whole apparatus at its disposal.

## No Moral Right

As such Government has no moral right to withdraw recognition arbitrarily. The enquiry to be conducted by R.L. Mehta, IAS, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Employment, is a sort of departmental enquiry and not of the type held earlier in Jamshedpur and other places. Thus, the employing Ministries of the Government of

India will not accept the Code of Discipline but they take action against the unions and workers—actions which have no parallel in the history of the trade union movement and with no regard at all for tripartite conventions.

The struggle fought by the Central Government employees for honouring tripartite decisions and linking dearness allowance with cost of living index or holding the price line was the struggle of the entire working class and all working people. It was supported by the AITUC, HMS and UTUC and all Left political parties. The aftermath of the struggle has also to be shared by the people and the entire working class.

The AITUC has written to the Union Labour Minister to follow the usual practice and discuss the proposed amendments or new labour laws first in the tripartite Indian Labour Conference which is scheduled to take place in Delhi on September 24 and 25, 1960, before introducing them in Parliament.

It is reported that certain sections of the INTUC are also opposed to the proposed labour legislations, specially the ban on outsiders. If we can unite in the tripartite conference on this issue and build up a united movement from below, as in the past, the Government can be made to cry a halt.

The AITUC, HMS and UTUC, in joint statements,

have given a call for the observance of TRADE UNION RIGHTS DAY on September 2, 1960. Whenever possible joint rallies, processions, wearing of badges, issuing of leaflets and posters, should be undertaken. Public opinion should be created and the issues explained to them in this respect. We are sure the independent unions including those of Government employees and at some places even INTUC unions will join in. We must make efforts to bring them in.

Resolutions passed in these meetings should be sent, among others, to the Prime Minister and the Union Labour Minister.

## Defeat The Offensive

It should be remembered that today, these bans are mooted in the name of "essential services." It will soon engulf all the workers in all industries, because every activity in the industrial field is essential for the life of the people. If the trade unions allow themselves to lose this precious fundamental right of the working class, reactionary capital will run riot still more with the economy of the country and unbridled bureaucrats will be a bane on the life of the Government employees.

(August 16, 1960)

FROM PAGE 3

# Palai Bank Closure

Central Government had the power to give adequate and discreet warning to depositors about the affairs of the bank. For Section 35(5) of the Act says:

"The Central Government may, after giving reasonable notice to the banking company, publish the report submitted by the Reserve Bank or such portion thereof as may appear necessary."

The Central Government obviously thought it unnecessary to do so, for which again it owes an explanation to the depositors.

As a last resort, the Reserve Bank had powers under the Act to cancel the licence given to the Palai Bank for conducting banking operations. Section 22 (3) of the Act says that, before issue of licence, the Reserve Bank should satisfy itself that "the company is in a position to pay its depositors in full as their claims accrue," and that "the affairs of the company are not being conducted to the detriment of the interests of its depositors." Section 22(4) authorises the Bank to cancel any licence when the conditions on which it was given earlier "ceases to be fulfilled."

The Finance Minister has stated that action under this was contemplated, but that the Government was persuaded not to do so on the representations made by the Kerala Bankers' Association. It is, of course, true that the withdrawal of licence from an important bank cannot be done lightly, and that there was much in favour of not taking drastic action of this kind. But this also implies readiness on the part of the Reserve Bank to take such other effective action as was necessary to protect the in-

terests of the depositors.

It would seem now that the Government took into account only the case made out by the Bankers' Association, made an error of judgement as to the possibilities of putting the Palai Bank on a sound basis through appropriate directives, and now, having failed in all its statutory obligations, have left the depositors to their own fate. One has to be careful about taking anything to a court of law, but it may be found, if examined by legal experts, that the depositors can even sue the Central Government, for its neglect to protect their interests under the Banking Companies Act.

Apart from the injury done to the depositors of the Palai Central Bank, much larger issues are also raised by the failure of the Bank. For instance, what are the obligations of a nationalised central bank to the community at large, particularly when it has been entrusted with the control and management of the entire banking system? The Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India during the year 1958, submitted by the Reserve Bank of India to the Government, as required by the Banking Companies Act, made the following concluding observation:

"The increasing role to be played by Indian banks in garnering the savings of the public and in channeling them in desirable directions under the Five-Year Plans necessitates the development of a healthy tradition of commercial banking, which is what the Reserve Bank seeks to create in stages by a judicious use of its powers and responsi-

lities under the Banking Companies Act."

Has the Reserve Bank indeed made a judicious use of its powers, when it could do nothing to set right the affairs of a scheduled bank over a period of nine years, and that too of a bank whose total fixed and savings deposits accounted for

FROM PAGE 10

# WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

to restrict the power of the monopolies and democratise economic and political life in the capitalist countries."

An important conclusion he reaches is that while nationalisation does not mean that capitalism will gradually be transformed into Socialism yet "the movement for democratic nationalisation is, in growing measure, merging with the struggle for Socialism."

"The fight for nationalisation, like any other mass-democratic movement, is spearheaded against the reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie and weakens the main forces of capitalism. It helps the working class to find flexible forms of alliances with the masses and helps the working people to become conscious of the need for Socialist transformation."

Maurice Thorez writes on the 25th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. In stirring words he recalls the rousing message of unity against the fascist offensive which was given by that Congress. His concluding words are: "Having worked

nearly a third of all such deposits held by scheduled banks in an important State (i.e. Kerala)?

If there is anything in the case made out by the Finance Minister that there was little more that the Central Government and the Reserve Bank could have done—this is also the best case that has been made out so far for nationalising the entire commercial banking system in the country.

out the new tactical lines corresponding to the needs of the time, and having advanced the issue of the united front and the people's front, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern once again rendered 'great help' to the proletariat of the capitalist countries. This Congress occupies a prominent place in the annals of the Communist International."

Readers will find great stimulation in the analysis of bourgeois sociology made by V. Ruml. There are a number of highly interesting theses on the relationship between ideology and science in this article. Jack Lindsay writes on the humanism of Lenin and his moral personality.

The section entitled "Exchange of Views" is devoted this time to a discussion on the economic role of the State under Socialism. A deep analysis is made in another article of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held at Conakry.

—EDITORIAL BOARD

August 13, 1960

# THE NEW GOVT. IN LAOS

THE debacle of U. S. policy of aggression and subjugation in Asia continues further with the recent events in Laos. Today's reports about the formation of Prince Souvanna Phouma's Government in Laos greatly brighten up the prospects of peace and tranquillity in this region of Southeast Asia, torn as it was by civil strife for over a decade due to imperialist interventions.

It was towards the end of 1958 that the first Souvanna Phouma Government was replaced by the reactionary Government of Phouy Sananikone. The latter, being a hybrid of American and French imperialist interests, could not fully satisfy Uncle Sam. A coup was organised by a group of U. S.-bought young military officers in January 1960. Followed a so-called caretaker Government, and an election farce in April. And in June this year, the entirely pro-American Government of Tiao Somsanith was formed. In the U. S. plans, Laos was now a secure SEATO base.

## People's Opposition

But an idea of the hardships that these developments inflicted upon the Laotian people may be gained from the fact that the 1960-1961 draft budget submitted to the Laotian Assembly on July 21, allocated three-quarters of the expenditure to the armed forces, the police and military projects, while most of the expenditure for "civil use" was meant for driving the peasants to concentration camps.

To make up for the budgetary deficit of 3,200 million kip (eighty kips for a U. S. dollar), the Laotian Government decided, apart from relying on U. S. "aid", to issue banknotes of 500 kip denomination, to increase taxation including taxes on gasoline and land, to reduce the income of civil servants, policemen and soldiers.

The country was thus being turned into a U. S. Scared as it were, by Tshombe's trumpets, the U. N. Secretary-General had rushed back to the Security Council for a dose of courage. He got bouquets from the imperialist Powers, but in the eyes of the Congolese people, and of peoples of other countries as well, this running away from the scene was viewed as a blow to U. N. authority.

## Soviet Stand

The Soviet delegate, V. V. Kuznetsov, voted for the resolution, proceeding from the premise that it conforms to the basic goal pursued by the Security Council, viz., to ensure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Belgium's troops from the territory of the Congo, including Katanga Province.

At the same time the Soviet delegate pointed out that the

# INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

have been subjected to inhuman oppression. If you do not enjoy freedom and equality under the law, what, then, do you live for? Law must serve the entire Laotian people. Instead of a handful of influential persons or any one political party."

## Programme Of New Govt.

The Revolutionary Committee negotiated directly with the King and obtained his consent to Souvanna Phouma becoming Prime Minister again. And the National Assembly—minus the members who have run away to the South or to Thailand to hatch fresh plots against the people—after voting no-confidence in Somsanith's Government, asked Phouma to form a new Government.

The programme of the Revolutionary Committee—which

had Souvanna Phouma in its sub-committee for domestic and foreign policies—shows that the uprising was a part of the patriotic movement of the Laotian people, a part of the national liberation movement of the Asian people.

In its foreign policy, the Revolutionary Committee would respect the U. N. Charter and follow a policy of neutrality; it would actively establish friendly and good neighbourly relations with all countries desirous of establishing good relations with Laos and respect the agreement signed by Laos, it would oppose foreign interference and drive out foreign troops from Laos.

Internally, the Revolutionary Committee would oppose corruption and would reform the National Assembly and Government; it would develop agriculture and industry in order to improve the life of the people and would accept aid from all countries pro-

vided no political conditions were attached to it. The Revolutionary Committee is negotiating with Pathet Lao for ending the civil war, and for a coalition Government.

## Danger From SEATO

But the main danger that is still lurking to snatch these gains from the Laotian people is that presented by U. S. imperialism's policy in Asia. The pro-American Defence Minister of the former Laotian Government, Phoumi Nosavam, is reported to be already in Thailand. The Thailand Cabinet held an emergency meeting to discuss the Laotian situation. And Sarasin, the Secretary-General of SEATO, has revealed that confabulations on Laos among the member countries of this aggressive bloc have already begun.

# CONGO: IMPERIALIST DOUBLE-DEALING

THE events in Congo continue to emphasise the double-dealings of the imperialist Powers. Forced to bow down before the irresistible national liberation movements and the mounting world public opinion against colonial domination, the imperialist Powers still continue to resort to any and every trick to retain their hold over territories fast slipping out of their clutches.

Almost a week has passed since the Security Council adopted its second resolution on Congo, and the U. N. troops are yet to take over in Katanga and Belgian forces yet to withdraw.

Scared as it were, by Tshombe's trumpets, the U. N. Secretary-General had rushed back to the Security Council for a dose of courage. He got bouquets from the imperialist Powers, but in the eyes of the Congolese people, and of peoples of other countries as well, this running away from the scene was viewed as a blow to U. N. authority.

In the Security Council the delegates of Ceylon, Ecuador and Argentina asked for the earliest withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo, including Katanga, and for their replacement with U. N. forces. At the same time, they called for "non-interference" in the Congo's "internal affairs", that is for a policy of concessions to the imperialist forces.

## Imperialist Game

The Soviet advice was not fully heeded by the Security Council. And what do we see now? Hammarskjöld, in his message to Tshombe holding that through "a frank exchange of views", Tshombe "may be given assurances concerning the rights which the United Nations protect," while Tshombe in his reply stressing his agreement with Hammarskjöld to the effect that through a meeting between them, the U. N. Secretary-General would be able to give such instructions as would "assure respect for the territorial sovereignty of my Government."

Imperialist's double-dealings are thus laid bare for all to see.

resolution disregarded the obvious fact that the Belgian Government had grossly violated the Security Council's decision to withdraw Belgian troops from Congolese territory and to ensure the territorial integrity and political independence of that country.

Kuznetsov had made it clear: "We are not for the United Nations forces to be the first in using arms in the Congo. But if they encounter armed resistance when fulfilling the mission assigned to them by the Security Council, these forces have the right to resort, by way of self-defence, to any means with a view to eliminating such obstacles."

Imperialist aim clearly is to put off the implementation of the Security Council decision August 16.

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Colonialists in Brussels continue desperately to cling to Katanga, the richest Congolese province. For, the Belgian Finance Minister does not know how to meet the reduction of receipts in Belgium's public finance which might reach two to three thousand million Belgian francs if Congo is completely lost to him. And he receives all sympathy from Washington, Paris and London.

French daily Aurore deplors

the fact that the Western Powers "failed" to reach agreement in advance to forestall the adoption of the Tunisian and Ceylonese resolution by the Security Council. The Figaro is worried because "to many the intervention in the Congo was an alarming precedent which might result in the internationalisation of the Algerian affair." And the London Times, scared by the solidarity of the African States with the Congolese people, eggs Tshombe to object to the despatch of U. N. units to Katanga.

Imperialist aim clearly is to put off the implementation of the Security Council decision August 16.

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# PEOPLE SPEAKING INDIAN DIALECT DISCOVERED IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

## Orientalists' Congress In Moscow

● by Cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN

**MOSCOW:** Over a thousand people who speak an Indian dialect have been discovered in Soviet Central Asia. They live and work in small groups in cotton-growing collective farms in the Tajik and Uzbek Republics of USSR. At the International Congress of Orientalists now meeting in Moscow details of the life and language of these people were given in an interesting paper by I. M. Oransky, a member of Soviet delegation to the Congress.

**R**EADING his paper in the Indian section of the Congress, the author disclosed that first reports of discovery of the hitherto unknown dialect appeared in Soviet scientific journals four years ago and he went to Tajikistan and made an on-the-spot study of the dialect from November 1954 to April 1959. Oransky collected the vocabulary and conversational phrases (many of which can be understood by any Hindustani or Punjabi-knowing person without any translation) and made tape-recordings.

These people, wrongly called Afghans in that area because they migrated from India through Afghanistan, live in groups of five, ten or fifteen households and in their customs, dress and mode of life they do not differ from the population surrounding them, and outside their own circle they speak the Tajik language fluently. But among themselves they speak their own Indian dialect and the youngest children speak their mother-tongue exclusively.

It is hard to say definitely just when the Indian ancestors of these people appeared in Central Asia. Oransky thinks some came four generations ago, some even earlier and as they do not live in compact settlements, their Indian dialect had not till recent times attracted attention of specialists.

This news, of course, came as a pleasant surprise to all Indians attending the Orientalist Congress and we enjoyed the lecture in which the grammar and vocabulary of the newly-found dialect were compared with Hindi, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Sindhi and Gujarati in great detail.

### Two Thousand Delegates

Some idea of the scope and programme of the Congress can be had from the following: Orientalists from over 60 countries are meeting in Moscow, about two thousand delegates are taking part of whom fifteen hundred have come from abroad; the crowded programme of the Congress includes 766 papers and discussions apart from excursions to museums, historical buildings, concerts and exhibitions.

The work of the Congress is

divided into 20 sections and nearly all of them have one or two sub-sections, and lectures and programmes in all of them go on simultaneously most of the time making it impossible for anyone to attend all that is of interest.

In the section of Indian studies alone, 81 lectures and discussions are on the programme and fifteen Indian scholars apart from 60 Indologists of other lands are taking part. More than 20 free nations of Asia and Africa are represented.

The first Orientalists' Congress was held almost ninety years ago in Paris and the last one, in Russia, took place 84 years ago in Petrograd.

### The Orient Has Changed

But as Mikoyan pointed out while greeting the Congress on behalf of the Soviet Government on the opening day, the Russia of today was not at all like the Russia of those days and the world all around had also changed beyond recognition. This is the revolutionary epoch of great economic and social changes. Countries which not so long ago existed as reserves of imperialism have today become powerful factors for peace and the new States of the East are influencing the course of historical development more and more.

Because of the revolutionary changes in the life of oriental peoples, Mikoyan pointed out, the character and content of oriental studies were naturally undergoing basic changes. The people of the East had become creators of science and learning instead of being simply objects of study as before. Orientalology, he said, could hope for general recognition only if it served the interests of the people of the East.

Representatives of twenty nationalities living in the Eastern Republics of the Soviet Union are also taking part in the Orientalists' Congress and their experience in liquidating cultural and economic backwardness and solving national problems has immense significance for the people of Asia and Africa.

Soviet scholars many of them from the Eastern Republics are taking an active part in the work of all sections and they have made scientific contributions of

great value at the Congress. The scope and standard of Soviet orientology has surprised many foreign delegates who are acquainting themselves with Soviet research in this field for the first time.

The work of the Indian section was inaugurated by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, head of the Indian delegation at the Congress. After thanking the organisers for the honour given to him, Chatterji read his paper dealing with the impact of Chinese culture on India.

Shivdan Singh Chauhan read his paper on classical Indian poetics, its origin, development and modern relevance in which he discussed Bharat Muni's Natya Shastra and his aesthetic concepts. This was followed by lively discussions in which eminent Sanskrit scholar of Calcutta Chattopadhyaya and others took part.

The Ceylonese Ambassador in Moscow, Malasekara, spoke on some aspects of Buddhist Nirvana and pointed out that the conception of Nirvana did not mean escape from life but signified the contentment one got from doing good.

Ramachandra Dandekar in an informative speech dealt at length with new discoveries of unknown manuscripts, Buddhist texts and material on Jainism which require further critical study.

Daniel Thorner of Paris discussed the nature of the agriculture problem in contemporary India and pointed out that although some of those zamindars who had thousands of acres now have only a few hundred, the essential problem remained and agricultural labourers, poor peasants and others have not benefited from the reforms.

### Soviet Indologists

Soviet Indologists took a very prominent part in the work of the Indian section and presented many serious studies for discussion— aspects of disintegration of the Indian village communal landholding, work of the 19th century Russian sociologist Kovalevsky on this subject and Marx's criticism of some aspects of this work, character of serfdom in India and whether it really ever existed in the European sense, India's struggle for economic independence, the role of the public sector, etc. There were many such matters which stimulated lively discussion.

Today (August 17), the last day of the Congress, a paper by prominent Soviet Indologists Balabushevich and Dyakov on some problems of contemporary history of India in

the Soviet Indological studies was greatly appreciated.

Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta read a paper on Tagore and Southeast Asia and it assumed special significance in view of the coming Centenary celebrations of the Poet's birth.

B. G. Ghafurov, President of the Congress, at the closing session today, summing up declared that the Congress had been a success and a lot of fruitful work had been done. Its proceedings had confirmed the fact that the people of the East were no longer just objects for science but had become its creators. There had been many con-

troversies and discussions but science was not possible without them and disputes showed that the future of oriental studies was bright.

So this huge assembly of scholars where one could sometimes find Englishman and Czech speaking Hindi or Urdu together and Indian and Russian talking in Sanskrit, where Assyria and Babylon rubbed shoulders with Iraq and Ghana and where specialists on stone age and builders of the future Communist society discussed human perspectives, this vastly representative assembly not only of countries but one could say of epochs has dispersed to meet in India after four years.

### Next Session In Delhi

The announcement that it had been decided unanimously that the International Congress of Orientalists will meet in Delhi was greeted with great enthusiasm, although Americans had tried at first to invite it to the USA. Even here we might say resurgent East emerged victor over dominant West.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE

\* FROM PAGE 13

he said that disarmament was not only impossible but wrong and dangerous. In appreciative and sympathetic terms he revealed that West German authorities thought in terms of marching troops across their frontiers right inside Russia because once they were able to do that nuclear-headed rockets will be ineffective against them.

On the plea that India too had the Chinese 'threat' to face, he asked for abandonment of support to disarmament plans and lining up with West Germany. He asked India to use her good offices to resolve the conflict between the Six and Seven—the European Common Market and the Free Trade Area—in favour of West Germany, as the trend of his speech indicated.

Logical with this was his stand on Congo. He pleaded that Belgium had granted independence to Congo but had to return only because of disturbances. While other Congress members had branded Tshombe a quisling, K. K. Shah asked for understanding on behalf of that Belgian puppet. He was against India being in a hurry to support the Central Congo Government as against Katanga's breakaway regime.

The Prime Minister in his speech initiating the debate had again announced his plan to visit Pakistan for signing of the Canal Waters agreement. He made no reference to President Ayub's latest speech which was made after Nehru's own friendly overtures at his Press Conference on August 11. A good number of members expressed sorrow over Ayub's latest speech but called for continued efforts to improve relations with

Pakistan's present regime. References to the joint defence pact project were cautious, PSP's D. P. Singh, for instance, brought up the idea of a South Asia grouping connecting it with the European economic groupings which he praised.

A most vicious speech was made by H. N. Kunzru who immediately followed Bhupesh Gupta. In sharp contrast to his former colleague, P. N. Sapru, he repeated by rote all American arguments over the U2 and Summit torpedoing. He concentrated his attack on China, utilising every possible device.

The inescapable feeling that of late the Government of India has been following a foreign policy which is far less active, and has been taking a lukewarm and half-hearted attitude on many issues which move the masses of our people, for instance the independence struggle in Africa, etc., was voiced by both D. P. Singh and Bhupesh Gupta.

The latter concluded his speech—amidst interruptions—with an appeal to the Government to see the rising strength of the people everywhere, and of forces striving for peace and to go forward more vigorously and actively to make India's contribution to these struggles.

Intriguing and without any explanation as to what was behind it was the Prime Minister's attack on the All-India Peace Council. With its own growing inactivity in the sphere, is it that the Government of India is now afraid of non-official, non-partisan bodies actively mobilising Indian public opinion on issues that affect the fate of peace in the world?

—ZIAUL HAQ