

# ALL EYES ON VIJAYAWADA

● FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

LUMUMBA NAGAR (Vijayawada), April 4.  
Hundreds of volunteers are working round the clock during the last few days giving final touches to the Lumumba Nagar where the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India is scheduled to meet from April 7 to 16, 1961.

LUMUMBA NAGAR is the talk of the town. Thousands of passengers, who travel in buses which cross this miniature township sprawling over ten acres of land, take the message of the Congress to villages in the interior of the district. Yet more thousands of passengers who travel in trains far and wide into the country witness red flags on the platforms of the Vijayawada Railway Station receiving Communist leaders and delegates from all over the country and from abroad.

Hundreds of posters distributed all over the State tell people about this momentous session of the CPI taking place for the first time in Andhra.

As people witness hundreds of hands working day in and day out to put up this huge structure, they recall the thirties when the Indian National Congress held its session at Kakinada and the forties when the All-India Kisan Sabha held its conference at Vijayawada. A look at Lumumba Nagar is refreshing and relieving.

Perhaps in the good old days when the Congress was a fighting organisation such simple structures were put up which underlined the real character of the party, the real source of inspiration for it.

Big business did not supply zinc sheets, no special rail stations were constructed, no special trains ran to this place, no massive structures costing thousands of rupees were to be found here and thousands of police were not mobilised crying halt to public traffic. Finally, expenditure did not run into lakhs of rupees as it happens nowadays whenever the Congress holds its annual sessions which have become "tamashas" as Nehru said.

Lumumba Nagar is a very simple affair. It is an all-bamboo-palm-leaf structure.

One lakh palm leaves, 25,000 bamboos, 200 lorry loads of sand, few artistic touches and some paper buntings—these make Lumumba Nagar look modest but grand. Every inch of this Nagar bears the mark of love and affection of hun-

drreds of comrades who came from the surrounding districts. There is not a single member out of the 900 party members from Vijayawada town who did not do something for the session. In fact this whole structure in the mango grove is the most relieving feature in this sweltering heat.

Eighteen camps capable of accommodating thirty in each camp have been constructed and cots provided for everyone of the 500 delegates expected to arrive in the next three days.

As you proceed towards the delegates' camp, you first come across the public meeting place with a sixty-two feet high colourful huge arch over which stands a fifteen feet high cut-out symbolising Africa which has broken its shackles.

Five thousand volunteers—thousand of them are women—have been given training to participate in the demonstration on the final day, as well as to conduct the public meeting expected to be attended by over two lakh people.

# NEW AGE

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As you proceed further you come to the delegates' camp with meeting place. Through the entrance gate you can see a solemn structure like a mandir in which can be seen the bust statue of the hero of the African people, Patrice Lumumba. Just behind this stands the majestic thirty-two feet high martyrs' column on which is inscribed: "In memory of innumerable martyrs who have laid down their lives for the cause of the people".

Attempt has been made to give all possible relief from heat.

Four hundred volunteers divided under eight commanders serve the various departments looking after security, comforts and needs of the delegates and also requirements of the kitchen as well as cultural performances.

Cultural programmes on all the ten days of the Congress (entrance by ticket) by well-known dancers and artistes drawn from different states of the country, an exhibition with fifty-five stalls—all already occupied—participated in, among others, by the Central and State Governments and with exhibits ranging from locally made goods to Soviet tractors—additional attractions to

Now you enter the delegates enclosure and to the right and left you see volunteers' camps, enquiry office, post office, refreshment counters and so on. As you proceed straight to the thousand-square-yard meeting hall tastefully decorated and huge portraits of Marx and Lenin serving as background to dais, to right and left you find rows of delegates'

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## SUSLOV HEADS CPSU FRATERNAL DELEGATION

● FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

THE fact that Mikhail Suslov heads the CPSU fraternal delegation to our Party Congress is a tribute to the Communist Party of India.

He is a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and one of the top-most leaders of the country. One of the most brilliant theoreticians of the Party, he deals with its international relations and is known to have made important contribution to worldwide discussions in the international working class and Marxist-Leninist movement.

Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov was born on November 21, 1902 at the village of Shakhovskoye in Khvalinsky District of Sarov Province (now Pavlov region in Ulyanov Province) in a poor peasant family and has known the worst that tsarist Russia offered the have-nots of the land.

### Work Among The Peasantry

He started work among the peasants at an early age, still in his teens; and was an active member of the Committee of the Peasant Poor and the Communist Youth League in Khvalnaky district immediately after the Re-

volution. Suslov joined the Communist Party in 1921.

As a bright young man with ideas and enthusiasm for the new life the flood gates of which had been opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, Mikhail Suslov took every opportunity to study and learn.

In 1928 he finished the Plekhanov Institute of National Economy in Moscow and began to lecture at the Moscow University and Industrial Academy. At the same time he continued his higher studies.

### Responsible Party Posts

Since 1931 he has been on responsible posts in Party. He was Secretary of the Rostov Provincial Committee of the Party, and from 1939 to 1944 First Secretary of the Stavropol Region Committee of the Party. During the war Suslov worked as a member of the military council of the North Caucasus front and Chief of the Headquarters of the Stavropol region partisan detachments. From 1944 to 1946 Mikhail Suslov worked as head of the Lithuanian Bureau of the C.C. and in March 1946 was made responsible for important work in the Central Committee.

At the Eighteenth Congress of CPSU he was elected to the Central Control Commission and at Eighteenth Party Conference in 1941 a member of the Central Committee of the Party. Since 1947 he has been Secretary of the C.C., CPSU, and worked also as Chief Editor of Pravda from 1949 to 1950.

In that year, 1950, he was elected to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and in 1954 Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet Union of Supreme Soviet. In July 1955 he became member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This is how this tall working lad from a poor peasant family of a remote region of Russia rose to the highest

organ of leadership of his country. He was fifteen at the time of the Revolution and all his life has been a product of that great transformation which the genius of Lenin brought about in the destiny of his one-time backward motherland, now the mighty Soviet Union. His presence at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India shows how the international Communist and working-class movement has grown and matured.



Com. M. A. Suslov and members of the CPSU Delegation at Palam.

Photo: K. K. G. Nambiar

# TYCOONS IN SESSION

## Threats From FICCI

THE Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has held its hardy annual in the capital last week with its leaders waxing eloquent about the virtues of private enterprise. They also split their spleens in hurling invectives at the sins committed by the state sector, but that too was part of a game which they annually indulge in to malign the latter.

As usual, however, they began this game with a bang and ended it with a whimper. The bang consisted in the mounting up of a fierce campaign against the state undertakings in oil on the eve of the session, while the whimper was in the framing of stereotypical resolutions which even the Eastern Economist is constrained to admit as being poor in their "quality of thinking".

All this, however, does not mean that this session was completely as "true to form" as the Eastern Economist has made it out to be. It struck some distinctive notes too this time, whose significance was correctly gauged by the Prime Minister. The Federation and its leaders had willingly accepted the Second Plan's industrial and investment pattern, for they had hoped to negate it in actual practice. They tried their hardest too, to that end, but the success was not as much as they had expected.

### Pushing Up Their Part

Through lobbying and exercise of their pull with the bureaucracy, and even certain political high-ups, they could no doubt procure licences for many more schemes than the Plan had provided, thus pushing up the private sector investments by nearly Rs. 700 crores beyond the Plan target.

They could also put spokes in the Plan's wheel through speculation and inflation, etc. But on the whole they could not turn the clock back. The public sector industrial projects, especially in steel, heavy engineering and oil, continued to be set up and to surmount their teething troubles. Trading under state auspices was initiated and continued to make progress.

The same national policy of a priority development of basic and heavy industries in the public sector is now embodied in the draft outline of the Third Plan, which makes no bones about the leading role of the public sector which is expected to grow both absolutely and relatively to the organised private sector.

The leaders of the Federation do not obviously appreciate this development. They are all for a bigger provided in development to the private sector. They even go farther and demand the scrapping of what they call the "doctrinaire" division between the two sectors. This "narrow

it is necessary to so mould taxation and other policies that "management and entrepreneurial ability" is "released and fostered through incentives". Furthermore, "having regard to the unexploited resources in the country... domestic effort (should be) supplemented by foreign collaboration". Shorn off their platitudes what all these amount to is to ask for opening of all lines of development to the private sector for exploitation by it on its own or in partnership with foreign private interests.

The Federation leaders, a good many of whom are members of the Export Promotion Advisory Council, had been told some home truths by the Minister of Commerce and Industry a few weeks back. Trade, he had said, wants to make gains in a sheltered domestic market rather than face the hazards of a shaky international market. This tendency, in his opinion, militated against India's needs to push up exports to earn foreign exchange for development. If the trade did not give it up, he had added, the State Trading Corporation would have to be brought in to handle many more lines than it was at present doing.

The FICCI has all along been opposed to any expansion of the STC's activities, despite the fact that this organisation has done yeoman service in procuring some very important raw materials for private industries. It has, therefore, passed a vaguely worded resolution this time to escape the odium of not having done anything for export promotion, and thus to put the Government in the wrong if it still wishes to expand the activities of the State Trading Corporation.

### Success With Patil

The private traders succeeded in their pull with S. K. Patil and others in scuttling state trading in foodgrains even before it began. They now hope to scuttle any further expansion of the activities of the State Trading Corporation by bandying words about their own concern for export promotion. Surely, they have undertaken to do too much with too little effort, but then they also know that there are people in high places who are ever willing to oblige them.

The FICCI wants all hindrances in the way of an unrestricted growth of the private sector to be removed. Hence its call for "simplification" of administrative procedures which require a close scrutiny and repeated re-examination of proposals for setting up of new industries.

It urges "streamlining" of administrative machinery in the Third Plan "with an emphasis on reducing needless restrictions on enterprise". It especially wants an expedi-

tious decision to be taken in respect of industries set up as "joint ventures with foreign collaboration". The FICCI is also against the present practice of the Department of Company Law Administration of calling for too many reports and information from the units in the corporate sector. All in all what it wants is an automatic sanctioning of any scheme, which the private sector proposes, and full freedom to act the way the companies like, once they get permission to start their operations.

In other words, scrap the Companies Act and the Industries Development and Regulation legislation and trust the private sector to do all that needs to be done.

The same quest for practically unrestricted development of private enterprise marks the FICCI's resolution on transport shortages. Not content with huge profits, which the roadways are making at the expense of the state-owned railways, it wants a still "freer road policy" to augment "transport availability for both passenger and goods traffic". It frowns upon the suggestion recently mooted by the Neogy Committee that "nationalisation of the entire road transport system would have to be attempted in suitable stages".

### Concessions In Coal

In coal too the FICCI wants an end to be put to all reservations about allowing free entry to the private sector into all areas it seeks to penetrate. It welcomes the latest "realistic interpretation" of the Industrial Policy Resolution by the Government, since it helps private mineowners to work mines even far away from their existing leases.

This welcome of the Government's climb down, and the further demands it has engendered, have come at a time when the state-owned collieries have, after their initial bungleings, been able to surpass the rate of production set in the Plan.

And yet, the FICCI has made bold to suggest that it is the private owners and not the state who can be better trusted to dig out this important fuel.

The FICCI has not forgotten the countryside in its search for avenues for private enterprise. It is against imposition of ceilings for that will not allow agriculture to be "operated as an industry". The fact that breaking up of big estates, and abolition of remnants of feudalism, will infuse a new enthusiasm in the tillers to increase production, and thus augment resources, does not appeal to the FICCI, which is more concerned with furthering the narrow interests of big sugar farmers and others and the industries dependent on their produce, than with

creating a vibrant and contented peasantry capable of shouldering the burdens of national development.

Thus, from industry down to transport, coal and agriculture, in all sectors the FICCI wants the private sector to be allowed a free hand. Its leaders who have by now become full-fledged monopolists, know full well that this freedom, if secured, will ultimately benefit them and not the small traders and industrialists, whose elemental antipathy towards the state sector they seek to exploit for their own ends.

This brings us to the character of this organisation which has begun to speak with such authority in recent years. A section of its monopolist leadership is all for industrial progress, provided the private sector—meaning itself—and not the state is to have the lion's share. Another, representing largely the consumer goods industries, wants agriculture to be given a greater consideration so that their raw material requirements continue to be met.

Still another section, not of the leadership but the membership, represents the industries dealing in ancillaries and components which the foreign entrepreneurs do not want to be developed.

Small industries, scattered all over the country, are largely unrepresented in the FICCI, although it is for them too that it claims to speak. It is thus a conglomeration of different, and often opposed, interests, whom the monopolists have managed to loosely knit together for their own purposes. They play upon their misconceptions about and prejudices against the state sector, which they often equate with socialism, to rally them under their banner. In this way they manage to put up a facade of representing the entire industry and trade, for the interests of a sizeable section of which they have in fact nothing but contempt.

Small traders, industrialists, etc., thus serve as the smokescreen from behind which the monopolist leaders of the FICCI fire their salvos against the public sector and the nation's plan for an independent economic development.

The wide range of these salvos this year suggests that they mean business. It is high time, therefore, that the people in general, including a good many of those now under their misguided and pernicious influence also decide to join issues with them and show them for what they really are—selfish, greedy tycoons who put their own and their foreign confederates above those of the country and the people.

—ESSEN

April 4.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS REVIEW

Speaking on behalf of the Communist Party in the debate on External Affairs Ministry's Demands for Grants Renu Chakravarty said on April 3 in the Lok Sabha:

The Prime Minister in his preliminary remarks had rightly asked us to take a wide and large-scale view of our foreign policy and to judge it in its totality. This is an absolutely correct position. In general, the foreign policy of our country has been one which strengthens peace, which the entire people of our country had supported.

NEVERTHELESS, it is always necessary to clearly understand what in that policy has won for our country an eminent position in the councils of the world. Otherwise, we may confuse the issues. We cannot correctly understand the changes that are taking place in the policies of the great powers as well as the small ones unless we understand what those particular policies have been, and we shall tend to think that the basic worth of our policy is of being friendly to everybody—being friendly is the correct approach. That is a method of approach but surely a method of approach cannot be mixed up with basic policies.

We have found that the policy such as the one that we have pursued this time in the Commonwealth has found an echo in the heart of every Indian and, I think, of every peace-loving person in the world, when we have isolated South Africa and when we have come out with the proposals on disarmament and with our support for total disarmament as against the policy of deterrents. I do not say that the Commonwealth resolution is one that is totally satisfactory but it is certainly one which has won approval.

If Mr. Hammarskjöld goes, it is not a tragedy. But the big tragedy is that the faith in the entire world organisation of the United Nations is at a low ebb and that is a bad thing. That is why I feel that we must make it perfectly clear what the troops given by India to the United Nations are to achieve. It is very essential that we must make it clear that what has to be done has to be done now and there can be no delay about it.

As far as the people of Africa are concerned, I have found that everybody is clear about the points on which many in India are unfortunately not very clear. But in Africa, everybody is clear about it, because they have seen how one by one the resolutions passed by the United Nations have been subverted. Radio was denied to Mr. Lumumba. Unless we recognise the Lumumba Government, which asked for the help of the U.N. what is the locus standi of the U.N. troops in Congo? His planes were grounded just at the time when there was a possibility of restoring the Central Government rule over Katanga.

### Against All Military Alliances

We do not support any military alliance, not even the Warsaw Pact. We welcome that the USSR has stated that the day NATO is dissolved, so will also be the Warsaw Pact. We support total and complete disarmament and we oppose the dangerous theory of deterrents and talking from positions of strength.

So, it is in this context that we have to judge our policy. The Prime Minister has said that great nations like the USA and the USSR appreciate our stand and that is certainly a good augury for the future of the world. I think that every Indian is proud when we say that our policies have won us the position of esteem in the councils of the world.

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Province, which was a stronghold of Mr. Lumumba. These are questions which are raised by the Africans and put to us, which we find very difficult to answer, because what happened is very clear.

The arrest of Mr. Lumumba took place right in front of the U. N. troops. There was also the refusal to call the Security Council, which was asked for again and again by the Soviet Union right from December. But the Security Council was not convened. These are things which make it perfectly clear what has been the sordid role of the United Nations and of Mr. Hammarskjöld.

As far as we are concerned, the situation changed somewhat after the resolution of February 21, which empowered the United Nations to expel Belgians if necessary by force, and once more African and Asian nations were called upon to take the responsibility of shouldering the task of doing this. But everybody had misgivings and still has misgivings, because the United Nations Command still remains the same.

Today we find that our troops which are so badly needed were not able to get an airlift. They are now being taken by boat, when time is the essence. Why was not an airlift possible? Airlifts are possible in Laos. When the SEATO powers, the American powers and others are giving airlift to Laos, why is it not possible to give airlift to our troops? We find that Matadi port has fallen.

### New Threats

But what is even more disturbing is that news which has appeared yesterday and today in the Times of India. Fortunately, the PTI news service from Congo as given in Times of India has given better and much fuller coverage than that of Statesman and certainly that of Hindustan Times. Yesterday the news appeared that 800 Gorkha troops are being removed from Leopoldville to Kamina military base in Katanga.

But they say that there are South Africans and other whites in the Tshombe forces and they have very correctly stated that this is going to stir up a political storm over the inaction of the U.N. Command, because they say:

"It has been known for some time that Elizabethville has been recruiting mercenaries from South Africa, Italy and, of course, Belgium. The fact that South Africans so blatantly intervened in Congolese affairs is certain to provoke bitter reaction throughout Africa."

"The U.N. has been aware of the Katanga Army's movement for the past week and last Monday General Sean McKeown, Supreme Commander of the U. N. Force had a talk with Mr. Tshombe on this subject." In this context, it says:

"It is incredible that the U. N. which has a full brigade in the area and controls the key air base of Kamina failed to prevent the march of Mr. Tshombe's troops and the fall of Manono." Today, even more signifi-

cant is the report which has come from Leopoldville. It says: that the information about Gurkha troop movement's was a top secret and this top secret was allowed by certain people to leak out, so that Mr. Tshombe's troops were in readiness and our troops could not be landed in the airport. It says:

Secret Given Out  
"The movement order was kept a closely guarded secret and even some key officials of the U. N. operational command had not been informed about it. But that it reached the Congolese command almost amounted to sabotage of the U.N. operations by officials on U. N. pay roll, these sources said. They felt there was a deliberate conspiracy by some key officers of the U. N. command to discredit India—a policy pursued by leading Western embassies here."

This is what the Katanga sources say:  
"... the arrival of Indian troops at Kamina was the contradiction of the agreement reached within the last few days between U.N. authorities and the 'Katanga Government'."  
These are very ominous happenings. We have to be very clear in our minds and categorically state what it is that our troops and U. N. troops in general are going to achieve, that we are going there so that our troops will successfully be able to fight out the Belgians there and throw them out, that we will be able to disarm the gangs of Gen. Mobutu and Mr. Tshombe and that we are going to support the Gizenga Government, as the successor Government to Mr. Lumumba's Government. This is the basic question today.

### America And Laos

Prince Souvanna Phouma is as much a neutralist as Prince Sihanouk or as President Soekarno of Indonesia. Yet the United States with its own troops as well as troops from Philippines, South Vietnam, etc., started attacking, because the Pathet Lao under Prince Souvannavang had in unity with Prince Phouma built the Front of Peace, Neutrality, Unity and National Harmony, as it was called. The U. S. could not tolerate this and intervention started.

How isolated is this Government which is supported by arms of U.S. and SEATO is seen in the fact that in spite of all this aid, there are large-scale desertions and the Phouma Government forces are marching forward victoriously. Even in the midst of victory, it is good to see Prince Phouma has agreed and the USSR has supported the proposal for a cease-fire, which now in the face of defeat, is being put forward by UK and USA. But our question is, who will negotiate that cease-fire?

The first condition that has to be acknowledged, is that only the neutral Government of Phouma supported by all patriotic forces united under the Front of Peace, Neutrality, Unity and National Harmony is the Government of Laos. He is not in exile. International Law is quite clear on this point of recognition, namely, a Government can remain functioning even outside its borders if for all purposes, its forces continue to operate within that country.

It is Prince Souvanna Phouma who directed the Royal Government and its forces unite almost the entire people. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to recognise the Phouma Government.

The Government of India has always recognised the Government of Prince Phouma. We do not know what is the position today. But we do know clearly that Mr. Dean Rusk does not recognise that Government. He desires to in-

\* SEE OVERLEAF

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NEW AGE

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NEW AGE

## Eternal Glory

**Editorial.** THIS week Rashtrapati will inaugurate the national memorial to Jallianwala Bagh martyrs.

It is an occasion that stirs memories of the past and dedication for national tasks of the future.

A little over four decades ago Indian people dramatically witnessed the brutality of British colonial rule and ghastly butchery perpetrated inside the enclosed Jallianwala Bagh. Thereafter British rule began to be hated with all the intense passion of our people. The colonial rule stood damned and doomed.

The historic clash at Jallianwala Bagh between the avowed mercenaries of British imperialism and the unarmed crowd of Indian citizens produced hitherto unknown heroes, warriors and martyrs in the entire era of India patriotism.

Jallianwala Bagh lit the holy spark that ignited the irresistible flame of the popular upsurge which soon emerged as India's modern national movement and finally led to the achievement of Indian independence.

On this solemn occasion we join with bowed heads in national homage to martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of our motherland, and reiterate the national vow to keep the patriotic flame alive for the successful realisation of the nation's historic destiny and completion of the unfinished tasks of the Indian revolution.

## Communist Congress

**T**HE Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India is an event of great political significance. The eyes of the world press are fixed upon it. Every section of Indian opinion is interested in its deliberations and decisions. All this is a measure of the status and weight our Party enjoys in the political life of our country. Fraternal delegates from the Communist Parties of Soviet Union and other Socialist and capitalist countries are coming in large numbers for the first time. The presence of these veteran leaders in our Congress will spotlight the high place of Indian communism in the ranks of world communism.

The Moscow statement of eighty-one Communist Parties from all the continents of the globe has been welcomed by circles beyond the ranks of communism, by all champions of world peace and liberation of colonies.

Mighty nations of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union have become the decisive force for the defence of peace and anti-colonialism. It is the pride of our country that our relations with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are friendly and becoming closer every year. The Communist Congress will discuss how to heighten India's national contribution and ensure a world without arms and rid of the scourge of colonialism in cooperation with like-minded nations and the good allies of the Socialist camp.

Our Second Plan is over and the Third begins. India's national economy has made significant progress towards cherished goal of economic independence, but serious shortcomings also remain and cry out for solution. The gains of planning have been cornered by the rich and above all by monopoly groups at the top. While common people remain sullen and apathetic, reaction seeks to turn popular discontent against the very idea of planning. The Communist Congress will discuss and evaluate the state of India's economy and formulate practical policies for carrying forward its achievements and eliminate its failings to ensure greater popular welfare and faster rate of growth of nation's economic advance.

Infant Indian democracy is under fire from various sides, by parties of right, from both inside and outside Parliament, and not least by the ruling party itself—the way it got rid of Communist-led Kerala Government.

The Communist Congress will seek to awaken all Indian citizens to dangers ahead; chart ways and means of strengthening and developing Indian democracy in tune with the best national traditions and experience of the modern world and make it the most effective instrument of carrying out national aims. The post-independence misrule under Congress has encouraged reactionary, disruptive, separatist forces to raise their heads and play with unity of the people and integrity of the nation. The Communist Party Congress will evolve the right national approach and find sound solutions so as to strengthen people's unity and national integrity.

Our opponents accuse us of shunning free discussion, in a regimented manner.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS REVIEW

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ject life into Boun Oum and Phoumi by bringing them into coalition. Are we to permit that?

The second question is, will cease fire be attendant upon the withdrawal of all forces of the United States and SEATO allies. The Prime Minister has said that the United States' new Administration's policies are nearer to our policies. There is no doubt that the spoken words of President Kennedy sound different from those of President Eisenhower, but as yet in action, in basic policies pursued, one does not see that change.

The SEATO's threats, the landing of US marines in Thailand, the military and political support they continue to give to Boun Oum—in what way are they different from the earlier US Administration?

From past experience both in Viet Nam and Laos, it is known that the International Supervisory Commission has failed to prevent foreign military troops and arms from entering the country and from endangering peace. Therefore, to make the convening of the International Conference of 14 powers attendant on the report of a cease-fire by the International Supervisory Commission may well mean that there will be no enlarged conference. This can only lead to disastrous results. Everyone knows the most important thing in the context of today is to call this enlarged Geneva Conference.

### United States Intervention

When we look at Viet Nam we find that our International Supervisory Commission there still continues, but it is really sad to see what a state of impotency it has been reduced to. The high hopes it raised have been dashed to the ground.

Intervention by the U. S. still continues. If one reads reports which have been given by this very Commission and which are available in the Library of the House, one will find that however much the Supervisory Commission have shown that interventions and violations are taking place on both sides, even by numerical figures one

cannot hide the fact that the worst gullt has to be borne by South Viet Nam.

Arms and troops pour in continuously, and the International Commission pleads helplessness. As a matter of fact, the Law 10/59 which has been promulgated in South Viet Nam has brought about tremendous sufferings, and it is one of the charges against India that we have permitted that Law 10/59.

The sufferings of partition are intense. When I was in Viet Nam recently I saw children separated from their parents. They do not know whether their parents are dead or alive. I saw husbands separated from their wives. The partition has put every family in a hard plight. I, therefore, realise how great is their attachment to this demand for re-unification.

### Reunification Of Viet Nam

What have we done actually? The question of reunification here is unlike that of Korea or any other country. This question of re-unification was admitted by the Geneva Agreement. North Viet Nam has asked again and again for a Consultative Committee of the Geneva Accord to meet for settling the date of election for re-unification. But nothing has been done.

Now I come nearer home. The border question with China and our relations with China remain a matter of great concern to every Indian because, as the Prime Minister says: "The future of the two countries who are neighbours like India and China, two countries with vast populations, is of the highest importance to both these countries and the world."

The Indian people as a whole regard that their border on the East is the McMahon Line and on the West it is the traditional frontiers of India. The team of officials who went into the matter have added weighty material to support what that line is. They have done a good piece of work praised by scholars as a piece of worthy scholarship.

But even after saying this we say that a political settlement is necessary. We welcome the External Affairs Ministry's Annual Report which says: "Notwithstanding these unfortunate features the Government of India remained firm in their belief that friendly relations between the two countries are vital to the peace of Asia and the world." Then it is said: "...continued to entertain the hope that the relations between the two countries could be restored to those of true understanding and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

These are the two principles: Mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. If political settlement is a process which we advocate for all areas for dispute and conflict, surely this must also be the method of settlement of our dispute with China, in keeping with the principles underlined in what I have stated earlier.

The question has been raised why we do not raise this matter which disturbs every Indian mind, in the councils of the world. We have always been of the opinion that this question like that of Pakistan is a matter which can best be solved between the two countries concerned. We had always opposed raising the matter of Kashmir in the United Nations Organisation, and most Indians today feel that we were right.

### Need For Political Settlement

Even in the midst of tremendous jingoist opposition, we put forward this that if we are to have friendly relations with Pakistan we have to come to a political settlement with them. The Kashmir issue had never been raised in the World Council of Peace, which is being made a target of attack today. There is, therefore nothing new in the fact that the China-India dispute was not brought up before that august body.

What our newspapers flashed was only the fact that there was a walk-out by the Chinese and certain remarks made by them which we do not agree to at all. That happened in the Tagore Centenary celebrations and not in the World Peace Council. We want to say here that what actually happened has not been brought out. Unfortunately, Sri Kabir who was inaugurating it thought it fit to drag in Gurudev's name into this political controversy. We do not like that. We do not like what the Chinese did or said, nor do we like that Gurudev's name should be dragged into the political controversy.

### Spectacular Advance

During the last three months, however, the picture entirely changed. Monthly output of coal which stood at 5.6 million tons in April 1960, went up to 8.02 million tons in December and then registered big spurts during the succeeding months. As a result of "magnificent organisation of men and machines", as a competent observer put it, the Corporation achieved annual output rate of 12.4 million tons in January and 13.5 million tons in February. Thus the Second Plan target was achieved in the month of February itself. During March 1961, the production of the National Coal Development Corporation, is expected to be to the annual rate of 15 million tons which will exceed the target by 1.5 million tons.

### Railways Fail

This impressive record of progress will be blocked now and reversed because of the failure of the railways.

This is not a new phenomenon and has been there from the very beginning. The Corporation authorities not only brought the inadequate

## PUBLIC SECTOR COAL SUFFERS SERIOUS SETBACK

Just as public sector coal, overcoming its initial operational difficulties, was making an impressive leap forward, it has been held back by the transport bottleneck.

COAL output by the National Coal Development Corporation will be cut down drastically—from 25 per cent to 75 per cent of the capacity—in the coming month.

This decision, which is bound to cause considerable concern all around, is learnt to have been taken by the Corporation in order that its huge pithead stocks might at least be partially cleared. These stocks are reported to be in the neighbourhood of one million tons, worth Rupees two crores.

Experts of the Corporation have held that further stockpiling at the pitheads, which will be inevitable at the existing rate of production and availability of transport, is both highly uneconomic and risky. Stocks of coal lying in the open deteriorate rapidly in their calorific value and there is always danger of fires breaking out which can cause great damage.

It must be with a heavy heart that the technical personnel and the workmen are helplessly awaiting the slowing down of production. Besides causing unemployment for large numbers of workers, this will mean a great setback to the production rhythm and schedule which had been established after considerable hard work and effort.

Public sector coal had for long been facing scepticism and misunderstanding in the official and ministerial circles in New Delhi and was subjected to constant harassing and sneering criticism by the private sector which questioned the very capability of the public sector to achieve the targets set out for it in the Second Plan.

### Spectacular Advance

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provision of transport facilities for removal of coal produced to the attention of the high-ups in New Delhi but also stressed the need for regular movements of wagons for stepping up production itself. Operations of the Corporation, from the cutting of the coal to the filling of wagons being highly mechanised, inadequate or erratic supply of wagons for coal traffic hampered the production rhythm, besides saddling the Corporation with additional reloading charges which will run into lakhs of rupees.

At that time, the pleadings of the Corporation found little support in New Delhi and the Railways succeeded in putting almost the entire blame on the producers of coal for the difficulties faced by the consumers, including the Steel plants.

Accordingly, the NCDC authorities, it is now known, reviewed the position at the close of the last year and decided to go ahead with stepping up of their production in disregard of the supply of wagons, availability of railway siding facilities and similar other factors. Within a short time, they confronted the nation and the Railways

### Railway Week

## Impressive Achievements Of Chittaranjan

**T**HE Indian Railways are celebrating a Week—from April 10 to 16.

The Railway Week is meant to help the people to know their railways better. And the pages of the newspapers during the week will be replete with features written by the railway bosses, extolling the progress achieved, amenities provided and the good turn done to the workers.

Certainly the railways do not always present a picture of accidents, overcrowding, bottlenecks and the host of evils which have lived down the 108-year-long history of rail transportation in India.

For instance, the Chittaranjan Works of the Indian Railways provided quite an impressive contrast.

Prior to its launching in 1948, and till 1950 when production began, all the whistling locos which haul up and down millions of ton miles and passenger miles, had to be imported.

During the past decade, production in the Chittaranjan Loco Works has risen from just seven locomotives in 1950-51 to the quite impressive record of producing one steam locomotive every 48 hours.

And now they are going to make electric locos.

Compared to the First Plan period when Chittaranjan produced 331 locomotives and 280 boilers, the achievement of the five years of Second Plan are 831 locomotives and 786 boilers.

Notable progress has been

with the spectacle of huge coal hillocks awaiting transportation.

Even so the Railways smuggly took the position that it was not their responsibility to lift all that was produced or was needed at the consumption end. So far as they were concerned, the Railway Ministry maintained, they had fulfilled their plan target in terms of ton-miles of traffic, if not in terms of the total tonnage lifted.

It was only after severe criticism in Parliament and the press that the Prime Minister at last intervened to declare, in reply to the debate on the President's Address in the Lok Sabha, that transport had lagged behind in this matter.

### Concessions To Capitalists

But meanwhile, the mischief had been done. The further development of production of coal had been jeopardised and the private mine-owners had succeeded in getting concessions, in violation of the Industrial Policy resolution. Restrictions on their expansion were to be relaxed and they were to be allowed to exploit new seams and mines adjacent to their existing collieries, on the ground that the public sector had not been able to, and was not likely to, fulfill the Plan targets.

Public sector coal had for long been facing scepticism and misunderstanding in the official and ministerial circles in New Delhi and was subjected to constant harassing and sneering criticism by the private sector which questioned the very capability of the public sector to achieve the targets set out for it in the Second Plan.

The Indian Railways are celebrating a Week—from April 10 to 16.

The total production of steam locomotives during the Third Plan is estimated to be 820, at the rate of 164 locos per annum.

According to the plan, the first electric locomotive will roll out of Chittaranjan works in the next two or three months.

Under the Third Plan, Chittaranjan will send out 72 electric locos from its works every year.

A steel foundry with a capacity of 7,000 to 10,000 tons of finished castings per annum is being set up. To assist the railways in electrification, Chittaranjan has set up a galvanising plant, the largest of its kind in India.

The 9,000 tons of mild steel sections already galvanised represent a saving of over Rs. 35 lakhs of foreign currency. The cost of production is just about one-third of imported cost.

What has been the contribution of the workers in

An idea of the scepticism prevailing even in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel can be had from the fact that resolution of the Government on the fourth Report of the NCDC presented before Parliament in the last week of February did not give it the credit that it would achieve the target rate of production even by the end of March when it was actually achieved in the end of February.

### New Line Of Attack

With the earlier propaganda against public sector having been belied, a new line of attack has of late been opened. It is now being made out that public sector collieries are receiving more favourable treatment at the hands of the Railways in the lifting of coal. It is being made out that whereas the private sector collieries had stocks of nearly three and a half million tons against the NCDC stocks of only one million tons, comparatively more wagons are being provided for the latter.

In fact, however, knowledgeable sources point out that in case of private collieries stockpiling is no new phenomenon and in any case the issue is to be judged not in terms of the size of the stocks but of the rate of accumulations in the two sectors and in that respect it is

establishing this progress record?

Chittaranjan provides another striking example of the rapidly with which Indian engineering skill has matured and fully bloomed in new directions. And the rise in productivity of the workers is indeed amazing.

The total man hours spent per locomotive and the cost of manufacture of a WG locomotive have come down considerably.

As per official figures, the total man hours spent per locomotive have come down from 121,000 during 1953-54 to only 55,000 during 1959-60. The productivity of the workers has evidently more than doubled.

And the cost of production has been slashed from Rs. 6,05,000 during 1953-54 to Rs. 4,10,000 during 1959-60.

### Workers Rights Denied

But the workers who do a wonderful job in rolling out the giant locos from Chittaranjan have the worst ever conditions of work, especially in the matter of trade union and democratic rights.

The township of Chittaranjan has been declared as a "protected area" and none could enter without special permits issued for the purpose by the authorities.

Even the trade union of the workers has no access and is not allowed to function inside the workers' colony.

the public sector which is suffering the most.

But the private sector lobbying is active and an influential deputation on behalf of the mine-owners is learnt to have recently met the Railway Board and the Railway Minister himself and is understood to have extracted the assurance that no 'discrimination' would be shown against the private collieries in the future.

Equally strong pressures are stated to be at work in the Coal controller's office which handles the allotment of coal supplies and arranges transport for the purpose. While these sinister behind-the-scene forces are at work, to which the influential bureaucracy of the Railways appears to be a party, the recently announced measures to step up coal traffic are not expected to show any appreciable results till after July when the Railways have promised to increase their movement capacity beyond Moghal sarai from 1900 wagons per day at present to 2100 wagons per day.

Other measures, such as diverting short distance traffic to road, creating coal dumps at suitable consuming centres and moving an additional one million tons of coal per year by sea are not likely to become effective for some time.

Such horrid restrictions were so revolting that even the right-wing American IU leader, Walter Reuther, after a visit to the factory is reported to have expressed shock and surprise.

Another aspect which has been time and again stated in Parliament is about the recognition of the trade unions. The management of Chittaranjan have refused to grant recognition to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Workers' Union which has the backing of the overwhelming majority. This union also secured for its nominees all the seats on the elected Works Committee in the factory. But the management, far from being realistic, not only continued its policy of ignoring the union but virtually reduced the powers of the Works Committee to nil.

During the Central Government employees' strike of July 1960, the Chittaranjan workers by an overwhelming majority abstained from work. This showed the mood of the workers—something the organisers of the Railway Week had better take serious note of.

The official hand-outs from Chittaranjan have claimed a huge success of the Incentive Scheme in the works. This scheme which is said to benefit the workers was introduced without ever consulting the workers or their trade union. The arbitrary implementation of the scheme, therefore, produced considerable resentment.

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\* SEE PAGE 12

# SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF KISAN SABHA PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

All-India Kisan Sabha Silver Jubilee session opened on March 30 with the Presidential address by A. K. Gopalan. He began by recalling the past record of the organisation:

These twentyfive years have been years of dogged struggle, of countless sacrifices and significant successes for the peasant masses. The organisation of the All-India Kisan Sabha paved the way for the conscious mass participation of India's peasantry in the freedom struggle of our country.

It is to the great credit of our organisation that the All-India Kisan Sabha took the lead in formulating and concretising the basic demands of the Indian peasantry in the overall context of the nation's struggle against British imperialism. The demand for the abolition of the Zamindari system and feudal land and labour relations in the countryside, the slogan of land to the tiller, struggle against rack-renting, etc., imparted democratic content and economic realism to our freedom movement.

During these twentyfive years, innumerable struggles were fought by our peasantry in pursuance of their basic as well as immediate demands apart from the participation in the great national movement.

Our people today look forward anxiously and with hope to a future in which the exploitation of capitalists and landlords will be eliminated and the era of plenty will dawn.

However, these hopes of our people and the other newly independent countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America are dependent on the ability to push forward economic reconstruction in peace and without imperialist interference. Thus the task of safeguarding peace, the task of rebuffing imperialists is one

livelihood of millions of non-agricultural rural population also depends on the prosperity or otherwise of the agricultural sector. Nearly 50 per cent of our national income is derived from agriculture.

Thus the agrarian sector of our economy is the most important sector. Any scheme of economic development has, therefore, to base itself on a strong and dependable agrarian economy. The failure to place our agriculture on firm foundations is the basic cause of the numerous failures and setbacks in the country's economic development.

Land reforms pursued by Congress Governments have led to the eviction of millions of peasants from their land; increasing unemployment and destitution in the countryside and a worsening of the standards of living and increasing intensity of exploitation of the agricultural labour.

It would thus be clear that the nation is being asked to pay a heavy price for the Congress Government's policy

The Government's land reform measures in spite of their declared intentions have not substantially altered the conditions of the poorer sections of the peasantry while undoubtedly it has helped rear up a new class of rural elite.

The failure of the Congress Governments to tackle the basic problems of our agrarian economy is the most serious obstacle to the path of our national advance. As is well-known 70 per cent of our people are dependent on agriculture for livelihood. 71 per cent of the working force in the country are employed in agriculture. In addition the

of appeasing big landed interests. The All India Kisan Sabha should draw the attention, not merely of the poor peasant masses, but of all sections of the people of India to this shocking state of affairs and mobilise them in the struggle against the policy of appeasement of landed interests followed by the Congress.

We should rouse the conscience of the nation to the dangers inherent in such a policy and fight for a programme of radical land reforms in the interests of the peasant masses.

Our immediate demands (subject to local variations) guiding our work in this respect should be:

## Immediate Demands

1. Complete elimination of the remaining intermediary systems in land, as for example in the Hill Districts of Uttar Pradesh, and certain other feudal rights in Orissa, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh etc. Implementation of legislation abolishing Janni system in Kerala, Inams in Andhra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and certain Jagirs in Rajasthan.
2. Fixity of tenure for tenants.
3. Reduction of rent to the maximum of 1/10 of gross produce as specified by the Land Reforms Panel of the Planning Commission;
4. Conferment of ownership rights on tenants;
5. Fixation of ceiling in such a way as to lead to the availability of substantial surplus land for distribution among poor and landless peasants and to the break-up of land monopoly.
6. Democratisation of executive organs and machinery for implementations of Agrarian Laws.

7. Above all, stoppage of all evictions under whatever pretext.

Gopalan urged the formation of Kisan Service Squads on the model of the project taken up by the Kerala unit: They will be trained in running co-operative credit societies, co-operative farms etc. They will be educated in properly understanding and interpreting the existing land reform laws of the state and thus help the peasants in fighting for and holding on to their rights. They will be trained in new and improved methods of farming, poultry breeding, animal husbandry etc. Thus these volunteers will be the beaconlight for the broad peasant masses in the country, their guide and humble helpers.

Gopalan pinpointed the approach of the Kisan Sabha: To sum up, therefore, our approach towards the problems facing the peasantry of our country should be a two-sided one: Firstly in the field of land reform and agrarian relations, we should be clear

of the rural society remains what it is today no big progress can be made. However, it should be borne in mind that we should make efforts on breaking this bureaucratic-landlord strangle-hold over rural life. This can only be done by isolating this reactionary combination. We can achieve this if we realise that a section of the peasantry can gain from these programmes.

We should therefore adopt a responsive attitude towards these development programmes and intervene effectively in their implementation in order to spread the benefits to as large a segment of people as possible: while being conscious of the limitations of these programmes, and pro-claiming them to be so, we should also try to break the grip of the reactionary combination of the landlord-bureaucrat over these institutions.

## For Agricultural Labourers

Our demands on behalf of agricultural labour are:

1. Distribution of all cultivable waste and fallow land among poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

2. In view of the tremendous increase in cost of living, revision of the existing minimum wages fixed year ago for various occupations and their strict enforcement; fixation of minimum wage wherever it has not been done.

On the question of taxation and soaring prices, Gopalan formulated Kisan Sabha's demands as:

1. Formulation of the intergrated price policy including fixation of price parties at least between some of the most vital necessities of life like foodgrains, clothing, kerosene oil, edible oils, coal, iron and steel and cement etc.
2. Creation of agencies to carry out effectively the price policy like Price Control Boards etc.
3. Institution of State Trading and State-run fair price shops to buy, and sell important commodities at fixed prices.

Gopalan touched on Kisan Sabha's organisational tasks—more coordinated activity of central office; raising of funds; regular general meetings of Kisans in every area wherever there is a unit of the Kisan Sabha, and regular functioning of the organisation at every level.

"Concluding I would say that in the coming period all our efforts must be channelled towards the building of unity of the broad peasant masses in the vital struggle for radical land reforms in the interests of peasantry. Hundreds of the best children of our soil have sacrificed their lives to achieve the dream of our peasantry—land to the tiller. But if these sacrifices have to be meaningful, if these sacrifices are not to be in vain, if they are not to be scoffed at by our enemies, we should hold the banner aloft and take the pledge that the work left unfinished by our martyrs will be taken up by us and carried forward to successful completion."

By  
**A. K. GOPALAN**

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# SAMITI'S GREAT VICTORY

## Bombay Corporation Elections

From GERALD PEREIRA

In the most hotly contested civic election in this urbs prima of India on March 26 record number of citizens of over eleven lakhs out of a total electorate of 18,63,000 cast their sacred vote, putting the united and strengthened Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti as the main Opposition Party.

THE Praja Socialist Party was practically routed and many of its top leaders toppled down. It is P.S.P.'s disruptive role and tactics that put back the much-hated Congress in the lead.

The huge turn-out of voters at the polling booths silenced the gloomy prophets who had forecast that not more than 40 per cent would cast their votes. But the people decided otherwise and over 60 per cent used their democratic right.

The Samiti captured 34 seats in a House of 131 members and wrested the position of main Opposition Party from the P.S.P. The Congress Party succeeded in getting 59 seats only and failed to get an absolute majority in spite of Yashwantrao Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra personally conducting the election campaign.

The Congress spent lakhs of rupees. Bribing and purchase of votes was resorted to. Bogus voting was also practised and a large number of even dead people were resuscitated for the day. But it failed to put a spoke in the moving wheel of history.

With a poetic justice nemesis worked up its age old miracle and trounced the chief architects, who after being elected in the 1957 civic elections on the Samiti ticket betrayed the people and disrupted the forces of the Samiti. Molinduddin Harris leader of the P.S.P., Prof. Ram Joshi, Prabhakar Kunte (all P.S.P.-ers and Communist-baiters) were kicked out by the Bombayites.

Equally interesting is the episode of G.S. Mahashabde, Chairman of B.E.S.T. Committee (leader of the eight member Congress Jan Parishad, a component of Samiti, which crossed over to the Congress in 1960). He had been tipped for the Mayoralty of the Corporation but suffered a terrific

defeat. It is said that the old man got a shock of his life, and the Food Minister, S. K. Patil, had to make an emergency trunk call from Delhi to offer heart-felt condolences.

Likewise all the three other Chairmen (all Congressmen) of the Civic Committee—Dr. R. N. Kulkarni, Chairman of the Standing Committee, D. V. Jogekar, Chairman of the Improvement Committee, B. V. Chauhan, Chairman of the Gardens and Markets Committee, as well as Ismail Khawja, the Deputy leader of the Congress Party got defeated. Never before in civic history have the leaders of Congress and P.S.P. reaction been so degraded and damned.

S. K. Patil (who considers Bombay his private reserve) is personally conducting the manoeuvrings. The Independent Councillors are wooed with all sorts of promises of leaves and fishes of office.

The Congress House is humming with hectic activity. Prior to the Elections the factional fight within the Congress had reached a pitch. Threats and counter-threats were given by the top leaders, and much dirty linen was washed in the public. In the process 15 Congressmen who defied the Party and contested as Independents were suspended. S. G. Sachdev, a suspended Congressman contesting from Worli constituency was stabbed and there was a free-for-all between the rival group of Congressmen.

Even the three suspended

Even the three suspended

	Contested	Elected	Prior to Election
Congress Party	120	59	62
Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti	30	34	28
Communist Party	25	18	14
Peasants & Workers Party	9	8	2
Republican Party	20	3	5
Revolutionary Communist Party	4	2	1
Lal Nishan	1	1	1
Janata Aghaji	5	1	-
Hindu Mahasabha	5	1	-
Praja Socialist Party	47	14	27
Republican Party (Kamble Group)	21	3	7
Socialist Party (Lohia)	13	3	0
Jan Sangh	29	4	2
Muslim League	5	4	2
Independents	115	10	5
	440	131	
<b>Voting Range</b>	<b>1957</b>	<b>1961</b>	
Total electorate	18,08,120	18,63,000	
Actually voted	7,07,573	11,00,000	
Percentage of votes	44%	60%	

Congressmen who got elected are called back to duty in order to muster the strength of 68 to jump on to the gadi of Bombay. The four Muslim Leaguers too are not spared, even though the President of the BPCC, B. M. Yagnik stated that the Congress would prefer to remain in a minority rather than compromise on principles with communal bodies, like the Muslim League.

## For A Socialist Maharashtra

The fact remains that the citizens of Bombay are tired and disgusted with the rule of the Congress Party. The Samiti which has come as an alternative popular front has been accepted as a force. It is more united and a tested body. Its Election Manifesto of seven points has been widely distributed and read by thousands of people and had it not been for the treacherous role of the right wing P.S.P. leadership, the Samiti would have been in power in the city. As The Times of India (29-3-61) in its editorial has correctly put "It is a sobering thought that but for the defection of the P.S.P. the Jan Sangh and the Kamble group in the Republican Party, the Samiti would almost certainly have gained control of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, as it did four years ago."

A Socialist Maharashtra in a Socialist India is the accepted goal of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

# Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference At Kanpur

From Our Correspondent

The First U. P. State Conference of Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity was held in the Indian Medical Association Hall, Kanpur, on March 18 and 19 with Sri Govind Sahai, MLA in the chair.

THE conference was attended by a good number of delegates from the various districts of Uttar Pradesh. His Excellency Getahoun Tsesema, the Ambassador of Ethiopia, Mr. Cherif Guellal of Algeria and Mr. Luban Vandan and Mr. Lubsan Vandan and Mr. Lubsan Vandan from Mongolia to the World Peace Council were special guests.

Welcoming the delegates and the foreign guests, Mr. J. N. Sharma, the chairman of the Reception Committee emphasised the need for strengthening Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Sri Chandra Bhan Gupta, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh addressed the inaugural session. He said that India in her successful fight against imperialism had been the torch bearer of liberation movement in continents of Asia and Africa. The Chief Minister urged the conference to mobilise effectively Indian public opinion against colonialism—old and new—and against racial oppression of all forms.

Referring to Algeria Sri Gupta pointed out the paradox of France, the greatest exponent of Liberty and Equality waging a war of

Asian group a much more enhanced representation in the world organisation. He said that all these significant and spectacular changes would not have taken place in such a short time, had it not been for the vital role played by the solidarity of the two continents as a result of the initiative taken by a great country like India along with other Asian countries in the last Bandung conference.

## For A Second Bandung

He appealed that a second and a similar conference like the one held at Bandung in 1955, should be convened again to revitalise the spirit of Bandung. Referring to Congo His Excellency said that the tragic situation created in that country is the greatest challenge to the countries of Africa and Asia to unite and be on their guard against all the underhand manoeuvres and open brutalities of the imperialist powers. Later on Mr. Lubsan Vandan of Mongolia and Mr. Cherif Guellal of Algeria greeted the conference with messages of their countries.

In the evening a cultural programme consisting of a one-act play, a shadow play, music recital (vocal and instrumental) and a number of dances was presented by the

Kanpur Branch of Indian Peoples' Treatre Association. The programme was inaugurated by Amrit Lal Nagar, prominent Hindi writer.

In the evening the open session of the conference and rally was held at Phoolbagh. Cherif Guellal, representative of the Provisional Government and National Front of Algeria, described in detail the heroic and long struggle of the people of Algeria and the inhuman atrocities being committed by the French oppressors and imperialists upon them.

The speaker said that about one-tenth of the population of Algeria, that is about 10 lakh patriots of that country had been killed and butchered by the French armies during the last seven years and about two lakhs had been deported and detained in concentration camps where they were being subjected to the worst type of atrocities ever heard of in the history of the world. Still, he added, the brave struggle of national independence was continuing undauntedly in his country.

Cherif Guellal made an earnest appeal to the people of India to support the struggle and just demands of Algerian people and expressed his good wishes and feeling of solidarity on behalf of the people and Government of Algeria to the movement of Afro-Asian Solidarity.

# HISTORIC SESSION OF WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

★ by ROMESH CHANDRA

From March 24 to 28 1961 there gathered in Delhi some of the most distinguished men and women of the world. They came from all the continents, from big countries and the small, from the centres of acute struggle against imperialism and colonialism, from the battle-fields on which the fight for the future destiny of mankind is being waged.

THE Delhi session of the World Council of Peace was not by any means the first session of this great international organisation which leads today the greatest mass movement the world has ever known. Yet the session was in every way unique.

This was due not only to the significance of the time at which it was held, when new hopes and new possibilities have arisen for the total banishment of war and the eradication of colonialism. The importance of this session was due not only in the fact that it was being held in India, a country on whose efforts for peace so much can depend for the solution of many of the most urgent problems facing humanity today.

The session was unique above all because of the impact it made on the masses in the city and the country in which it was held. Never before has any session of the World Council of Peace come into such close contact with all sections of the people of the host country.

## Preparatory Work

The preparations for the session brought thousands of people into active participation in the meetings, conferences and conventions held in support of the World Council of Peace. Messages poured in wishing success to the session from over 500 mass organisations representing workers, peasants, working youth and students from all the states.

The foreign delegates who arrived before the session began, participated in meetings and conferences held in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnad, West Bengal and the Punjab. Funds for the session's expenses came from all over the country in small and large amounts, in 10 NP.

collection winning support from thousands of several cities and villages. The mass response was in excess of anything the Indian peace movement had received before. Nearly 600 representative Indian delegates and observers travelled long distance to attend the session.

Unique in the history of the World Council of Peace were also the numerous receptions and conventions held for the delegates by groups and organisations of different sections in Delhi.

## Sectional Receptions

The meeting of educationists and teachers which greeted Prof J.D. Bernal and other prominent university men and women from all over the world, was presided over by Dr. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

The lawyers' response was another outstanding success with several leading lawyers taking an active part in receiving Mr. D. N. Pritt and other lawyers participating in the World Council of Peace.

The Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace held the interesting meeting with the foreign Parliamentarians participating in the session.

Mrs. Eugene Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation and other women participants in the session were guests of honour first at the colourful women's Mela and

later at a tea party especially arranged for them by the National Federation of Indian Women and other women's organisations.

The conventions of Trade Unionists and Youth and Students were again demonstrations of solidarity which enabled the delegates coming from the Trade unions and from the youth and students' movement to meet their Indian counterparts and exchange experiences with them.

## Writers' Gatherings

The many functions organised in honour of the writers—organised by the Progressive Writers' Association, a symposium arranged by the Indian Writers Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Mushaira and the Shah-e-Afsana (evening of stories) were occasions which enabled the poets and novelists and playwrights from many lands to come into close contact with the leading literary figures present from many parts of the country as well as with the lovers of poetry and prose from the city.

But it was not only these successful gatherings which made the session memorable for the people of Delhi. There were big cultural programmes organised for the delegates where such giants of Indian Music as Pandit Omkarnath Thakur, Ustad Ali Akbar Khan performed in honour of the World Council of Peace.

## Tagore Festival

Of outstanding significance was the function arranged by the Tagore Centenary Peace Festival Committee in

honour of the great poet. Attended by all the foreign participants in the session the meeting was presided over by Sri Humayun Kabir, Minister for Cultural Affairs and addressed by leading cultural personalities from all the continents. The speeches were followed by a recital by the celebrated exponents of Rabindra Sangeet, Smt. Suchitra Mitra and Sri Devabrata Biswas.

Several of the delegates were able to participate in the National Convention on Goa and they expressed their solidarity with our struggle to liberate Goa, Diu and Daman from the Portuguese colonialism.

The highlight of the functions in which the World Council delegates participated was undoubtedly the great public rally at the Ramlika grounds, organised by the Delhi State Peace Council with the active cooperation of the trade union movement and other mass organisations in the city. The rally, attended by over 25 thousand people was a vigorous demonstration of support for the World Peace Movement and of solidarity particularly with the people of the Congo, Algeria and Laos whose representatives addressed the meeting.

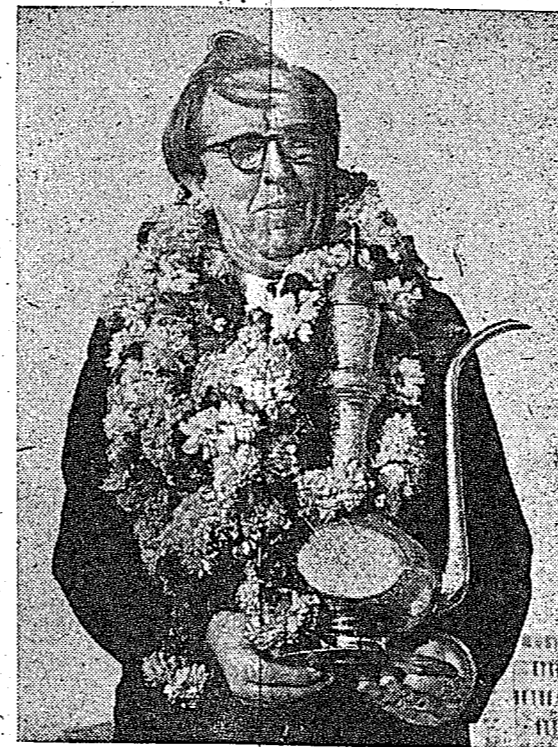
## Mass Rally

The rally was also the answer of the citizens of Delhi to the foreign-inspired and paid campaign of slander and vilification against the peace movement sought to be whipped up in sections of the press. While 25 thousand cheered and demonstrated in support of the struggle for peace and national independence, a handful of not more than 13 miserable creatures uttered feeble yelps against the peace movement, ignored disdainfully by the masses. This ten voiced wail was all that the lavish distribution of dollars was able to muster in opposition at the public rally.

The large contingents of Indian participants—delegates and observers representing a wide spectrum of opinion remained firmly united in the face of extreme provocations by the press, and contributed in no small measure to the excellent resolutions and the work of the Commissions at the session.

## Indian Contingent

The Indian delegation included Pandit Sundaralal (who gave the welcome address on the opening day) Smt. Rameswari Nehru (who made a moving speech at the closing session) Dewan Chamanlal Chairman of the Committee of the Indian Parliamentarians for Peace (who presided with great distinction over the Disarmament Commission) the reputed scientist Professor D. D. Kosambi, Major-Gen. S. S. Sokhey (who performed the opening ceremony of the World without War Exhibition) and Mulk Raj Anand (who made a moving appeal for concrete action for disarmament and was of



Professor Bernal garlanded at the Ramlika Maidan Rally.

course a leading organiser and participant in the various writers' functions), Sri Virekanand Mukherji (Editor of Jugantar), Sri Balraj Sahai (the famous film and stage actor), Pandit Omkarnath Thakore (the celebrated musician) and a galaxy of the famous writers of the several languages of India, including Krishan Chandar, Yeshraj Rajender Singh Bedi, Imtiaz Chugati, Sajjad Zaheer, P. D. Gupta, Amrita Pritam, Balwant Gargi, Makhdoom Mohi-udeen, K. A. Abbas, All Sardar Jafri, Sahr Luchianvi, Majrooh Sultanpuri, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Faziur Rahman, Gurbaksh Singh, K. S. Venkataraman, P. T. Narayan Charat, Dhanwant Oza, leaders of the mass organisations—the All-India Trade Union Congress and the All-India Kisan Sabha, the National Federation of Indian Women, the All-

India Youth Federation, the All-India Students Federation, Indian Association of Democratic Lawyers, Scientists, Cratic Lawyers, the religious leader Maharaj Jagjit Singh, head of the Namdhari Community, leaders of the Goan National movement like Mrs. Bertha Braganza, Kakodkar and George Vaz, and the leading organisers of the All-India Peace Council and the State Peace Councils.

Add the hundreds of observers—each one representative of a powerful mass organisation or holding a leading position in his own field coming from every corner of the country and we have that formidable united delegation which had the honour of representing India at this historic session.

The Delhi session of the

## RESOLUTIONS AGAINST REPRESSION & ON GOA

THOUSANDS of active supporters of peace, national liberation and independence have been imprisoned and otherwise persecuted, even killed, in many parts of the world.

The object of this persecution is to halt or cripple the peace movement and the movement for national liberation and independence. It will never be attained. The names of Jomo Kenyatta, Farajalla Hejou, Manolis Glezos and the prisoners of Franco—many confined for more than 20 years—with the devotion they have aroused, are symbolic of thousands who have suffered and are enduring steadfast in this cause.

The World Council of Peace calls on all peace organisations and all peace-loving people throughout world to launch a wide international campaign for the immediate cessation of

persecution of supporters of peace and national liberation and independence and the release of those detained.

The World Council of Peace authorises the Secretariat to study the possibility of setting up an international committee for the defence of workers for peace and national liberation and independence and for aid to their developments. The widest possible publicity should be obtained for all cases. Information has been forthcoming at this session of persecutions in the Congo, Greece, Jordan, Kenya, Pakistan, Portugal, Southern Africa, South Vietnam, Spain, the U.A.R., West Germany and colonies, Iran, France, the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of the French Community and many other countries. All information available should be circulated at an early date to all peace movements.

World Council of Peace will go down in the history of the movement as a session which focussed attention at the most urgent problems of the day and adopted with a remarkable unanimity a number of clear-cut proposals. The presence among the participants of the real representatives of the people of the Congo, Cuba, Algeria, and Laos enabled the Council not only to have first-hand reports of the latest situation in these countries, but also to adopt decisions and resolutions which would be of concrete assistance to the struggles being undertaken by their peoples.

## African Participation

The African participation at this session of the World Council of Peace was of considerable significance. The delegates from Africa were all representative personalities who could speak for their people and in some cases even for their Governments.

Mr. Tchiteya, President of the Congolese Peace Alliance could speak with authority on behalf of the Congolese Government headed by Mr. Gizenga. The representative of Ghana was a diplomat who could speak for the Government and the people of Ghana. Mr. Diallo who represented Guinea is the General Secretary of the General Union of Workers of Equatorial Africa and holds the rank of Ambassador for the Guinea Government. From Mali Traorou Amadou represented the growing peace movement of his country. From Kenya came another leading fighter for independence. Algeria was represented officially by the representative of the Algerian Provisional Government in India and by another delegate sent specially by the Algerian Front of National Liberation.

These were indeed all distinguished people whom it was an honour for us In-

dians to have amongst us. We are glad that we had an opportunity to demonstrate to them the solidarity of the Indian people with resurgent Africa.

## From Britain And Japan

Of great significance also for the success of the session was the participation of other important organisations working for peace and independence. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament of Britain which has been responsible for the mass actions against the nuclear weapons in England and Scotland was officially represented by Mr. J. Pawitt, M.P., President of the Parliamentary Committee of the movement.

Japan's Council against A & H Bombs was represented by a four-man delegation of distinguished people. There were some of the eminent leaders of the Latin American movements—from Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, Chile and Mexico.

The delegates from the Soviet Union, China, USA, France, Britain were distinguished and representative. The eminent American educationist E. L. Roberts, received a tumultuous acclamation for his memorable speech at the open rally as also did the leader of the Soviet Delegation, the famous writer Nikolai Tikhonov.

## From Our Neighbours

Our Asian neighbours were well represented. A large group from Ceylon was headed by Mrs. Thaja Gunavardhana. There were three delegates from Burma. Iraq was powerfully represented by Mr. Aziz Sharif, the leader of the Iraq Peace movement and other leading personalities including a former Minister. From Indonesia two members

of Parliament in a delegation of four were also present.

Great new campaigns for disarmament; for ending colonialism; on the urgent problems of Congo, Laos, Algeria ad Cuba, against racial discrimination in South Africa, in support of the struggle of the Goan people for liberation for the release of the victims of repression from prison. And all these were discussed in the practical way in the various commissions. Fresh action, united action will follow the session of the World Peace Council in every part of the globe.

## Rallying Cry For Millions

In his closing speech Prof. Bernal spoke of the great Congress for disarmament and national independence to be held next year. The World Peace Council will extend its hand to all movements working for peace and independence, to make joint preparations for this Congress, and in each country the Peace Councils and Committees will join forces with all other groups and organisations in support of the various resolutions and decisions of the meeting of the Delhi session

of the World Council of Peace.

At a meeting of the All-India Peace Council held immediately after the session plans were made for the nationwide popularisation of the resolutions of the World Council of Peace throughout the country. The proposals put forward by the Delhi Session for disarmament and the abolition of colonialism will be a rallying cry for millions in all countries. The demand of the World Peace Council in regard to the Congo, Cuba, Iraq and Algeria will be supported at meetings in all continents gathering greater and greater force and thus imposing solutions in the interests of the people.

At the end of the session Prof. Bernal paid a tribute to all those who worked in hundreds of difficult ways to make the session a success. It was indeed a result of the joint activities of so many people that enabled the session to achieve splendid results. It is this cooperation and united activity which is the guarantee of the rapid development of the peace movement in India basing itself on the strength given to it by the New Delhi session of the World Peace Council.

## Prime Minister's Message To Goans

Prime Minister's House, NEW DELHI.

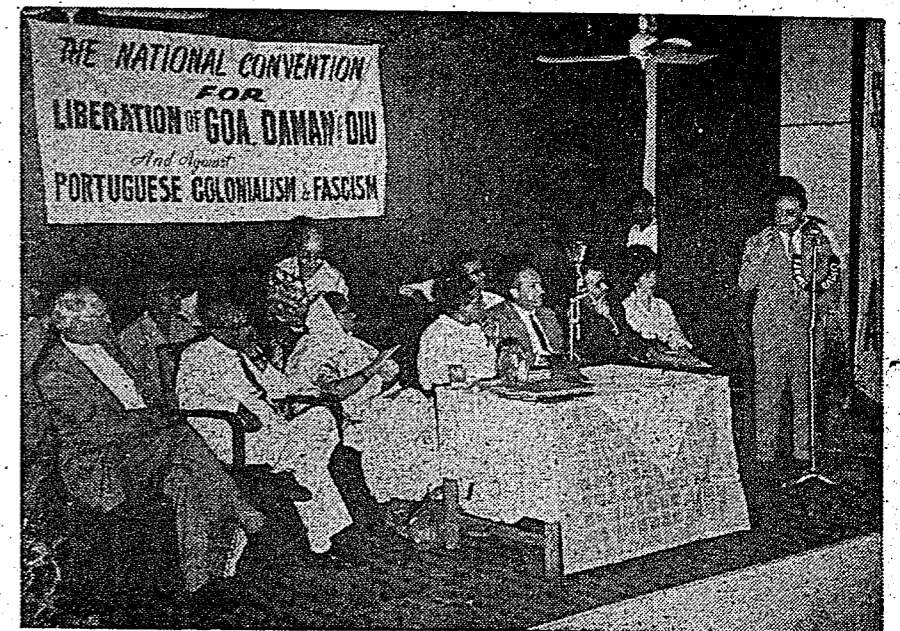
In this age of a fading colonialism it is surprising to remember that Portugal still maintains her empire in Africa and elsewhere. In India we still have a small part of this colonial possession in Goa, Daman and Diu. It is the duty of all Goans, and indeed of others also, to work for the liberation of these territories. I have no doubt that the time is not far off when freedom will at last come to these long suffering areas. But freedom does not come automatically; it has to be worked for. To those who are engaged in this struggle, I send my good wishes.

March 24, 1961. New Delhi,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



A view of the Mushaira: Makhloom, Krishan Chandar, Majrooh and Abbas are seen in the picture.



The dais of the Goa Convention. General Lister speaking.

# COLONIALISM ENDANGERS PEACE

Peace would not be stable nor international friendship secure, without "the complete, unconditional and speedy ending of colonialism in all its forms and disguises", said the World Council of Peace meeting held in New Delhi (March 24-28) in its resolution on national independence and the abolition of colonialism. The resolution in full reads:

THE World Council of Peace meets at a time when humanity is faced with the need of a new orientation in concerted action. We have seen the emergence of many countries to freedom and national independence from colonial and imperialist bondage, while others are waging a long and bitter struggle to this end at the sacrifice of many precious lives. This disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of national liberation movements is one of the most momentous developments of our times.

But imperialist plunder and domination is taking new and subtle forms behind a smokescreen of false benevolence. By one means or another, imperialists seek to maintain strategic advantages and the economic exploitation which brings rich dividends. By subordination in military blocs, the establishment of military bases, activating counter-revolutionary dictatorships, military aid empowering constant interference in the internal affairs of the recipient nation, economic aid which restricts the free development of industry and trade, U. S. imperialism above all has found methods that subvert the sovereignty of peoples, subordinate their politics, destroy their inde-

pendence is a positive contribution to the cause of peace and a stimulus and hope of all fighting for independence. No government that represents the real wishes of its people can offer a threat to any other nation.

What constitutes the grave danger to peace is the constant intervention by the United States imperialism in the internal affairs of Cuba, the carrying-out of sabotage and destruction, the encouragement, training and financing of counter-revolutionary groups in Cuba and outside, as for example in Florida and Guatemala, in preparation for new invasion attempts.

World solidarity can forestall aggression against Cuba and, together with its people, safeguard Cuban independence. The Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace, recommended that solidarity actions on behalf of Cuba be brought to a climax during the week of July 19 to 26, 1961, the anniversary of the revolution. The World Council of Peace appeals to supporters of peace throughout the world to devote that week to solidarity actions in support of Cuba.

The struggle for national sovereignty and independence is a task not only of the colonial people but of all throughout the world who desire to see stable peace established, disarmament carried out and friendly cooperation for mutual benefit achieved among the nations. We call on all peace supporters to realise its urgency and do their utmost to further its success.

## ALGERIA

OFFICIAL negotiations without preliminaries will open between the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the French Government on the conditions for carrying out self-determination for the Algerian people.

The World Council of Peace has always advocated this solution. On several occasions so far, it has acclaimed the struggle of the Algerian people for their independence and underlined the desire for peace continually expressed by the Algerian Government. It has also paid tribute to the activities of peace forces in France and the world. Today it congratulates itself on the opening of these negotiations and intends to do all in its power to ensure that they result in faithful application of self-determination and a rapid settlement to the Algerian problem, which today constitutes one of the gravest threats to the sparking off of world conflict.

On the road leading to Algerian national independence, the negotiations constitute the first success for the Algerian people and the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. The mobilisation of peace forces remains the primary condition for a just solution which can only be founded on independence and national sovereignty.

The World Council condemns every attempt by the French Government to violate Algeria's territorial integrity by partitioning, or by withdrawing the Sahara, an integral part of Algerian territory, or by imposing a statute unacceptable by the PGAR, (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic) which is the only authority qualified to represent and act on behalf of Algeria.

The struggle of the Cuban people to maintain their in-

dependence is a positive contribution to the cause of peace and a stimulus and hope of all fighting for independence. No government that represents the real wishes of its people can offer a threat to any other nation.

The World Council, having already condemned the assistance given by NATO to the French Government for a colonial war, asks all nations to prohibit immediately the direct or indirect use of their territory for operations directed against the Algerian people.

The continual development of efforts by peace movements, of all peace forces in France and throughout the world, their vigorous approaches to ruling circles is more than ever necessary to enforce success in these negotiations.

## DIVIDED COUNTRIES

VIETNAM and Korea still remain artificially partitioned as result of the intervention of US imperialism which, despite the international agreements for unification, has turned the southern parts of these countries into new-type colonies and military bases for aggression.

Concerning Vietnam, the World Council of Peace urges:

1. An immediate end to US intervention in South Vietnam;
2. The immediate withdrawal of US military missions from South Vietnam;
3. An immediate end to the acts of terrorism perpetrated by the Ngo Dinh Diem administration against the South Vietnam population;

The implementation of the Geneva Agreements with a view to the reunification of Vietnam.

The Council recommends that July 20, 1961, be observed as a day of support for the struggle of the Vietnam people for national reunification.

Concerning Korea, the Council urges:

1. The immediate withdrawal of US armed forces stationed in South Korea;
2. An end to US and all foreign interference in South Korea, including that under the banner of the United Nations;
3. That the issue of peaceful unification in Korea be made entirely the concern of the Korean people themselves.

Indonesia, also, is still artificially partitioned, but in this case the active agent is Dutch imperialism, which, with the support of the SEATO and NATO powers, has refused to carry out the transfer agreement in respect to West Irian, and is taking steps to transform this part of Indonesia into a military base for aggression.

The build-up of force in this region is creating a state of tension which may result in conflict for which the Dutch Government and its SEATO-NATO allies would be wholly responsible.

Concerning West Irian, the Council urges:

1. An immediate end to the severe oppression of the indigenous people by the Dutch Government;

2. The immediate evacuation of all Algerian political prisoners and detainees held in Algeria and France.

## SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS

IN course of supplementary resolutions the World Council of Peace notes with indignation that Jomo Kenyatta, acknowledged national leader of Kenya, is still arbitrarily held in captivity—after finishing the nine years of imprisonment—by the British Government.

The World Council of Peace and all peace-loving people consider his continued detention as completely unjust and in violation of the most elementary human rights. His release will pave the way to the setting up of a government truly representative of the aspirations of the people of Kenya, thereby avoiding chaos and anarchy. The World Council of Peace demands his immediate and unconditional release.

THOUSANDS of Chiang Kai-shek-Kuomintang troops, constantly maintained in number and US arms by airlift from neighbouring SEATO bases, have operated within the Burmese border, remaining in the area for more than 11 years, looting local villages and crossing over from time to time into Thailand and Laos. This Council condemns this act of aggression and shameful violation of Burmese territory, which must at once be stopped.

IT further notes with indignation that US, French Belgian, British and Portuguese military bases in Africa are being employed as means of pressure against Mali and Guinea. It calls for this to cease at once;

As a result of the partition of Africa by imperialist powers, many Somalis still remain under the yoke of foreign domination in territory under control of British and French colonialists and also in territory now controlled by Ethiopia. The Council expresses sympathy with the Somali people in their demand that all imperialist pressure should be removed from these regions so that the Somalis should freely exercise their right to self-determination;

The Council warmly greets the success of the Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace held in Mexico City, March 5 to 8, 1961. The Council recommends a study of the documents of the Conference, of high importance to the struggle for peace in this area, and urges support to its principles;

IT warmly greets the coming session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council due to take place in Bandung from April 10 to 14, 1961 and calls on national peace movements to give it their support. Cooperation between our two movements will strengthen the front of struggle for peace and against colonialism and imperialism.

# THE FLOWERING OF CULTURE

As a result of the Three-Year Plan (1958-60) the number of Hungarian workers increased by 365,000, their real wages increased 10 per cent and their share in the factories' profits amounted to three billion forints by the end of 1960 as against 1958. The amount of pensions paid was four billion forints.

The salary of teachers and physicians was increased, while in a number of branches, working hours were reduced without staff decrease.

The turnover of retail trade increased 28 per cent. 130,000 apartments, 2,600 new classrooms were built and the number of TV subscribers increased to 10,000. Radio is to be found in almost every family.

People's Democratic Hungary celebrated the 18th anniversary of its liberation on April 4.

This brief economic survey makes it easy to guess at the further large-scale development of Hungarian cultural life in 1960. Attendance at theatres, cinemas, cabarets, concerts, galleries and museums hit the peak in 1960. Amusement places were crowded, sports-grounds were jam-packed, domestic tourism was very lively.

New talents emerged in every field of literature and the arts. Hungarian science too can boast of new domestic and international successes.

Hungary's cultural life in 1960 was characterized mainly by a quantitative and qualitative improvement of the cultural standard of the masses. The working people came to present greater demands.

Thirty-five per cent of workers, peasants and employees became regular readers of books, i.e., they did not read less than four books a month. Family libraries greatly increased in number.

On the Book Day, in addition to regular purchases of many millions, one million books were sold at a value of 20 million forints. The number of public libraries reached 180,000 in the whole country.

Forty national theatrical companies are at work in addition to the Deryne Stagione with another 30 mobile troupes.

In 1960 the Hungarian theatres gave 12,125 performances to 5,394,178 spectators. Sixtyone plays were presented, including 25 Hungarian plays. 1245 separate performances were given for the youth.

In its manoeuvres to save the Federation and to maintain European minority domination, British imperialism has achieved a new record in deceit and double-dealing.

It is now confronted, not only with the opposition of the African liberation movements, but with a crisis within its own ranks. Ninety Tory MPs have signed a motion protesting that the pace of African advancement is too rapid. Lord Salisbury and other Tory peers in the House of Lords have made vicious attacks on Mr. Macleod, Colonial Secretary, on the grounds that he is giving in too easily to the Africans.

Sir Roy Welensky, leader of the European minority in the Federation, has had many secret talks during the past week with Mr. Macmillan, British Premier, and returned to Rhodesia on March 20 well pleased with the results. It seems that this joint pressure on the British Government

Besides this, there are 3,950 amateur artist ensembles with 58,120 members, 35-40 of which are theatrical ensembles. Their art reaches even the smallest village. 4549 cinemas sell 150 million tickets a year on the average. Far-removed farms are frequented by cultural cars with books and films. There are 334 cultural centres and 2,334 cultural halls, clubs, etc. in the factories.

These performances of every Hungarian theatre enjoy full houses without exception. More than half of their spectators are season ticket holders. Last year the Opera House sold 5,000 season tickets to workers.

A special feature of Hungarian theatrical life is the cult of "literary" stage. At

with workers' and artists' meetings.

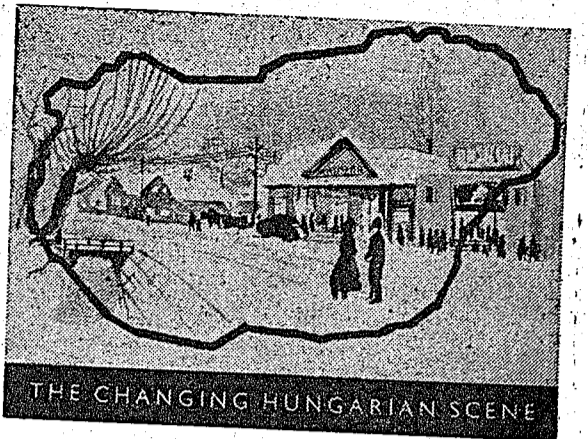
Musical life was particularly eventful. Various high-standard programmes were organized one after the other: International Musicological Festival, Festival week of Hungarian Opera, International Erkel Singing Contest, Musical Weeks of Budapest, Open-Air shows of Szeged. Many foreign artists gave guest performances in the Hungarian capital and in the country: Paul Robeson, Tomiko Kanazawa, Gabor Cerelli, Dezo Ernster, Jerome Hines, Pierre Bervaux, etc.

The Dance-Festival of Szatlnvaros, the guest performance of the Moseyev-ensemble, 4,000 singers at Szeged, 150 hit concerts—all are one of the series of successes. The ballet "Ludas Matyi" by Ferenc Szabo was performed by the Opera House, and met with great success. Zoltan Pongracz's opera of "Odysseus and Nausikias," that of Antal Ribari's "King Lius is getting a Divorce" made a lasting hit. The following compositions are of great musical value: Bela Tardos's In the Suburb (Cantata), Sandor Szokolay's March of Fire (oratorium), Andras Mihaly's violin concerto. Six orchestral pieces by Endre Szervanszky make a different class. The same is true of Tibor Sarai's string quartet.

The liveliness of fine arts may be illustrated by the fact that in 1960 works of fine arts were sold at a value of 14 million forints. This is a considerable amount in view of a total population of 10 million.

Factory and mobile exhibitions enjoy enormous popularity, which are accompanied

The Scientific Educational Association arranged 53,000 lectures to an audience of 3,165,000 people in 1960. The workers' audience at the lectures increased 326 per



cent as compared to 1958. There are also 425 academies for workers.

One of the characteristic products of Hungarian cultural development is the "factory school". In one of Budapest's districts, Angyalfold, for instance, 15,000 "old students" are learning in 59 classes at 27 factories. There are even people of sixty among them. These workers decided to finish the eight grades of elementary school.

The factory schools are real cultural centres. The students usually go to cinemas theatres, concerts, exhibitions, etc. The standard of education can be illustrated by the fact that they are given experimental lessons and lessons in physics by university lecturers.

During the last 10 years 100,000 people graduated from colleges in Hungary. The school reform, the introduction of polytechnical education, is successfully

under way. In these schools the students obtain the basic technical knowledge in addition to general education. Education in these

by IDRIS COX

## SPECIAL ARTICLE FOR 'NEW AGE'

# AFRICA DIVIDES BRITISH TORIES

(from the Tory diatribes and the Rhodesian Europeans) has had its effect.

## Imposed Federation

What is the background of this sordid betrayal? In 1953 the British Tories imposed Federation despite overwhelming African opposition. One of the by-products was the great upsurge of the African people's early in 1959 in Nyasaland and the other two territories, when over 100 Africans were shot dead and more than a thousand put into prison without trial.

The indignation throughout Africa, and in Britain, was so strong that the British Government appointed the Devlin Commission to inquire into the situation. The report of the Devlin Commission completely destroyed the British Government's allegation of a threat of a "European massacre" in Nyasaland.

Soon after Dr. Banda, African leader, and all other African leaders were released. After talks in London in July 1960, Nyasaland gained a new constitution which provided for the first time an African elected majority in the Legislative Council.

Last October the Monckton Commission (appointed to review the Federal Constitution) expressed the view that Federation should remain, but had to admit that African opposition to it was stronger than ever. It proposed that steps be taken to provide for an elected African majority in Northern Rhodesia, and for the abolition of all racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. After new elections in all three territories it advocated that each would have the right within five years to secede from the Federation.

Arising from this Commission's report the London talks on Federation last December ended in deadlock. The African leaders were determined to end it. With African "lower roll", with 15 European in Southern Rhodesia, 30 to one in Northern Rhodesia, and 370 to one in Nyasaland, they rightly demanded majority rule based on equal rights to Africans and Europeans.

In the subsequent talks in Salisbury in January this year on the future of Southern Rhodesia, the maximum the Europeans were prepared to concede was 15 African members in a total of 65 in the Legislative Council. This was rejected by the African leaders, and the deadlock still exists.

During February there were talks in London on the future of Northern Rhodesia. These were boycotted by the European political parties, but secret talks took place between the personal emissaries

of Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Macmillan (Premier) and Mr. Macleod, Colonial Secretary. This aroused a storm of protest from the African leaders and within British progressive circles.

## White Paper

On February 21 Mr. Macleod presented a Government White Paper which had clearly been influenced by the European minority leaders. It provided for 15 Europeans elected on an European "upper roll" and 15 Africans on an "national" "lower roll", with 15 European members elected on both rolls. Only a small minority of Africans would be entitled to vote, and the result would most likely be an European elected majority, with Europeans also in key government positions.

At the same time, this scheme was sharply attacked by the Tory diatribes who feared this would be the first step towards an African majority in these territories. They have big investments in the Federation. Of the £450 million foreign investments £300 million is from Britain, £75 million from South Africa, and most of the remainder from West Germany and the U.S.A.

Prominent among the big

## ON GUARD OVER CUBA'S FREEDOM

ALL who stand for peace and world progress have a responsibility to maintain vigilance to prevent aggression against Cuba. The attainment of real independence by the Cuban people was a blow to the forces of war and particularly of US imperialism, which dominated the island. It inspired the peoples everywhere and aroused the particular hostility of those who, in the United States and elsewhere, seek to continue economic and political domination over Latin America.

Cuba is in constant danger. A threat of immediate invasion was averted by nationwide mobilisation and demonstrations of solidarity in many countries, but the imperialist campaign against its safety continues.

No-one in any country should be misled by the organised campaign of slander against the Cuban revolution. This revolution has deep national roots. It is an authentic social revolution in the great tradition of the liberation movements of the American continent. It has the overwhelming support of the Cuban people.

The land once mainly owned by a few US monopolists

has largely passed over to the cooperative ownership of the people. The main economic activity, the sugar industry, the profits of which benefited foreign corporations, has been nationalised. Foreign trade, which used to depend almost entirely on the USA, has been broadly diversified, rendering totally ineffective the US embargo designed to crush Cuba economically.

All these achievements of the Cuban revolution have enabled the Government to provide jobs, houses, schools and hospitals on a nationwide basis, develop its economy and strengthen its sovereignty.

Cuba has the right, as have all countries in the world, to choose the form of government and the institutions she prefers; to nationalise her natural resources and the economic activities which are essential to consolidate her independence and her economic and social development; to maintain diplomatic and trade relations with all countries, and to defend herself against aggression. Such rights are inviolable and inherent in national sovereignty. Absolute respect for this sovereignty is a prerequisite for the maintenance of world peace.

The struggle of the Cuban people to maintain their in-

# C. P. I. MADHYA PRADESH STATE COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON COMMUNAL SITUATION

The State Council of Madhya Pradesh Unit of the CPI expresses its deep concern on the communal riots that took place recently in the State especially in Jabalpur and Saugor. Every thinking person of the country has been deeply shocked by these riots. The enemies of the nation are fully utilising these events to attack and endanger secularism, the sacred tradition of our national movement.

**T**HE Communist Party considers rape as an anti-social crime which has no relation to any religion, Hindu or Muslim. Those who commit such a heinous crime should be given severest punishment. But communal elements (Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, and RSS etc.) in Jabalpur have openly used this alleged rape story of Usha Bhargava to fan base instincts among Hindus, gag the voice of secular citizens and provoke communal riots.

In the opinion of the Communist Party the most dangerous aspect of the communal riots this time (in the post-independence era) is that the communal forces like Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha and the communal newspapers have worked to organise, spread and lead these riots in a pre-planned manner.

## Officials Affected

In Madhya Pradesh and outside, in a number of other cities in the country these elements have tried to use the incidents of Jabalpur and Pakistan to create tension, poison the atmosphere and to foment troubles against the minority community.

Today the question of defence of the very basis of our secular state and of the minority community has become a national question.

In the recent communal disturbances especially the authorities in Jabalpur and higher police officials in Jabalpur and Saugor were themselves affected by the communal poison. They acted openly in collusion with Jan Sangh and other communal elements in such a brazen manner that the communalists heaped praises on them. These incidents have also proved that the reactionary and communal elements are trying to subvert the administration for their mean political designs.

In Jabalpur the way the

authorities and the Jan Sangh mouthpiece Yugadharmatriel to put across the events of February 7 night as an organised and armed attack by the minority community and then the planned way in which the communal forces in other parts of the State tried to ransack the life, property, honour and religion of the minorities is a matter of grave concern for all the anti-communal and secular forces.

## False Version

The available facts in Jabalpur, about the incidents of February 7 night, however, explode the story of the so-called attack by minority community. Out of the total number of 41 deaths on February 7 and after it 39 are from the minority side. Of 293 cases of house burning 285 are from the minority community. Almost all the cases of looting of property also relate to the minority community.

In Saugor too out of 8 cases of death 7 are from minority community. Similarly 200 cases of arson also concern the minority community.

It has become necessary to give these facts because the authorities of Jabalpur having publicised the story of attack by the minority community and later on by not mentioning the community from which most of the people died and suffered losses due to arson gave opportunity to the communal elements to rouse the feelings of the majority community.

Even now the police and executive authorities of Jabalpur are determined to prove at any cost their story of so-called attack by the minority community on the night of February 7. They are not taking steps to end the atmosphere of tension and terror. That is the reason why despite the call by Congress President Sanjeeva

Reddi as well as from other secular forces, no action is being taken against the Yugadharmatriel and other papers and the leaders of the rioters, Jan Sangh and other goonda elements have not been arrested, with the result that people in the riot-affected areas are leaving these places.

Even today in Jabalpur, Saugor and other places a sense of insecurity is prevailing in the minority community and no swift and strong measures are being taken by the Madhya Pradesh Government to end it. Taking the incidents of Jabalpur, even today the communal elements are spreading rumours and a few incidents of arson and stone-throwing are taking place.

There is no check against some of the communal papers from Delhi and other places which continue to preach communal ideas.

Even today no strong measures are being taken in the State against rumour-mongers, communal elements and parties who are utilising ordinary incidents and personal quarrels to intensify communal tension and making political capital out of them.

The Communist Party demands that:

- 1 Activities of communal parties and communal papers should be immediately banned.
- 2 The Madhya Pradesh Government should take strong measures against Yugadharmatriel and other goondas in order to create a sense of security in the minority community.

- 3 Though the Government has appointed a one-man judicial enquiry committee yet in the situation prevailing today, when the rehabilitation of the riot-affected minority community, help for repairing of the damaged houses, etc., remains to be done and feeling of insecurity and intimidation still grip the minority community it is not possible to hold an impartial enquiry. The Communist Party therefore appeals that, for holding an impartial enquiry a three-member judicial tribunal should be appointed and before it starts its work normal conditions should be brought about.
- 4 Executive and police officials who completely failed to fulfil their duties during the riots and those who directly or indirectly encouraged the rioters, especially the Commissioner of Jabalpur region, the District Magistrate, the Senior Superintendent of Police of Jabalpur and also the Police Officials of Saugor should be transferred before the enquiry begins. The transfer of these officials will help in restoring peaceful atmosphere and sense of security and will give confidence to the people.

- 5 In all the riot-affected areas repairs to the damaged houses should immediately be organised and the Government should shoulder the entire responsibility of rehabilitation and providing employment to persons who have lost their means of livelihood.

Under these circumstances the Communist Party appeals to all the democratic forces

and individuals especially Congressmen that they should boldly face the danger of communalism. United efforts of all the anti-communal and democratic forces can beat back the danger.

The Communist Party praises the efforts of those executive and police officers who, in several parts of the state, by enlisting people's cooperation for establishing peace, worked with alertness and due to whom the unholy designs of the communal elements did not succeed.

In the end the Communist Party congratulates all those elements who kept balance amidst the flames of communal passion and courageously defended the minority community and are now working for an atmosphere of friendship and amity between the two communities.

## INCIDENT IN VIDISA

**T**HE Madhya Pradesh State Council of the CPI has adopted the following resolution after hearing the report of the Vidisa Party unit on the incidents that took place there on the eve of Id recently:

This year the Muslims in Vidisa did not celebrate the festival of Id due to the atmosphere of terror created by the communal elements and also in the absence of a guarantee for security from the authorities. This is a matter of regret.

Like other years this year too Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and other communal elements had declared their intention to offer Satyagraha.

As a result of the incidents of Jabalpur and Saugor poisonous atmosphere had been created throughout the State. The State authorities had given instructions and section 144 had been declared in Vidisa too.

But the (local) authorities did not enforce it strictly. On the other hand they adopted an attitude of sympathy and indirect co-operation towards the communal elements.

This is the reason why on March 14 the Hindu Mahasabha got permission for holding a meeting which surcharged the already poisoned atmosphere with tension. On March 18 the authorities did not come in the way of the hartal and a procession was organised by Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and other communal elements. This was in direct contravention of the Section 144 in the town.

In presence of the authorities the religious places of the minority community were attacked. As a put up show the authorities arrested some persons but released them soon.

The State Council takes serious note of this attitude of the authorities and demands from the administration that:

- 1 The officers responsible for the incidents in Vidisa should be transferred from there, the incident in Vidisa should be enquired into and the guilty officers punished.
- 2 Strong action should be taken against forces which are responsible for the above incident and for spreading communal feelings, and their activities in future should be watched carefully.

(Translated from Hindi)

## RAILWAYS

\* FROM PAGE FIVE

And it will not escape the attention of the people during the Railway Week that such shameful policies for labour promulgated by the Railway Ministry are not exclusively for Chittaranjan. The Railway Ministry has withdrawn the recognition of all the really representative unions of railwaymen in all the zonal railways. Draconian laws have been proposed which strike at the very concept of fundamental rights.

Hundreds of railway workers have been victimised for participation in the strike of July 1960.

And the omnipotent Railway Ministry has as yet refused to ratify the Code of Discipline proposed by the Government of India's own Labour Ministry and ratified at the tripartite conference held in 1958.

The nation greets the railwaymen in the celebration of the 108th Anniversary of the Indian Railways. The observance of the Railway Week should evoke greater solidarity between the common people and the railwaymen in defence of the fundamental trade union and democratic rights.

The Indian Railways have the privilege of being the mightiest of national undertakings. The railwaymen demand no privileges but they shall not be denied their rights.

## NEW AGE

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## MYSTERIOUS CARGO

**W**HILE the Government of India professes faith in non-alignment and does every thing to oppose colonialism and put out the flames of colonial wars the very soil of India is being used by the imperialists to carry on their dirty jobs. And not only our soil but our skies too are being used for foreign military purposes.

On March 20 an American Sky-master freighter plane belonging to the Seven Seas Airlines crashed near Nagpur. Although the plane was badly damaged its crew of eight persons was miraculously saved. On hearing the crash the airport officials, accompanied by the customs and police officials reached the spot and threw a cordon around the wreckage.

An inquiry body consisting of Mr. R. K. Katju, Deputy Director - General Civil Aviation and Mr. J. Sen, Senior Inspector of Accidents was deputed to look into the matter.

But what is interesting is the fact that the planes of the Seven Seas Airlines had carried military supplies to Katanga and this particular plane was now en route to Bangkok at the moment.

In the beginning it was reported that the cargo would be examined. Had this been done and details made known there would

have been no grounds for suspicion. But here is what Hitavada reported on March 23:

"Authorities are not particularly concerned about the nature of the cargo in the plane as the aircraft was not scheduled to load at any Indian airport. The cargo is likely to be picked up by another plane of the Company shortly."

In plain language the plane was already connected with the Congo operation and it was en route to the hotbed of war in Laos and still it was not thought desirable to make enquiries about its cargo.

Evidently pressure was brought on the local authorities not to carry out the search.

The nature of the cargo and the particular flight of this plane of the Seven Seas Airlines is shrouded in mystery. But what is obvious is that it needed probing. Who knows the plane was carrying arms to Laos? And if that is so it is a clear misuse of the Indian soil and the Indian skies. The Yanks are using commercial agreements to violate the declared policies of our Government. And what a shame the opportunities provided to expose their dirty deeds are just missed!

## BUDGET COST

**N**EW DELHI's Parliamentary bye election is fresh in my memory. Congress candidate Rana Jang Bahadur has been

## SCRAP-BOOK

defeated in a sure-Congress seat from where the Jan Sangh candidate who has won this time was last time defeated by a big margin of more than 50 thousand votes. My sympathies go to Rana Sahib for he has really been defeated by Morarji's budget. It is common talk in Delhi that people have voted not so much against the Congress candidate as against the hard hitting taxes on the people.

The bye-election in Delhi was contested in the background of the Central budget. The election result is an index of people's resentment against new budget levies. Another factor for the defeat of the Congress was the negative vote of Government employees. Most of the Government employees voted against the Congress candidate. That is the reason why O. P. Gupta who had no financial support, nor other requisites to cover the big constituency could get more than 10,000 votes.

As regards the Swatantra day-dreamers they have known their worth. They had to content themselves with mere 5,000 votes.

Jan Sangh's victory in the Capital of the country is mainly due to its active volunteer force as well as due to the apathy of the

common voter. Communal propaganda is yet another reason for I's victory.

All in all it is Morarji's budget that has cost so heavily for the Congress in Delhi. It is an eye opener but will the power blind still see the obvious? This remains to be seen.

## ACADEMIC IMPOTENCE

**O**FFICE of Vice-Chancellorship under the Congress Raj is no more a place of academic impotence. More or less it has become a place of academic impotence. Now what is happening in Andhra is a pointer to it. But it is not only in Andhra that a controversy has been raised on the appointment to this coveted office. Previously too it has been done in Madhya Pradesh and U.P.

Instead of allowing the academic talent to head the seats of learning the State Education Ministers have very often intervened (some times too abruptly) in academic affairs, reducing university autonomy to a misnomer.

Congressmen thrown out of ministries or for that matter nominees of the ministers are already heading certain universities. Now in Andhra University too Vice-Chancellor-

ship has become a bone of contention among rival candidates reported to be sponsored by the 'disinterested' group, the 'disinterested' group and the 'independent' president of the APCC. The inroads of political groupism has shocked every well wisher of higher education in Andhra. The Governor (Chancellor) it is learnt had returned the panel of three names to the Committee, constituted under the provisions of the University Act, for the selection of the Vice-Chancellor.

In the wake of unhealthy canvassing a fourth candidate, has appeared on the horizon, pulling wires from New Delhi. Ultimately the power to appoint the Vice-Chancellor is vested in the Chancellor, who in most of the cases is a retired politician but still a man who is prone to be influenced by the party to which he belongs.

It is under these circumstances that persons who have no academic importance of recognised worth are appointed Vice-Chancellors of the universities. The system of Governor Chancellor appointing the Vice-Chancellor is an inheritance of British rule in India. It is time that a change is effected in the right direction. What is immediately required is that the universities should be redeemed from the clutches of men of academic impotence.

-AGRADOOT

## Three Lakh Rally At Trichur Kisan Meet

## Sixth CPI Congress

\* FROM PAGE ONE

thousands of people who are likely to visit Vijayawada every day during the Congress.

Besides innumerable gates put up all over the town by local people, twelve gates depicting the various stages of the national movement starting from the first war of independence up to the formation of the linguistic State of Visalandhra have been erected by the Reception Committee.

The public response to the Congress funds is something which the organisers themselves did not anticipate. As against the original budget of Rs. 50,000 already Rs. 31,000 have been received in the Reception Committee office besides the contributions in kind starting from onions required in the kitchen. In fact those who originally made token contributions paid for the second time bigger amounts after witnessing the enthusiasm.

As for response from the public, besides poorer sections of the population, no single owner of hotel, cinema theatre, rice mill or timber depot, trader or middle-class man who was approached refused to pay. Particular mention should be made of contributions from the middle class

employees who saw during the last two years the Communist Party behind them in their struggle.

Visalandhra, Communist Party's largest circulated daily, has planned to bring out a special issue in connection with the conference, depicting the history, growth and development of the Communist movement in India. The news of the arrival of foreign delegates, especially from Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Suslov is received with great enthusiasm and the Andhra Party certainly is proud of playing host to the leaders of world Communist movement.

Proceedings of the Congress will be preceded by a two-day meeting of the National Council scheduled to start on April 5, 1961.

## IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

The next issue of NEW AGE will be dated April 23, 1961.

PAGE THIRTEEN

## AFRICA

From Overleaf

British monopoly firms is the British South African Company, launched by Cecil Rhodes in 1889 and actually ruled the two Rhodesias until 1923.

Lord Salisbury is a director, and another Tory peer who supports him is Lord Robins, President of this company, and director of several other monopoly firms. These big financial magnates who are entrenched in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons are strongly opposed to Mr. Macmillan's "wind of change" in Africa—though it is no longer a wind nor even a slight breeze.

For weeks (and perhaps for months) to come the

struggle for African freedom in these three territories is likely to be the sharpest political issue in Britain. It is already recognised that Federation cannot last. As pointed out in the Guardian, "In its present tight form the Federation can be saved at the cost of strife and bloodshed..." (March 20).

But the time has gone past when British imperialism can stop Africa's onward march to freedom. African liberation will soon be won in these three territories, and their victory will be a bigger blow against British imperialism than the enforced withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

PAGE TWELVE

NEW AGE

NEW AGE

# OIL BATTLE ENTERS NEW PHASE

From Our Correspondent

India's battle for oil is entering a new phase. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission is currently engaged in revising its earlier Third Plan oil exploration programme with a view to turning the possibility of achieving self-sufficiency in oil into a reality within the shortest possible time.

THIS newly-gained confidence of the Commission which started work from a scratch five years ago has come from spectacular successes it has achieved recently. So far 16 wells have yielded oil and two have yielded natural gas. Only six wells have proved dry. But it is the Ankleshwar find which has entirely changed the picture of prospects of finding oil in sufficient quantities during the Third Plan period.

Earlier, on the basis of preliminary results of exploration in the Cambay region, it was envisaged to produce 2.5 million tons of additional crude oil by the end of the Third Plan. But now the Oil and Natural Gas Commission is confident of producing five to six million tons of additional oil in the same period.

### Enlarged Programme

The enlarged programme, however, requires bigger efforts—1,000,000 metres of exploratory drilling, 200 exploratory wells and 500 productive wells. That the Oil and Natural Gas Commission is gearing up its machinery to undertake this ambitious programme is evidenced from larger financial allocation—Rs. 21.5 crores—made in

the situation has relatively eased now. Eight more Soviet rigs will soon join 14 rigs already operating in different parts of the country. During the Third Plan the number of rigs will increase to 60. A large number of geologists, geophysicists and drillers have also been trained. The preparations to set up the Petroleum Institute have reached an advanced stage.

### Gujarat And Assam

During the Third Plan it is learned the State-owned ONGC will concentrate in Gujarat and Assam with simultaneous explorations in Punjab, and the Gangetic and Cauvery Basins. In Punjab the work will now be shifted from the Hoshiarpur-Jwalamukhi belt to the State's platform area for which three places—near Ludhiana, Zira in Ferozepur district and Sultanpur in Kapurthala district—have been selected.

The most adventurous part of the programme will be off-shore exploration in the Cambay Gulf, the preliminary study of which reveals the possibility of the existence of rich oil deposits there. For assistance in this venture, the ONGC has approached the Soviet Union which has a specialised experience in the field of off-shore exploration—the Caspian Sea being one of the world's largest oil producer. The ONGC's work till now has been seriously handicapped owing to shortage of equipment and dearth of technical personnel. However,

Such are the achievements of the Commission that even the hardened sceptics like Sri Morarji, the Finance Minister have had to take cognizance of it. In 1960-61 budget, for instance, Rs. 8.5 crores were provided for the Commission, but it was allowed to spend Rs. 16.44 crores. The Union Finance Ministry was made to sanction larger funds, though after considerable hesitation and reluctantly, it is understood.

### Soviet Assistance

The Soviet Union is rendering disinterested financial and technical assistance in the field of oil exploration. In fact it will be no exaggeration to say that generous help offered by the USSR is one of the major factors in giving inspiration to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission to undertake its ambitious commitment. This would appear to be the confidence of the ONGC and the Oil Minister who hitting out against the sensational reports about Rudrasagar oil well No. 1, said in the Lok Sabha the other day: "The sporadic anger of the private sector will not be able to check the public sector's onward march".

## SPOTLIGHT

### JAN SANGH'S NEW POSE

AFTER having celebrated two victories in quick succession, the Jan Sangh suddenly seems to have realised that its wins were pyrrhic. It is throwing up its arms in such a dramatic gesture of innocence that you can, if you feel like it, have the heartiest laugh of your life. Pt. Ataljee has declared in a statement on Moradabad: "The Jan Sangh is pledged to the maintenance of communal amity and peace in the country (sic). If any worker of the Jan Sangh is proved guilty of any lapse in this regard, he would be liable to severe disciplinary action."

Delectable words, aren't these? But it seems the Jan Sangh cannot open its mouth without putting its foot into it. Was it not the Jan Sangh party's mouthpiece which wrote editorially of Jabalpur the following: "That Jabalpur should have reacted strongly to the rape of an innocent girl showed that our people are basically in good health. Had they failed to organise a hartal, and quietly pocketed the insult, it would have been a case of social ill-health. It is only healthy bodies which react. It is really reassuring to find that the people are quite awake, Panditji's anaesthetics notwithstanding."

Could a more strident defence of communalism and criminality be imagined? And Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, who rushed to Jabalpur, came out in a long defence of the shameful happenings there. He declared: "...the incidents have been distorted and magnified out of all proportion." In his puny political wisdom he came out with the slogan: "Political parties should take their hands off Jabalpur", which sounded like the hyena growling: "Keep off my kill."

The slogan has flopped miserably and there has followed such a terrific exposure of the Jan Sangh's foul deeds at Jabalpur, at Moradabad that they are today in jitters. Pt. Ataljee's puerile protestations betray this filthiness.

Another Jan Sangh stalwart, Shri Pitambar Das cries aloud: "The Jan Sangh did not try to give a communal colour to the Moradabad incident". It is, no doubt, very different from the tone of triumph which Jan Sangh had adopted after Jabalpur, openly congratulating a riot-guilty rabble as "an awakened people".

But this "did not try to give a communal-colour" pose is most amusing. In its latest issue the "Organiser", observes: "It would be dishonest of the Government to compensate the victims of Jabalpur riots—until and unless they have compensated the victims of Assam riots." (April 3)

Is this not again the communal angle, which Sri Pitambar Das wishes at the moment to hide? He is, so tragically—betrayed by his own pri-pushers.

ONE MORE PIECE And here is one more lonely piece from the same source. It writes in its supremely sublime defence of the rioting at Jabalpur: "All rape is shocking, but involving persons of communities which do not intermarry—and are hardy on speaking terms—is obviously much more so. What Muslims have done to a Hindu rapist of a Muslim girl? Why can't the secular dupes see these simple sociological facts?" (March 27)

Here is a complete expression not only of the communal angle, but of what is openly acclaimed here as a justified crime—the rioting engineered at Jabalpur.

We have a glorious polly indeed in which criminals are allowed not only to perpetrate misdeeds but also to brag about it with impunity? —GARUDA

# CAREER OF A MASS MURDERER

Adolf Eichmann occupied third place on the list of war criminals prepared by the Allies, for it was he who was the direct organizer and master of the crime of genocide—the death of six million Jews in the whole of German occupied Europe.

EICHMANN carried out the extermination of Jews with precision and pedantry. For eleven years he devoted all his strength, energy and abilities to this end.

What is known, however, is that these plans were born in the climate of the criminal ideology of Nazism. Adolf Eichmann was a zealous co-author and executor of these plans.

Meanwhile Eichmann had continued his policy of "cleaning" German territories. Already in 1939 he organized the first transit camp for Jews in Nisk on the River San. Later, when the first ghettos were created in Poland, he began to resettle to these ghettos Jews from the Reich, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Massacre Begins The situation changed after the start of Nazi aggression against the USSR. A new conception appeared, that of extermination. The OKW issued an order concerning commissars and Jews taken prisoner-of-war by the Germans (Kommissarbefehl). On the occupied Soviet territories the massacre now began—and this not only of commissars and Jews.

A conference took place in January 1942 in the suburb of Berlin—Wannsee, concerning the "Final Solution of the Jewish Problem." At this conference which was attended by representatives of the most important offices of the III Reich, the final decisions were made concerning the murder of all the Jews inhabiting territories under German rule. Eichmann was to be the chief executor of the extermination.

In the East, the gassing of Jews in lorries had begun. This "experience" brought Eichmann to other areas. He visited Hess in Oswiecim (Auschwitz) where he carried out gassing tests. Finally, he was the initiator of the establishment of extermination camps at Treblinka, Belzec, Chebno, Sobibor, Oswiecim and Majdanek.

The plan of extermination, established at the Wannsee conference embraced all Jews inhabiting Europe, according to a list presented at this conference. Eleven million persons were involved.

In 1942, the first transports of Jews from all countries of Western Europe began to arrive at the extermination camps. The number of Jewish transports was recorded. The number of those put to death was not. Eichmann forbade the keeping of any statistical records of the murders. He alone had this knowledge. This was a big mystery. Eichmann had an excellent memory. He made notes on a few cards using a system known only to himself.

British publicist E. Crankshaw states in his excellent book "Gestapo—Instrument of Tyranny": "...we find Eichmann caring about all over Europe to make sure that his instructions are understood, that no Jew shall escape the net, to keep his subordinates up to the mark, and to browbeat and argue with reluctant governments. This unremarkable Lieutenant-Colonel was ready to bully, to

### THE SCORE

ACCORDING to the estimates of an Anglo-American commission of April 1946, more than six million Jews were deported to death camps, out of whom only a few over 300 thousand have survived. The territorial distribution of the deportations is shown by the table below:

Germany (within the 1937 frontiers)	195,000
Austria	53,000
Czechoslovakia	255,000
Denmark	1,500
France	140,000
Belgium	57,000
Holland	120,000
Luxembourg	3,000
Norway	1,000
Italy	20,000
Yugoslavia	64,000
Greece	64,000
Bulgaria	5,000
Rumania	530,000
Hungary	200,000
Poland	3,271,000
The USSR	1,050,000
Total deported to death camps	6,029,500
Survived	308,500
Total of those who perished	5,721,500

flatter, or to lie. The Hungarians, for example he bullied into sending 250,000 Jews to his gas-chambers. But to the Slovaks, who showed concern, he lied, explaining that the Jews were simply to be resettled in special ghettos and would live in comfort and ease in their new home." (P. 139)

The defeat of Nazi Germany was inescapably approaching. Six million Jewish victims figured already on the bloody register. As one of associates, Wislency, testified

at Nuremberg, Eichmann had started towards the end of the war:

"In the event of the defeat of the III Reich I shall commit suicide, but I shall descend into my grave with a smile, for the awareness that I have on my conscience 5 million Jews is for me a source of extreme satisfaction."

### Arrest And Escape

Near the resort of Bad Ischl he was taken prisoner by the Americans. Eichmann gave his real name, but an American sergeant misspelled it: Eckmann. Unexpectedly a chance arose, Eichmann presented himself as a non-commissioned officer of the Luftwaffe, and later, after his transfer to a camp near Nuremberg, as a Waffen SS lieutenant. After having spent one and a half years (!) as an American prisoner-of-war, Eichmann escaped unrecognized (?) with the assistance of his friends.

For 15 years Eichmann hid from the world. The peripetia of his fate are not as yet exactly known. We know that after his flight from the camp and a short stay in Western Germany (under the name of Otto Heninger, according to the West German paper Stern), Eichmann succeeded in leaving for abroad. We know also that for many years afterwards he worked for West German firms. Der Spiegel states that Eichmann was the founder of the firm "Kathar Office" with its headquarters in Damascus.

This firm has been employing a considerable number of Eichmann's wartime associates (Brunner, Rademacher). The "Kathar Office" is working in all Arab countries and is representing big West German firms (for example Dellmann-Gergbau—the shareholders include Minister Seebohm, the Oil Company Concordia, etc).



THE MONSTER

Eichmann has spent the last few years in Argentina. Towards the end he traded in textiles in partnership with Ante Pavelic, leader of Croatian fascists (attempt against King Alexander and Minister Barthou in Marseilles) and Nazi agent. He has travelled in the course of the last few years. He is said to have worked in a big firm of the metal industry (the Brazilian branch of Mercedes-Benz) and to have drawn a top salary.

So it went until May 1960. On May 23, 1960, the Israeli Premier made a statement on the seizure of Eichmann by the Israeli intelligence service. This fact signifies not only that one of the biggest Nazi criminals will at last face the court and account for his crimes. Of no lesser importance is the fact that his numerous associates who so far have escaped justice will be deprived of the chance to stay unpunished indefinitely.

## His Associates Occupy High Positions In West Germany Today

EICHMANN has been captured, he is now going to be tried. The trial opens in Israel on April 10.

What about his associates who have neither been arrested nor tried? What about Eichmann's immediate and direct collaborators, who helped him implement plans perpetrated by hundreds of schemers. Who are and where are these people who should be regarded as Eichmann's associates in crime and treated as such?

### ADENAUER'S RIGHT HAND

Oberregierungsrat Hans Globke was the man in charge of the Jewish Section in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior. In 1933 Globke and Stuckart, then Secretary of State, had worked out the draft for the infamous Nuremberg Laws and supplied directives for their execution.

Today Hans Globke is Secretary of State in the

Chancellor's Office which makes him one of the highest officials in the Federal Republic. When this point was raised in 1957-8 by certain foreign journalists, Chancellor Adenauer replied that Globke was indispensable in his office because of "the excellence of his memory and of his professional infallibility."

The "Inland II" department of the Nazi Foreign Office—with Counsellor Eberhardt von Thadden as its director—dealt with the deportations of Jews from European countries collaborating with the Reich. Von Thadden's present resident in Essen, has never been brought to trial for his past activities.

Dr. Otto Brautigam ministerial counsellor and former Consul of the Reich in Baku was plenipotentiary for the extermination of Jews (particularly in the Baltic countries, Rumania and on the southern territories of the USSR) in the Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories headed

by Alfred Rosenberg. Later he became director of the Eastern Department in the Bonn Foreign Ministry and held this post until 1957. He accompanied Chancellor Adenauer on his visit to Moscow. Brautigam's last appointment was Consul of the Federal Republic in Hong Kong. In 1959 he was awarded the Cross of Merit, First Class.

Prof. Dr. Pokorny was author of the plan for the sterilization of 3.5 million Soviet war prisoners. Today he is professor of medicine in one of the University Colleges in West Germany. This is just a sample. From among Eichmann's 120 collaborators whose names have been identified, so far only three were sentenced and executed. The majority of the rest of these people continue to live unperturbed in the German Federal Republic. Many were given the opportunity to work their way up to positions of eminence in that country. Their names and true identity often remain unknown to the public.

## FOR GOA'S LIBERATION World Conference Soon

THE National Campaign Committee for Goa convened the National Convention for the Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu and against Portuguese Colonialism and Fascism at the Constitution Club, New Delhi on March 25 and 26, 1961.

The Convention was inaugurated by Sri Anantashaynam Ayyangar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha and was presided over by the Rev. Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas, President of the Goan Political Convention.

It was addressed by Prof. Hirano of Japan, Dr. Valerian Regis Kondor of Brazil, General Enrique Lister of Spain, Dr. A. Roberts the well-known Educationist of the United States and Nuriddinov of the USSR.

### Big Delegation

Pandit Sundarlal, Dr. A. V. Baliga, Sri Nandekar of Dhulia, Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali and others spoke supporting

the cause of the early liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The open session held on the 25th was followed by the Delegates' Session on the 26th at which over 50 Goan delegates who had come from Bombay, Belgaum and Nagar Havell participated. The whole question of Portuguese colonialism and fascism was discussed and a call has been issued to intensify efforts to make 1961 the year of freedom for Goa, Daman and Diu.

It has also been resolved to convene at an early date at a suitable place an International Conference of all anti-fascist and anti-colonial forces in Portugal, and of Angola, Mozambique, Goa and other Portuguese colonies. It was decided that such a conference was imperative to unite all the anti-Salazar forces in Portugal and those in exile in Brazil and the anti-colonial forces in Africa and India, and thus hasten the downfall of the fascist dictatorship and bring about the collapse of colonialism throughout the world in 1961.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Defence Minister, Sri V. K. Krishna Menon sent special messages for the success of the Convention, as also Mr. D. N. Pritt.

A number of resolutions were adopted besides the main Political Resolution which dealt with the freedom of Goa. Resolutions were passed on Portuguese colonialism, on slave conditions in Portuguese mines in Goa, on Political Prisoners still in Goa Jails and the Removal of Economic Restrictions and for the early integration of Dadra and Nagar Havell.

### Report Of Work

Earlier a report of the Activities of the National Campaign Committee for Goa was submitted by Sri George Vaz, Secretary of the Committee. Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, Chairman of the National Campaign Committee, concluded the two-day session with an appeal for intensive work to implement the resolutions adopted by the Convention.

**FLY**  
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NATIONAL CSA 361



# HOMAGE TO LUMUMBA



**Amrita Pritam**

Who held the chisel  
And carved out the solid black figure  
A boiling lava of anger  
Coursing through her veins?  
Violence tore up her vermillion blouse  
It dyed her skirt into a blood-black colour  
Bare-breasted  
She walked through the streets  
A drop of milk trickled down her black breasts  
A drop of water fell from her red red eyes  
Guarding motherhood  
And searching the dead body of a black fire  
The blood is purple  
Can the white sheet hide this red spot in its folds?  
The black forests shake  
And the copper-heated sky rumbles  
The stone gates of the caves have opened  
The doors of the U.N.O. are shut  
A question rises from the dark continent  
Like the earth's red tongue licking the breasts of the sky.

(Translated from the Punjabi by Balwant Gargi).

## Mahakavi Puttparthi

They have killed you—  
but only your body!  
Millions of Lumumbas  
Will rise out of your grave.  
The ravenous men who are thirsty for the blood of poor  
and down-trodden people,  
Defenders of imperialism—  
Mobutu, Tshombe and others  
Will soon sink into oblivion.  
They are trying to bridle  
The headstrong horse of Time  
But it goes on galloping  
It will ground to dust under its lightening hooves  
The mad Hammarskjelds.  
Heroic Lumumba! We remember you  
In the crimson red of mornings,  
We adore you  
In the crimson red of evenings!

(Translated from Telugu)

## Sahir Ludhianvi

When the tide of oppression rises too high  
It exhausts itself, it must die!  
But the martyr's blood when it is shed  
Freezes into a drop of immortality shining ruby-red!

Blood—  
Martyr's blood—  
It leaves its stain  
On the desert sand,  
On the book of justice,  
On the martyr's grave  
And also on the tyrant's hand.

Blood is eloquent, it will not remain mute  
It cannot be hidden, it cannot be silenced,  
It will proclaim itself.  
Let the evil ones operate from their hide-outs  
The trail of blood will lead to the murderer's dens.  
Let the conspirators veil themselves in darkness  
But every drop of a martyr's blood  
Will light an immortal flame.  
Proclaim then, to the doomed prophets of oppression  
Warn the tricksters of diabolical diplomacy  
Unveil the blushing bride of U.N.O.

Warn them all  
Proclaim to them all—  
The passion of blood that defies all tyrannies,  
The flaming sweep of blood which can drown the  
citadels of injustice!

Beware, beware, you tyrants  
—Beware, beware, you foul conspirators.  
The blood you sought to hide in desert sand  
The blood you tried to dam with a martyr's grave  
Has flooded the whole wide world  
Here a flame of revolt,  
There a stone flung in protest  
And a banner of freedom everywhere.

(Translated from Urdu by K. A. Abbas).



Amrita Pritam

## Makhdoom Mohiuddin

Another star shot in the gloom of night,  
The shackles break, and breaks the chain,  
And brightens like a chisel'd gem,  
The conscience of humanity;  
Again a dagger flashed in some hand,  
And streams of blood  
Glittered in the hush of night;  
And then the breeze blew past my doors this morn,  
With brows all daubed with the blood of dawn.  
Glory to United Nations and the "Security" bestowed by it:  
And mind the sway of truth and faith,  
The cross of hopes  
Is more pronounced in the wilderness;  
And lo, another drop of blood  
Crept down the eye of dawn.  
So long as the traces of assassins last,  
Proceed to wipe out each and every trace of theirs—  
Awake, Don't be Silent! Speak!  
Rise to the Martyrs' festal days,  
And listen over there the altar cries:  
"Keep quiet never more. Ah never more."

(Translated from Urdu by Wahab Hydar).